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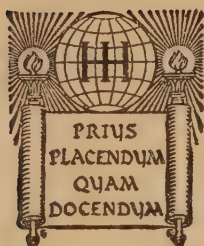
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THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
Times as recorded by over
Two Thousand of the Great
Writers of All Ages. Edited
with the Assistance of a Dis-
tinguished Board of Advisers
and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XXIII—THE UNITED STATES (Concluded);
SPANISH AMERICA

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TOGETHER WITH A STUDY OF

THE ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

BY

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

A PRESENTATION OF

SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN

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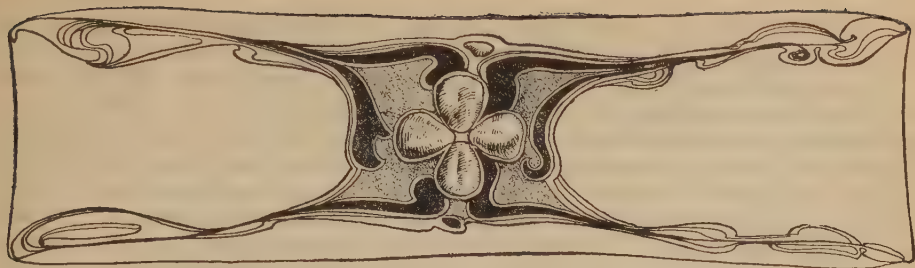
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THE ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

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DIPLOMACY OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

By the practice of a century, the name American has been commonly applied to that part of America which has now become the most powerful nation in the western world. There is no important American question which does not interest the United States; and the greatest American problems—such as Cuba, the Isthmus, Pacific trade, and the future of South America—can be solved only by the United States. Nevertheless, the beginnings of American diplomacy are to be discovered in the relations of European colonising powers during the three centuries previous to the Revolution.

The earliest of these preliminary diplomatic questions was that of territory. The first claimants to America were Spain and Portugal, who in 1494 divided the new discovered lands by a meridian through the mid-Atlantic. Brazil was subsequently found to be east of this line, and therefore Portuguese. In 1578 England came forward as a distinct claimant for a share in the New World, on the basis of John Cabot's discoveries in 1497; and also began a furious attack by sea, first on the Spanish monopoly of colonial trade, then upon Spanish vessels and towns. The resulting war, marked by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, was followed, in 1604, by the first English-Spanish treaty on American matters, in which the English refused to give any pledge not to colonise the American coast; and they speedily founded their first permanent colony of Virginia. A fourth colonising power was France, whose attempts to plant settlements in Carolina and Florida were defeated by the Spaniards. They then made settlements in Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604, and at Quebec. Hardly were these little colonies founded when the English began to dispute them, and inaugurated a century and a half of conflict for supremacy in America. Two other colonising powers were Holland, which planted the colony of New Netherland in 1621, and Sweden, which colonised Delaware in 1638.

The American diplomacy of the seventeenth century had reference to the claims of these six powers, and is marked by three notable treaties: the Treaty of St. Germain (1632) recognised Acadia and Canada as French; in the Treaty of Breda (1667), the conquest of the Hudson and Delaware coun-

tries by England was acknowledged; in the Treaty of Madrid (1670), for the first time Spain admitted that there were rightful English colonies in America.

During the eighteenth century Spain, France, and Great Britain were each developing a system of monopoly of their colonial trade. The English and their continental colonists were always violating the colonial system of France and Spain by trading with the rich French and Spanish islands; and also broke their own navigation acts by receiving goods and vessels from other parts of the world than England and other English colonies. During the century also a series of fierce European wars extended to the colonies. King William's War was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (1697); Queen Anne's War ended in the Peace of Utrecht (1713); King George's War was closed by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748); and the Seven Years' War in Europe (called in America the French and Indian war) ended in the Peace of Paris (1763). In these four struggles England gradually gained supremacy at sea, acquired Nova Scotia (1713), and then by combined sea and land attack took Cape Breton and Quebec (1758-1759), and thus overwhelmed the French power in Canada. In 1762 the Spanish possessions of Manila and Havana were both captured by British fleets. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) they were given up; but the French were totally excluded from the North American continent. After two centuries of combined fighting and diplomacy, Great Britain thus became master of the whole North American continent east of the Mississippi River, and to the west and south had no rival except the slowly decaying Spanish Empire.

DIPLOMACY OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE CONFEDERATION (1775-1789 A.D.)

The removal of the French power from America opened the way for the development of the United States, a new factor in American and world politics. The English colonies in 1775 revolted and formed an irregular government, which at once began to assume the sovereign power of making war and of negotiating treaties. Nothing could be simpler than the principles of our foreign policy during the revolution. The first was, as an independent power, to negotiate alliances with England's enemies. The capture of Burgoyne's army in 1777 led France to make with the United States the first two treaties of our national history: a commercial treaty, providing for the exchange of goods on liberal terms, and also setting forth the privileges of neutral trade which either power should enjoy, if at peace while the other was at war; and the only treaty of alliance which the United States has ever made. This alliance was the means of securing the independence of America.

The second purpose of revolutionary diplomacy was to secure commercial treaties with other European powers, and treaties made with Holland in 1782, with Sweden in 1784, and with Prussia in 1785 were the fruits of this policy. All these treaties were a reaction from the regulation of colonial trade by European powers under the earlier colonial *régime*.

The third object was a treaty with England which should recognise American independence, and confirm the territorial results of the war. The preliminary treaty of peace of 1782 (made "definitive" in 1783) was the first great triumph of American diplomacy with England. By it the independence of America was recognised fully, and the boundaries acknowledged by England included: (1) the thirteen communities which had joined in the war; (2) the magnificent Northwest Territory; (3) the rich area between the Ohio river and the thirty-first parallel, as far west as the Mississippi. The result

[1788-1793 A.D.]

of the treaty was an unmistakable proof of the expansive spirit of the American people, land-hungry from the beginning.

During the next six years, under the Articles of Confederation, the external policy of the United States was simply to complete and register the results of the war. Territorial difficulties arose both in the north and south. England continued to hold posts inside our undisputed northern boundary; and since Spain owned Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, a land barrier was thrust between the American settlements and the Gulf of Mexico. In 1786 a vain attempt was made to secure the navigation of the Mississippi to its mouth. While colonies of England the United States were subject to restrictions on their commerce, but they enjoyed a specially favoured status in English home and West Indian ports. After the war they lost the profitable trade in their own vessels to the West Indies. To recover some of these former privileges the United States vainly sought a commercial treaty with England. The Confederation expired in 1788, in the midst of a confusion of unsatisfied desires and of unexecuted treaties.

DIPLOMACY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1793-1805 A.D.)

The federal constitution, which went into force in 1789, made possible a firmer foreign policy by concentrating authority over foreign relations in the federal government, and by giving to the president (with the consent of the senate as to appointments and treaties) power completely to control foreign negotiations, and to make treaties which should be the law of the land. It was a period of cataclysm in international affairs. The United States now appeared as the first independent American contestant for a share in the affairs of America, and had many advantages over her two great competitors, Great Britain and Spain. When, by that sudden culmination of explosive forces long accumulating which we call the French Revolution, war was brought about between England and France (1793), the American merchant marine took such a share of the carrying trade of Europe that the government whose flag that marine carried became a factor in world politics.

Only with the greatest difficulty did the United States save herself from being swept into the maelstrom of European war. The government was bound to France by a treaty of alliance, and by ties of friendship and obligation; nevertheless President Washington, in April, 1793, issued a proclamation of neutrality, which marks in international relations the new principle, that a maritime power could remain neutral through a general European war. This attitude was unwelcome both to England and to France; and both powers instantly began to capture American merchantmen on grounds strange to international law, and very unfavourable to the United States. Our important export of provisions was disturbed by the seizure of grain ships, on the ground that provisions were contraband of war. Vessels were captured, especially by the English, because bound to ports which had been proclaimed in blockade, although there was no blockading force in front of them. The American contention that "free ships make free goods" was roundly denied by Great Britain; and a revival of the so-called "Rule of 1756" affected an immense trade which immediately sprang up from the French colonies in American ships. In opposing these harsh and unwarrantable principles, the United States was standing for the rights of neutrals throughout the world, and at all times.

Up to the American revolution, every white inhabitant of America was a subject of some European country. The creation of the United States opened up a new problem of the transfer of allegiance from one nation to another, and it became a serious issue when Englishmen naturalised in the United States were "impressed" from the decks of American merchantmen by English cruisers. Such impressments were also a personal indignity which exasperated sailors, shipowners, and the American public. The French minister, Genet, by his attempt to make the United States a naval base for France, and by his violent attacks upon the administration in 1793, alienated the natural sympathy of many Americans with France; but England by refusing a commercial treaty, and by captures and impressments, offended so much more deeply that in 1794 our first provision was made for a navy. What seemed unavoidable trouble was averted by the negotiation of the Jay Treaty in 1794, which adjusted with England many of the pending questions of commerce of the rights of neutrals.

The pendulum now swung the other way; France, enraged at the Jay Treaty, grossly insulted a special commission sent over by President Adams in 1797, when certain unofficial go-betweens, known as X, Y, Z, demanded a bribe. The result was our only war with France, lasting from 1798 to 1800. The peace of 1800 with France included a commercial treaty; and the United States was now in more favourable relations with the world than ever before, for the Jay Treaty had settled most of the old difficulties with England, and a fortunate treaty with Spain in 1795 surrendered the Spanish claims north of the thirty-first parallel, and opened a long-desired commerce through New Orleans to the gulf. The Peace of Amiens of April, 1802, between France and England, seemed to promise a long period of commercial prosperity.

These expectations were soon dispelled, for war soon began again in Europe. Yet questions of commerce and defence were for the moment set aside by the astounding news in 1802 that Louisiana had gone back to France. It was then that the peace-loving Jefferson declared that on "the day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." That the greatest military power of the time should be our near neighbour, and should sit athwart the streams which led from the interior to the gulf, was a danger which roused the nation, and caused the United States to resume the policy of territorial expansion. Threats of war were freely made, but a kaleidoscopic change in European politics caused Napoleon to give up his scheme of the restoration of the French colonial empire in America; and in 1803 he threw Louisiana into the lap of the United States with the same princely indifference with which the Caliph Haroun al-Raschid would throw a purse of gold to a beggar in the streets. For a payment of about \$12,000,000 the United States received the whole stretch of the western Mississippi valley, to the farthest tributaries of the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas. Yet even this rich accession was incomplete, so long as we were shut off from the eastern gulf, and the United States never rested until West Florida was acquired by successive acts of armed occupation, and then reached out impatiently for East Florida and for Texas.

The energy of a Yankee skipper and the forethought of Jefferson now completed the arch of territory crossing the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Captain Gray of Boston in 1792 discovered a great river in Oregon, which he named for his ship, the *Columbia*; and in 1805 the Lewis and Clark overland expedition sent out by Jefferson reached the Pacific. A third evidence of a purpose to keep Oregon was a little trading post at Astoria planted in 1810 by John Jacob Astor.

DIPLOMACY OF THE WAR OF 1812 (1805-1815 A.D.)

No sooner was Louisiana fairly annexed than the commercial question again thrust its way to the front. At the renewal of the war in 1803 the British admiralty courts began to set up new and harsh principles as to neutral trade, especially the Rule of 1756; and refused to grant a satisfactory substitute for the expired Jay Treaty. Napoleon retorted with his Continental System intended to prevent the export of British goods to any territory controlled by or allied with France. Great Britain retaliated by "Orders in Council" in 1806 and 1807, aimed to cut off the trade of neutrals with France and her allies. France rejoined with equally furious and unprincipled "Decrees," and in the eleven years from 1803 to 1812 fifteen hundred American merchantmen were captured by the French and the British. At the same time the principle of impressments was pushed to the point of attacking the American frigate *Chesapeake* on the high seas and taking off certain British deserters.

President Jefferson, although he had just successfully carried out a brilliant little naval war with the Barbary pirates, preferred commercial restriction to war; and congress enacted at various times laws of non-intercourse with offending powers, non-importation of their goods, and an embargo on the exportation of American products. The last-named measure Napoleon professed to like; to some degree it distressed the British merchants, but it proved so ruinous to American shipowners and exporters that it was given up after fourteen months' trial, in 1809. The next three years show a weak and fluctuating foreign policy, ineffectual against two powerful nations, each of which was perfectly willing to incur the ill-will of the United States if it could only damage its adversary. In the summer of 1812 the United States declared war on Great Britain. The official reasons for this war were: aggressions on neutral trade; British orders in council (though they were grudgingly withdrawn at the last moment); supposed influence of the British in Indian hostilities on the northwest frontier (an influence which is now disproved); and impressments. A deeper cause was a just indignation at the reckless and overbearing behaviour of the English government, English diplomats, and English squadrons in American waters.

The tactical object of the War of 1812 was the conquest of Canada; but owing to bad military organisation and the lack of able commanders, every attempt at permanent occupation of any part of Canada was an abject failure. On the contrary, the British occupied a large part of Maine, took and burned Washington, landed on the gulf coast, and occupied Astoria in Oregon. Nevertheless, the defeat of invading expeditions on Lake Champlain, and below New Orleans, by raw militia behind breastworks proved that a permanent conquest of America was impossible; while the unexpected victories of American ships of war in ship duels, and the brilliant success of American privateers, made such an impression of maritime power that Great Britain accepted the favourable peace in 1814. This Treaty of Ghent provided that all territorial conquests should be restored; a separate commercial treaty was soon negotiated, which put an end to the long difficulties between the two countries; and the end of the war took away all occasion for interference with American neutral trade. On the question of impressments, no promise could be obtained, but the practice ceased and was never renewed. Three years later a convention was made (which is still in force)

giving certain fishery privileges on the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. The long period of commercial contention with Great Britain and other European powers had come to an end.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE (1815-1826 A.D.)

At the end of the War of 1812 the only powers of the North American continent were the United States, Spain, Great Britain, and Russia, which was planting trading posts on the Pacific coast. These conditions were absolutely changed by a series of revolutions in the Spanish-American colonies from 1806 to 1822, which deprived Spain of every possession in America, except a few coast fortifications and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. The principal countries among these new American states were recognised as independent by the United States in 1822. The trade of these nations, at last free from the Spanish colonial system, was thrown open to the world; while a warm sympathy with struggling republics, and an unfounded belief in the perfectibility of Spanish-American human nature, led the people of the United States to take the liveliest interest in the success of the new neighbours.

After the crushing of Napoleon, the affairs of Europe passed into the control of a sort of syndicate, made up of France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, united in a pompous and ambiguous treaty called the Holy Alliance, the real purport of which was that if revolution should break out anywhere, the combined military force of the Christian allies should be available to stamp it out. Accordingly, when revolutionists got control of Spain the allies sent a French army which conquered the country and restored the hated Bourbon sovereign (1823). An immediate result was that the Spanish government called upon the allies to extend to America their system of crushing the revolutionary spirit.

The real influence of the naval war of 1812 was now visible in American diplomacy; for George Canning, British foreign minister, was so impressed by the force of the United States that he proposed to the United States to join in a declaration against the plan. About the same time the Russian government took occasion to expound its "political system," meaning the principle that the Spanish-Americans ought to obey the Spanish government.

The man for the hour was John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, whose foresight, lively national spirit, and power of vigorous expression enabled him to carry his convictions against the hesitation of President Monroe. Instead of joining in a protest with Great Britain, which would have pledged the United States not to annex any Spanish-American territory, he drew up a declaration which was substantially incorporated into Monroe's annual message of 1823. This is the celebrated Monroe Doctrine, of which the essential principles are: that it proceeds from the United States alone; that it protests strongly against the proposed intervention of third parties in an American question not their own; that it insists that European powers have no right to take part in general American questions, because the United States takes no part in distinctly European questions; it vigorously opposes the transfer to America of the "European political system" which had been put forward by Russia; and it takes the opportunity to attack the territorial pretensions of that power by a clause declaring that the American continents are all occupied, and no longer subject to "colonisation" by any European power, though then-existing colonies should be respected.

[1823-1845 A.D.]

This is the Monroe Doctrine, intended to secure the peace of America by preventing the bringing in of new influences, new quarrels over territory, and new efforts to establish European authority. The doctrine was completely successful in all its branches. Russia hastened to make treaties, withdrawing most of her territorial claims. The plan of intervention instantly collapsed. From that day to this Europe has recognised that in all American questions, except those of the continued possession of territory occupied by European nations in 1823, and the settlement of difficulties between a single European and a single American power, the United States has a far greater interest and influence than any other power. In 1826 a congress of the Spanish-American states was held at Panama, one object being to secure from the United States a distinct pledge that it would protect them; and though Adams thought he saw an opportunity to place the United States at the head of a group of American states, congress would not support him, and our Latin-American neighbours were allowed to work out their own destinies with very little interference from the United States.

DIPLOMACY OF TERRITORIAL EXPANSION (1829-1861 A.D.)

During the thirty years from 1830 to 1860 came an epoch of the breaking down of the barriers of trade. In 1833 the United States began to recede from its protective policy, and in 1846 adopted a revenue tariff, which continued to the Civil War. This policy corresponded with a movement in Europe to remove discriminations and reduce duties. About 1830 Great Britain finally yielded the long-contested point of the West India trade in American ships, and in 1847 the last remnants of the British navigation acts disappeared. With a commercial marine second only to that of Great Britain, the United States represented throughout the world the principle of unrestricted trade; and by commercial treaties with China (1844) and Japan (1853) inaugurated our diplomatic relations with Asia.

In this period also two very perplexing and protracted boundary questions were settled with Great Britain. The northeastern, or Maine, controversy depended on the construction of the treaty of 1782, for it described a division line which could not be laid down upon the actual ground. It was happily settled in 1842 by a compromise in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. At the other extremity of the continent difficulty arose from the rival claims of England and the United States to Oregon, a region hitherto unoccupied by any civilised nation. A convention was made with England in 1818 for the joint occupation of the disputed belt, pending a later settlement, and in 1819 Spain withdrew any claims north of the forty-second parallel; in 1825 the Russians ceased to claim south of 54 degrees and 40 minutes. As the natural wealth of the coast and its importance as a Pacific point of departure became evident, the boundary controversy grew fiercer; but in 1846 it was adjusted by a compromise on the forty-ninth parallel.

Though ready to come to a reasonable accommodation on the northern border, the government of the United States put forth very different principles in the southward. Texas, California, Central America, and Cuba became objects of eager diplomacy. Americans in considerable numbers made their way to Texas, then a province of Mexico, and formed a community, which in 1835 secured its independence by force of arms. The Texans were anxious to enter the American Union, but they were staved off, because likely to bring a powerful reinforcement to the slave power within the United States; not till

1845 was Texas at last admitted by the then novel process of incorporation into the Union through a joint resolution of congress. President Polk came into office in 1845 with the purpose of annexing California, with its splendid port of San Francisco. He took advantage of outstanding quarrels with Mexico, and of a preposterous claim of the Texans to the whole territory as far as the Rio Grande, and made war on Mexico (August, 1846). In a few months California was taken, and New Mexico, a necessary land-bridge between the east and the Pacific coast, was also occupied. These conquests were confirmed by the Peace of 1848 with Mexico. The beginning of a distinct policy of annexation of Cuba was an attempt of Polk to purchase the island in 1848. Then followed a series of filibustering expeditions, and in 1854 the Ostend Manifesto announced the open and avowed purpose of annexing it by force, a purpose with some difficulty prevented by the pressure of anti-slavery sentiment.

The annexation of California showed the need of rapid and secure communication across the isthmus; the consequence was a treaty with the United States of Colombia (1846) giving the United States equality of use and large powers of control over any canal that might be constructed across the isthmus of Panama. The only other available isthmus route, the Nicaragua, was flanked by the so-called "Mosquito Protectorate" of Great Britain. To remove that exclusive influence, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 provided for a joint guaranty of the Nicaragua route, and for the principle of neutrality over any other route. Though that treaty was ambiguous and gave rise to ten years' dispute, it destroyed any exclusive claim of Great Britain, and prevented other nations from assuming any responsibility for the canal.

DIPLOMACY OF THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD (1861-1877 A.D.)

The outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 for a time threw American diplomacy into the background; but old questions reappeared and new questions arose, which taxed to the utmost our skilful secretary of state, Seward, and our ministers abroad. Questions of neutral trade and of privateering looked very different when we were at war and England was a neutral; and the status of a community which had revolted seemed very different to Northern statesmen from what it seemed to the fathers of the revolution. Hence the overturning of cherished precedents; hence protests because foreign powers recognised the Confederacy as a belligerent; hence the search of the British ship *Trent* on the high seas; hence the capture of vessels not bound to Southern ports, but having on board military supplies. Gradually Seward's diplomacy was triumphant. He prevented the recognition of the independence of the Confederacy by Great Britain or France, and stopped the fitting out of Confederate cruisers in England.

The war, however, left a crop of difficult questions. The United States set up the Alabama Claims for the fitting out of the cruisers in England. English statesmen saw that they had set a precedent very difficult for themselves in later wars; they therefore took the unusual step of an apology for their action in the *Alabama* case, and they entered into an arbitration at Geneva (1872), of which it was the foregone conclusion that they must pay an indemnity. The *Alabama* claims were thereby settled by the payment of fifteen and a half million dollars.

The question of the allegiance of the emigrant, which had caused the war of 1812, came up again when Germans and others, naturalised in the United

[1868-1890 A.D.]

States, were seized and punished, on returning home, for failure to perform military service. To obviate this trouble, by a series of treaties (1868) European countries agreed to the principle that people who left their country without the intention of returning, and remained five years, whether naturalised or not, thereby cancelled their obligations to and the privileges of their native country. The welcome to foreign immigrants by the Chinese Treaty of 1868 was extended to people of that nation.

With other American states our relations during this period were in general peaceful; but an attempt to subvert an American republic—exactly the case foreseen by Monroe's doctrine—almost led to war with France. In 1860 a French expedition entered Mexico, remained, increased, set up a so-called empire, protected by French bayonets, and ignored Seward's repeated intimations that a French dependency was not to be thought of. At the end of the Civil War the hints of the United States were reinforced by the appearance of a hundred thousand bluecoats in Texas. As a result, the French were reluctantly withdrawn in 1867, and the so-called Mexican Empire instantly collapsed.

The Civil War revealed the need of a naval station in the West Indies, and the question of isthmus transit again came up. The result was a new phase of the canal question, involving treaties with Honduras and Nicaragua in 1864 and 1867, similar in spirit to the earlier treaty with Colombia. Seward also negotiated a treaty for the cession of the Danish islands in the West Indies, and for the acquisition of Samana Bay in San Domingo. Both plans failed because the senate would not sanction them; but Seward was quick to take up with an offer of Russia to cede Alaska (1867). General Grant revived the project of annexing San Domingo in 1871; but again the senate refused to confirm the policy of annexation of a region inhabited by a half-barbarous people. Nevertheless, against the will of the government, the United States was involved in West Indian questions by a revolt of the Cubans in 1868, followed by ten years of spasmodic guerilla warfare. Avoiding war with Spain when an opportunity was presented by the brutal execution of Americans captured on the ship *Virginius* (1873), the United States, by a threat of uniting with European powers in armed intervention to stop hostilities, brought about a peace in 1878.

PERIOD OF AGGRESSIVE DIPLOMACY (1877-1895 A.D.)

In 1878 the United States seemed to have adjusted most of its difficulties with foreign nations except a series of irritating disputes with many Latin-American states, arising out of failures to protect the lives and property of Americans within their limits. These questions of claims had in many cases been settled by conventions calling for money indemnities, which were unpaid, or partially paid. The United States occasionally was misled into the support of fictitious claims which offended our neighbours; on the other hand, the interminable delays and broken promises caused a deep-seated distrust of the Latin Americans and of their ability to keep up orderly governments. Some statesmen, especially Mr. Blaine, thought that the influence of the government ought to be used somehow to keep our unruly neighbours in order.

Another change of angle in our foreign policy was brought about by the high tariff, which was repeatedly increased at various times from 1861 to 1890, and which was inconsistent with the spirit of liberal trade arrangements

which had characterised our ante-bellum diplomacy. Foreign customers like France and Germany began to put retaliatory tariffs on American products, and import duties on South American staples checked the trade with those countries. At the same time, the decline of the American merchant marine, due in great part to the substitution of iron for wooden ships, diminished the vessel-owning interest, which always favours brisk foreign trade.

A third new factor in American diplomacy was the awakening of the American people to the possibilities of the Pacific, an interest which was first clearly revealed in the determination to establish and to keep an influence in the Samoan Islands (1889). In the Hawaiian Islands also, in 1893, most of the white residents, chiefly Americans, united in a revolution, which resulted in an independent republic.

Our Asiatic relations were disturbed by a change of policy as to Chinese immigration. By a series of drastic laws from 1880 to 1893, sometimes in defiance of treaties, sometimes in accordance with new treaties, the further coming in of Chinese labour was absolutely prohibited.

Another phase of this new interest in the Pacific was a long dispute with Great Britain on the seal fisheries in the North Pacific. Mr. Blaine successively set up the doctrines that Bering Sea was a closed sea (a proposition against which John Quincy Adams had vigorously protested in 1823); that the seals were "a seal herd," the property of the United States wherever they went; and that it was "*contra bonos mores*" to extirpate so valuable an animal. After exercising the right of search by capturing British fishermen on the open sea, the matter was submitted to arbitration in 1893; and the decision went against the United States on all questions of exclusive right outside the three-mile boundary limit.

Meanwhile, our relations with Latin America had taken on a new phase through the desire of Mr. Blaine, when secretary of state in 1881, to put an end to the destructive wars between Latin American powers, and to strengthen the commercial relations of the United States with Latin America. His attempt to induce Chili to treat its conquered enemy Peru with consideration was misinterpreted by our minister to Peru, who ventured to threaten Chili with the power of the United States (1881). The threat was disregarded, but a latent feeling of hostility was left. Ten years later, after a Chilian revolution, the successful party charged the United States with giving aid and comfort to their rivals. The ill-feeling led in 1891 to an attack upon the crew of the United States ship *Baltimore* in the harbour of Valparaiso, in which several men were killed; and as months passed without a suitable apology, in 1892 President Harrison sent to congress what was practically a war message. Before it went in, the delayed apology was cabled.

Mr. Blaine was also sincerely anxious to make reciprocity treaties with the Latin-American countries, and when he was a second time secretary of state, in 1890, he called a Pan-American Congress to discuss inter-American affairs. The Congress passed a sheaf of resolutions, and made elaborate plans, but no progress could be made against the hostility of those controlling the financial policy of the government to any international trade which meant a lowering of tariff duties.

The isthmian canal question also went through a great transformation during this period. A French company, headed by De Lesseps, the successful engineer of the Suez Canal, was formed in 1879. In vain did Secretary Evarts urge that the United States had a "paramount interest" in the canal; in vain did President Hayes declare that a canal would be "part of our coast line"; in vain did Secretary Blaine quote the phrases of Monroe's message,

[1879-1898 A.D.]

and declare that a canal under European auspices would be a "political system." Congress and the people remained indifferent, and the French company continued operations for ten years, till bankrupted by scandalous mismanagement and theft (1889). A public sentiment began to manifest itself for exclusive American control, and Secretary Blaine made desperate efforts to get rid of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which provided for a joint guarantee of any future canal.

The first public and formal announcement of a new policy in Latin-American affairs was a message sent by President Cleveland to congress (1895) recommending war with Great Britain unless that power consented to arbitrate certain territory disputed between British Guiana and Venezuela. The message included despatches written by Secretary Olney, expressing a policy which deserves to be called "the Olney Doctrine." He held in effect that to press territorial claims on an American state is an attempt to "control their destiny," contrary to the Monroe Doctrine; that European colonies in America were "unnatural and inexpedient"; that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent"; that his exposition was the original Monroe Doctrine, was international law, and was binding on other nations. The supremacy of the United States in America was, however, still claimed because the United States did not interfere in European affairs. Olney's doctrine, which goes to a point never before reached by an American statesman, had two immediate effects. Great Britain agreed to the arbitration (under which most of the disputed territory was assigned to her); and Great Britain woke to the fact that the American people were disposed to claim for themselves a much more important place in the world's affairs than ever before.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER (1895-1904 A.D.)

Within three years one of the main props of Mr. Olney's doctrine was destroyed, when the United States began to claim a share in the affairs of the eastern hemisphere, while at the same time reasserting a special and almost exclusive authority in the western world. The three elements in this portentous change in diplomatic outlook were Cuba, Asia, and the isthmus. A second Cuban War broke out in 1895. The tradition of the United States ever since the Civil War had been one of strict neutrality in all wars, and we took no sides between Spain and the insurgents until 1898, when reports of the cruelty of the Spaniards, and the blowing up of the battle-ship *Maine* in the harbour of Havana, aroused the hostility of the Americans.

In April, 1898, we engaged in our first war with Spain, the avowed purpose being the removal of Spanish domination over Cuba. The war was successful by sea and land: Cuba was evacuated by the Spaniards, and soon after turned over to the Cubans; Porto Rico was invaded and retained as a conquest. Thus the long-desired West India naval stations were secured, and a United States possession was set athwart the main highway from Europe to the isthmus of Panama. On the other side of the globe a fleet was sent to find the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. It found it in the bay of Manila, destroyed it, and thereby completely upset the Spanish government of those islands. In the treaty of peace, negotiated in August, 1898, the United States insisted that the Philippines also be transferred, and the annexation of those islands, which are about four hundred and fifty miles from the mainland of Asia, made the United States an Asiatic power. Since the relations of Asia are controlled by European powers, the United States then and there

abandoned that doctrine of two spheres which was the basis of our special influence in America from John Quincy Adams to Richard Olney. Our true status as a world power, concerned in world questions, was shown in 1900, when the United States joined in a military expedition to rescue the Europeans besieged in Peking; and when the genius of John Hay, the greatest secretary of state since John Quincy Adams, compelled the European powers to accept the American policy of keeping China intact, and preserving "the open door" of equal commercial privilege.

After the exclusion of Spain from America, the only other great nation having a large territorial interest was Great Britain; and the next step in American diplomacy was to come to an understanding with that power. The Suez Canal, nominally neutralised, is really owned and controlled by Great Britain; hence that power was willing to acknowledge similar rights in the isthmus of Panama. By a treaty of 1901 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was abrogated, and the United States was left free to construct a canal, and to exercise full control over it.

At last the desire of fifty years seemed crowned. The French company was a commercial failure and was willing to sell its plant for what it would bring. No other European power dreamed of interfering. Hence the United States in 1903 negotiated a treaty with Colombia for the construction of a canal across the isthmus of Panama by the government. Colombia declined to ratify the treaty, but the people of the department of Panama revolted, were immediately recognised as independent by the United States, and made a treaty allowing the United States full control of the canal.

A new competitor for American territory appeared about 1900 in the German Empire, which cast longing eyes on South America as a field for German colonisation. No formal treaties were made upon this subject, but a tacit understanding was reached by President Roosevelt and the German emperor that Germany would under no circumstances acquire territory, or found naval stations, or occupy places as a military demonstration. No objection, however, was made to the blockading of the coast of Venezuela (1902) by Germany, Italy, and England; but the United States declined to sanction any march into the country.

Thus in the year 1904 the United States has come to entertain a very different set of diplomatic principles from those of 1783. A succession of annexations by purchase, incorporation, or conquest shows an expansive spirit. The high tariff and the impossibility of securing ratification of reciprocity treaties proves a purpose to limit trade with all parts of the world except our own possessions. The long active principles of isolation and of the two spheres of world politics have been broken to pieces by our entry into Asiatic affairs, and our consequent interest in the interplay of European powers. Our ancient rival and enemy Great Britain has become our nearest diplomatic friend. The policy of cordial reception of immigrants from every quarter of the globe has given place to a spirit of restriction everywhere, and of exclusion of Mongolian races. The old-time principle that the Panama isthmus route was for the benefit of all nations, and should not come into any one hand, has been abandoned, and, with the common consent of Europe, the United States assumes sole authority over the new waterway. While reaching out in the Pacific and eastern Asia for objects not yet clearly defined, the United States has found it necessary to assume a new set of responsibilities in the West Indies and in Central America, and to become in effect the arbiter of Mexico and of South America.



SOME IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

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In attempting to discuss in a few pages some salient facts of the Revolutionary period in American history, we are forced to select only two or three of the most significant general truths. The Revolutionary period may be considered as beginning with the Peace of Paris in 1763, for then, although England was triumphant over all her foes, began her severest trial; then for the first time she was confronted in all seriousness with the tremendous problem of imperial organization; then she was called on to appreciate at the full the delicate and difficult task of managing wisely and well a vigorous, progressive, and hardy folk, separated from the mother country by three thousand miles of water and already possessed of habits and political practices that must not be rudely disregarded. The Revolutionary period may be considered as ending with the adoption of the constitution of the United States, for in that document and in the various state constitutions that had already been formed we find the thinking and the determined effort of a generation.

Before taking up the distinctly political questions that demand our attention in a cursory view of the Revolution, we may stop to notice the difficulty of England's task and how unready she was in many ways to meet it. In 1763 she had had colonies for a hundred and fifty years, and especially during the last fifty they had been growing with great rapidity, but England had not developed any wholly satisfactory method of administration, and, though it would be an exaggeration to say that she had neglected them and allowed them to go their way, she certainly had suffered them to grow without burdensome restraint. There had arisen across the Atlantic thirteen political communities that were as yet loyal to the mother country, but were filled with the self reliance and assertiveness begotten by the opportunities of the new world. These communities of intelligent men had in a considerable degree passed away from the conventionalities of Europe, and were gradually growing toward the freer and broader democracy that was to establish itself completely in the early part of the nineteenth century. We may well wonder whether any method of colonial administration or any system of imperial organisation could long have held the Americans and English together; certainly any effort on the part of England to legislate affecting American interests was in danger of arousing objection if not opposition, and any piece

of affirmative legislation bearing directly on American social, commercial, or political habits was likely to bring forth the divergence of the two peoples and awaken to revolt the assertive spirit of the colonies. England had not sought to rule her colonies with an iron hand, or to bring upon them, as had France, the burdens of the feudal system. The very freedom that had been allowed them, their very self-dependence, increased the difficulty of devising satisfactory organisation; no system that could be discovered could be satisfactory unless there was a recognition of difference between the colonies and the mother country. In fact the situation may be thus expressed: the greater the difference in social habits, in political opinions and thoughts, and in commercial interests, the greater was the need of recognising that difference as a permanent factor in the problem of colonial administration and imperial organisation; and, at the same time, the greater was the difficulty of co-operation and essential understanding. Of course the problem might to some extent have been postponed and avoided, every question might have been decided on its merits as the question arose; all the relations between the colonies and the mother country might have been determined by an application of the rules of justice and morality. But for such high-minded statesmanship England was not yet prepared, and the events induced on by the Stamp Act seemed to demand, in a measure, the acceptance of a fixed theory of imperial power.

New England was called on to undertake the great task when she was herself politically unready, when her governmental system was from any point of view unreasonable and corrupt. The most important governmental positions were in the hands of venal placemen; political bribery and the purchasing of elections were as common in public life as were hard and dissipated drinking, high and reckless play, among the members of the governing classes of the country. Seats in parliament were systematically purchased, not only offered for sale and shamelessly bought for. Even the classic corporation of Oxford publicly announced that if its members in parliament wished re-election they could obtain their seats by the payment of a certain amount. Chatham, lamenting the low state of public morals, spoke of the torrent of private corruption that was overflowing his country, and declared "the riches of Asia have been poured in upon us and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but I fear Asiatic principles of government." The first two facts of general interest we notice, therefore, were the immense difficulty of England's task, and her unfitness for the moment to enter upon it with virtue, wisdom, and self-denial. Any view of the Revolution would be misleading, however, which did not point out that some of the ablest English statesmen argued vigorously for the cause of the colonies, and, if they did not accept the theories of colonial independence, saw fully the danger that lay in the aggressiveness and exorbitance of the mother country. On the other hand, thousands of colonists had no sympathy with the extreme opposition to the law of parliament, and saw much more to be gained by union and loyalty than by rebellion. Not all of the colonists advocated going to war in behalf of the ideas which were ultimately fought for and which were finally imbedded in American constitutions and laws.

If we turn our attention to the community with the purpose of seeing the most important political principles involved, we see that the most significant difficulties were of three kinds: (1) those connected with the theory and practice of representation; (2) those connected with the idea of individual liberty, or, conversely, those connected with the extent of governmental power over the individual; (3) those connected with the determination of the extent, character, and foundations of local self-government, or, to state

the fact differently, those connected with the proper distribution of authority between the centre and the parts in a broad and composite empire. On each one of these three main topics of argument and dispute England and America held different tenets; frequently their methods of thought totally varied. From America's interpretation and from her insistence on certain principles came fundamental institutions of the United States. Doubtless there had been long preparation in English and colonial history for the more significant theories which the Americans propounded; but the insistence upon these doctrines for some years in the heat of argument brought them clearly to view and prepared them for expression in the written documents and the institutions that were finally established. It is this thrusting forth of ideas in government that constitutes the source of chiefest interest for the student of the Revolution. The war was not the despairing and impulsive uprising of a people who had been beaten down by cruelties and bitter oppressions; it was not an insurrection based on personal hatreds or on dread of a ruling dynasty. Whatever may have been the underlying reason for the final clash of arms—and doubtless there were many underlying reasons—Daniel Webster but exaggerated the truth when he declared that the American people took arms against a preamble and fought eight years against a declaration. From this aspect the American Revolution stands as a mark of distinction to Great Britain, as one of her claims to greatness among nations. If the problem of colonial organisation did prove in a crisis beyond the comprehension of her statesmen, if, in a moment of weakness and weighed down by political corruption, she lost her most valuable American possessions, the principles on which the war was fought by the colonists themselves were a tribute to her past and to her own productive energy. England cannot be robbed of all that was good and promising in the American Revolution.

The three main centres of dispute may now be considered separately: (1) When England, disregarding her previous practices, sought by the Stamp Act to raise money in America (1765), there was at once strenuous opposition. The assertion was emphatically made by colonial leaders that taxation without representation was unjust and contrary to the principles of the English constitution, to the privileges of which the colonists as Englishmen were entitled. The colonists maintained that money could not be taken from them without their own consent, and, as they could have no representative in the British parliament, parliament had no right to tax them. Among other replies to this contention, the British pamphleteers and debaters asserted that the colonists were "virtually represented," by which term they seemed to mean that a member of the house of commons, chosen in Cornwall or Middlesex, really represented Massachusetts and Virginia because he was a member of parliament, and not simply a deputy of those that cast their ballot at the polls. They declared, too, that the parliament represented, that is to say stood for and cared for, the whole realm, including the colonies beyond the sea.

The opponents of the colonial claims brought out with distinctness the fact that the Americans were as much represented as the great majority of the people of Great Britain, "of whom," said Lord Mansfield, "among nine millions, there are eight who have no votes in electing members of parliament." "Every objection, therefore," he said, "to the dependency of the colonies upon parliament, which arises to it upon the ground of representation, goes to the whole present constitution of Great Britain, and I suppose it is not meant to new model that too." There was the rub. In resenting the claim of right which the Americans set up, the parliamentary orators were uphold-

ing what Pitt justly termed the rotten part of the constitution. The English representative system was then in such a condition that no one could accept the American doctrine without condemning the very basis of parliament. Large and populous cities were without representation, while little hamlets had the right to elect members. Eighty-seven peers could return to the commons two hundred and eighteen members from England and Wales alone. At one time the duke of Norfolk controlled the selection of eleven members of the house; the duke of Newcastle controlled seven. "Seats were held in both houses alike by hereditary right."

The conditions in England were so extravagantly unreasonable that in later years the representative system was remodelled in the Reform Bill of 1832; but it should be noticed that the American idea and practice were essentially different from the English of the Revolutionary time, and that America was really insisting on her own ideas. In the colonies, it is true, universal suffrage did not prevail, but it was common for the men of a certain district or town to choose, without constraint from without, one of their own number to represent them in the assembly, to speak for them and to guard their interests. No locality with a considerable population would have brooked a denial of its right to send one of its citizens to the legislature. Such was not, nor ever had been, the English practice or theory. Moreover, England had really never established more than the principle that money should not be taken from the people without the consent of parliament; it had not deliberately laid down and made good the doctrine that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the country at large.

In all that the Americans claimed, they did not pretend to be demanding a revision of the English constitution; they demanded only a recognition of what they believed the constitution already was. A revolution, of course, may be based on the assertion that existing institutions are altogether wrong and harmful; America based her revolt on the charge that existing institutions, which were good and admirable, were neglected and distorted by law-makers. This fact gives a peculiar interest to the theory of the struggle; but it must be confessed that, even if it is true that the colonial doctrines were a natural product of English history, and even if it is true that the colonies were carrying out into fuller practice the spirit of the doctrines which the English people had earlier struggled for, still in their arguments, under the guise of demanding the old and the well-established, they were really asking for the new. They were demanding an acceptance, in the structure of the English state, of new principles which were a distinct advance upon what had as yet been embodied in the English constitution. They were asking for legal recognition of a politico-ethical proposition.

(2) As opposed to American assertions that parliament had no right to levy internal taxes on the colonies, the English lawyers could cite precedent and quote legal maxims, and even cite Locke's *Essay on Government* for their purposes, but after all it is hard to see that they got much farther than asserting the sovereignty of parliament and declaring that taxation is part of the general legislative authority. They did not get much beyond laying down an absolute assertion which they took to be undeniable. The leaders of American sentiment undertook, in one way or another, to deny or refute this assertion, but the most interesting for our purposes is the method employed most tellingly by Samuel Adams, under whose influence were prepared the ablest state documents of Massachusetts. Adams and those who thought with him were ready in their turn to lay down a set of absolute propositions. They made effective use of the reasoning and statements of Locke,

whom we may call the philosopher of the revolution of the seventeenth century, the century in which the cleavage of the English race began. Adams asserted that Americans were entitled to the laws of Englishmen, and that "it is the glory of the British prince, and the happiness of all his subjects, that their constitution hath its foundation in the immutable laws of nature; and as the supreme legislative as well as the supreme executive derives its authority from that constitution, it should seem that no laws can be made or executed that are repugnant to any essential law in nature." Inevitably Adams went farther, and the doctrine which he laid down is of immense importance in the development of American government. If every free government is bound to regard the laws of nature, which are unchangeable, then every free government is bound by a fixed law; this principle Adams proclaimed once and again. "There are, my lord," he wrote, "fundamental rules of the constitution, which it is humbly presumed neither the supreme legislative nor the supreme executive can alter. In all free states the constitution is fixed."

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of assertions like these. Such fundamental propositions, put forth at a crisis, repeated over and over again when a people are alert and interested, must have profound effect. At least here we see in this contention between parliament and the American leaders the central line of opposition between English ideas of government and those basic principles which underlie the constitutions of the United States. The principle of the English constitutional system is to-day the principle that all political power is in the hands of government; the principle of the American constitutional system is that not all power is in the hands of government; all American government is of limited authority.

Moreover, as we have seen, there comes out with sharpness and distinctness in this controversy the American idea that government should be restrained by a fixed law; the English idea was that the law of the constitution was ever changing and from day to day was what parliament made it. It may be easy for us, when once we see how radically opposed are these two systems of government, to draw conclusions that are not altogether warranted; it may be easy to say at once that from these Revolutionary assertions came the written constitutions of America; that from these declarations came the fundamental notions of American political theory. But of course we should remember that nothing happens without cause, and on contemplation we see that the principles put forth by the colonists were the natural statements of men who had lived under colonial charters and had been accustomed all their lives to see their own governments limited by fixed and rigid law. We see also—and this is more important—that it was America that was carrying out the principles along which English liberty had developed. It will not do to say that, from the sheer technical point of view, the colonists were right and the parliamentarians wrong, for as a matter of fact the course of English history had not established the principle that parliament was limited or checked by any fixed constitution; the commons had gradually acquired power and authority at the expense of the king, and by one way and another had limited him, but as mere theory the established principle of the English constitution was that the king, lords, and commons, constituting together the crown in parliament, could do everything and anything of a political character. While it will not do to say that English debaters and pamphleteers were misstating the law of the constitution, we can say that the English colonists had developed in the free air of the new world an idea which had been struggled for throughout the centuries; they were ready to announce and establish the doctrine

that there should be "a government of law and not of men." That was a thoroughly British maxim; all struggle against arbitrary and capricious government was a comment on this principle. When the British parliament said there was no limit to its authority, when it asserted that the mere fact that it did a thing was a proof of the legality of the act, the colonists in response may have denied the law of the English constitution, but they gave utterance to a principle which was itself a product of English history. They declared that there were some things that even parliament could not do: it could not take away one's property without his consent, for to do so would be to neglect the fundamental law of nature and disregard the constitution which in England and in all free countries was "fixed." The colonists were announcing a proposition begotten of the centuries of British history, when they proclaimed that there must be in all free states a government of law and not of men, and that if parliament had a right of its own free will to bind the colonists in all cases whatsoever, then they were subjects of an absolute and autocratic government.

There is very little evidence that the Englishmen really understood the drift and essential character of the American argument. They could read and deny such essays as those of John Dickinson, and they could meet all sorts of legal assertion and even quote Locke for their own needs; but they gave as a rule no indication of appreciating the internal significance of the colonial doctrine. We ought to see, however, that the philosophical and legal theories that were put forth by the Americans were not left by the colonists in mid-air, nor used merely for argument. The Declaration of Independence stated some of them clearly: that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. We see here the doctrine that certain rights belonging to man in a state of nature cannot be taken away because they have never been surrendered by natural man to society. This doctrine of inalienable right, which has played such an important part in American history, found perhaps even better statement in the Virginia constitution of 1776, which was drawn up before the Declaration of Independence and owes its phraseology in these important parts to George Mason. The weight of such statements as these may be more apparent when we remember that the state constitutions of America contain to-day substantially these Revolutionary provisions, and lay down certain rights and privileges as beyond the molestation of government. As Mr. Bryce says, "All of these [thirty-one states that include 'life and liberty' in their Bills of Rights], except the melancholy Missouri, add the 'natural right to pursue happiness.'"

These, at least, were some of the more important principles that came out in the course of the Revolutionary debates and that were finally crystallized in American constitutions. We need, however, to notice that there were certain other differences of opinion between England and America, and that these, too, were to have their lasting effect. We come now most evidently face to face with what we termed at the beginning of this essay the problem of colonial organisation. The British, while willing to admit the right of the colonial legislatures to exist on sufferance, and apparently not wishing to snuff them out altogether, acted nevertheless as if the assemblies were at any moment subject to be prorogued, dissolved, chided, or put out of existence altogether at the behest of the men at Westminster. The gist of the British statement—for it can hardly be called argument—was that the English empire was so constituted that all political power resided at the centre; if the colonial assemblies were to exist at all, they existed only by sufferance of parliament. In one way or another the colonists protested against this theory of the

imperial system; they did not at first deny the authority of parliament over them, but they did deny that such authority included certain rights, and especially the right to tax them without their consent. According to the American theory, therefore, even at the beginning, the British empire was composed of integral parts, and each had, in some respects at least, the right of self-control unaffected by the law of the central legislature; each had at least the right to tax itself. To see how in response to British assertions this notion of the constitution of the English empire widened would be well worth our study; but we must now satisfy ourselves by saying that the advanced American leaders—confronted continually by the British assertion that to deny the power to tax was in logic to deny the authority of parliament altogether—came to the point of asserting that parliament had no authority at all within the colonies, that the bond of connection between Great Britain and America was the king, and that the British empire had at least fourteen parliaments, one in Europe and thirteen across the Atlantic.

Not all Americans accepted this doctrine in its entirety; but even those that did accept it must have hesitated to admit its fullest conclusions; for to deny the authority of parliament was going some distance toward denial of a unity or a wholeness to the British empire; and, moreover, unless parliament had some authority beyond the British Isles, where rested the power to make war or peace, to regulate commerce and make treaties, to do certain other things of a purely general character? The difficulty of the situation is well illustrated by the following extract from the diary of John Adams, who recounts the trouble experienced by the first Continental Congress in deciding just what theory of the English constitution would be set forth: "The two points which laboured the most were: (1) Whether we should recur to the law of nature, as well as to the British constitution, and our American charters and grants. Mr. Galloway and Mr. Duane were for excluding the law of nature. I was very strenuous for retaining and insisting on it, as a resource to which we might be driven by parliament much sooner than we were aware. (2) The other great question was, what authority we should concede to parliament; whether we should deny the authority of parliament in all cases; whether we should allow any authority to it in our internal affairs; or whether we should allow it to regulate the trade of the empire with or without any restrictions. After a multitude of motions had been made, discussed, negatived, it seemed as if we should never agree upon anything. Mr. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, one of the committee, addressing himself to me, was pleased to say, 'Adams, we must agree upon something; you appear to be as familiar with the subject as any of us, and I like your expressions—"the necessity of the case," and "excluding all ideas of taxation, external and internal"; I have a great opinion of that same idea of the necessity of the case, and I am determined against all taxation for revenue. Come, take the pen and see if you can't produce something that will unite us.' Some others of the committee seconding Mr. Rutledge, I took a sheet of paper and drew up an article. When it was read, I believe not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it; but they all soon acknowledged that there was no hope of hitting on anything in which we could all agree with more satisfaction. All therefore agreed to this, and upon this depended the union of the colonies. The sub-committee reported their draft to the grand committee, and another long debate ensued, especially on this article, and various changes and modifications of it were attempted, but none adopted." The resolution as formally adopted by the Continental Congress declared that the colonists were entitled to the "free and exclusive

power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures" "in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent."

It is apparent from this that the men of the first Continental Congress could not reach an agreement as to the actual structure of the British empire, but they admitted that it was desirable to have some single body superintending commerce and external relations. If the general proposition of the Congress could by any process have been hardened into law, the English empire would have been constituted with fourteen parliaments, one of which, besides its ordinary legislative functions, would have had the right to regulate matters of purely general interest. In other words, tentatively the colonists were suggesting the idea of what we may call the federal organisation of the British system. Each of the self-governing colonies would, under this principle, be really self-governing, free from interference with its local concerns, and yet submitting to the regulation of its external trade and its foreign relations by a central government. It is plain enough that we have here an intimation of the kind of organisation which the states after declaring their independence finally worked out for themselves. It is noteworthy, too, that some Englishmen were beginning to see the possibility of solving the great problem of imperial organisation in some way besides merely asserting the comprehensive power of parliament; for Thomas Pownall declared that a colony was, "so far as respects its own jurisdiction within its own community, national though not independent," and he maintained that the colonists had a right to political liberty consistent with the vital unity, efficiency, and "salus suprema of the imperium of the sovereign state."

Such a proposition as this of Pownall seems to have received no consideration at Westminster, for indeed the incompetence of most of the British legislators to rise to the faintest conception of an organisation more complicated than the simple one they demanded is pathetic though not surprising. Burke, indeed, reaching a stage of real statesmanship, denounced the narrow logic of the lawgivers, and declared fervently that the question for parliament was not the question of power, but of duty. But most of the members of parliament did not try to get beyond the most rigid conception: either the colonies were subject to the parliament in all respects or they were subject in none. This inability to see one step beyond the narrowest confines of puny logic was enough to ruin the English empire. Nothing, as the old maxim goes, distorts history as does logic; certainly it may also be said that nothing so much as logic paralyses capacity for statesmanship.

And yet this problem of reconciling local liberty with general control, of combining local self government with imperial unity, was a problem of immense difficulty; and, if the Americans finally solved the problem, perhaps we should thank the situation and not credit American statesmen with peculiar wisdom. When America declared her separation from Great Britain in 1776, the problem of organising an empire of thirteen states crossed the Atlantic. The Americans must now find some way of organising the states into a unity harmonious with local liberty. Their first effort was not a success. The Articles of

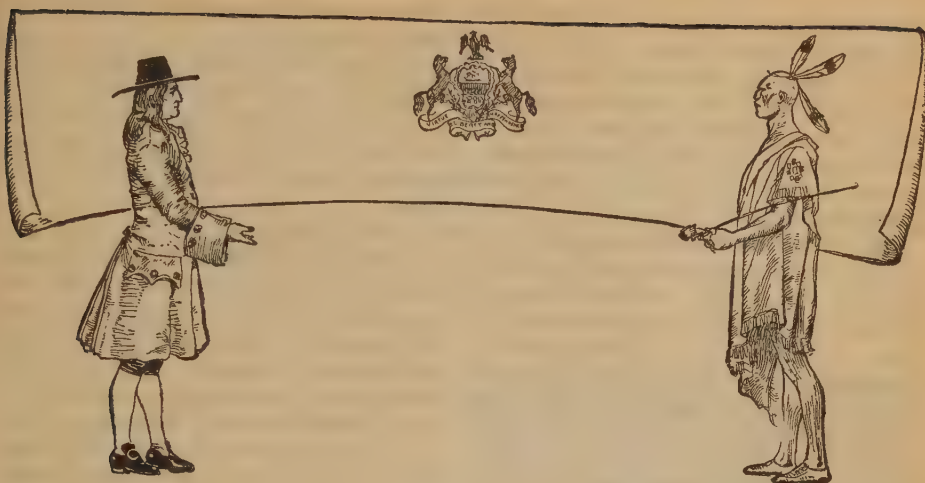
Confederation, proposed in 1777 and fully adopted in the early part of 1781, were not suited to the needs of the situation. In most respects these Articles were products of decades of practice and experience, but in some particulars, and even in the distribution of power between the Congress of the Confederation and the individual states, there were some bad mistakes. The congress was not allowed to collect taxes, either direct internal taxes or duties, and it was not even allowed the power that the second Continental Congress was willing to concede to parliament, from the very necessity of the case, namely, the right to regulate commerce.

The commercial and social disorder of the years succeeding the war taught the Americans, however, the need of better organisation, and it is in the constitution of the United States that we see the consummation, the fruit of the American Revolution. We see first that by the adoption of the constitution the Americans solved the problem of reconciling local self government and local self-determination with imperial unity, of conserving local liberty and at the same time guarding general interests. This was done by establishing a federal state, what the German publicists call a *Bundesstaat*, "a banded state." The adoption of the federal constitution, too, marks the end of the Revolutionary period, because it ends a decade and more of constitution-making within which fundamental political notions were formulated and crystallised. By these constitutions, governments were established resting on the consent of the governed and subject to their will. The fundamental principle of them all was that government is but the creature and the servant of the people; they brought out clearly enough that government and the state are not identical, and that government cannot set the limits to its own authority; they announced by their practical work of construction the principle that there should be a government of law and not of men, because the constitution as law was set above all mere legislative enactment, and the framers of the constitution went as far as the art of man would allow to establish law above caprice. The American Revolution has therefore its interest, not because of the cleavage of the English race, however momentous that fact may be, nor because of the war and bloodshed, though it involved nearly one half of civilised mankind and profoundly stirred the rest; but because of the essential principles involved, because out of it came constitutions speaking the language of philosophy and involving ideas that in their wide and practical application were new in the history of mankind.

The principles fought for by the Americans were not lost on England herself. Her representative system, though influenced still by the practices of centuries and by the conditions of society, has been made to approach the model for which the colonists were contending. The theory that her government is omnipotent still remains, but individual freedom is secure. Her self-governing colonies are safely protected by habit and convention, while some of them are based on parliamentary enactments possessing in fact, if not in theory, the force and effect of written constitutions. Her general colonial system, though unsystematic, and though one of opportunism and not of law, recognises to the full the right of colonial self government. In fact England, instead of imitating Rome, in the building of a great empire, or of following the example of Spain as the mistress of numberless possessions and dominions, has scattered her colonists over the world as Greece strewed her citizens through the islands of the Ægean, and as Greece held them only by ties of blood and affection for the mother city, so England's political bond is weak, while the tie of patriotism and affection is strong.



THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND
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BOOK II

LATER COLONIAL AND NATIONAL PERIODS

CHAPTER I

DUTCH, QUAKER, AND OTHER COLONIES

THE close association between the Dutch and Quaker colonies in America was due to no mere accident of contiguity. William Penn was Dutch on his mother's side, and one sees in all his political ideas the broad and liberal temper that characterised the Netherlands before and beyond any other country in Europe. In the cosmopolitanism which showed itself so early in New Amsterdam and has ever since been fully maintained, there were added to American national life the variety, the flexibility, the generous breadth of view, the spirit of compromise and conciliation needful to save the nation from rigid provincialism.—JOHN FISKE.^b

DUTCH INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN HISTORY

HERE follows a pleasant relief from the previous chapters of seizure and bloodshed, a case of colonisation by purchase and treaty. It is true that the shrewd barterers gave the Indians paltry sums for large estates, but there was no competition to raise the market prices, and the title of the Indians was neither clear nor recorded. Most important of all was the recognition of the Indian's priority, of his right to existence, and of a wish to respect his feelings. There had been various isolated instances of this plan of purchase, as we have already seen, and William Penn hardly deserves his full measure of popular esteem as the first to deal fairly with the Indians. Furthermore, the pleasant relations suffered interruption, as they are bound to

do in all human intercourse, and there were quarrels, struggles, and bloodshed in the forests, as in all European cities and towns.

Besides, the colonists quarrelled together and with their neighbours of other nations. The Dutch crushed the Swedish, and were in turn taken and retaken by the English. And there were the usual wrangles with the home government, little preliminaries to the long, fierce struggle that was to rage from 1776 to 1783. And yet the general story of this chapter is one of benevolence and wisdom unusual in history.

The Declaration of Independence, which was the thesis of the most important of colonial wars, had something of a prototype in the Union of Utrecht of 1581, by which twelve Holland provinces declared their independence of Spain and stated the grievances that absolved them from allegiance. This document has been fully discussed in our history of the Netherlands. The Dutch, who had done so many brave and stubborn things, made a settlement in America partly for gain, partly as an act of war against their inveterate Spanish foe. Land was bought from the Indians and their friendship cultivated. The Dutch settlers were quite as religious as the Puritans, and had fought far longer and far more bitterly for their creed, but they usually showed an easy-going tolerance of other opinions that lifted them to a higher mental plane. The final overthrow of their authority was, as we shall see, due less to the superiority of the English than to peculiar conditions of unpreparedness, at the moment of English descent. As it was, Dutch civilisation has persisted in many ways in America, and even their language remains to this day in isolated communities of New Jersey.

It was fortunate for the unity of the colonies that the English should obtain the ascendancy and force their language upon the settlements. It was also fortunate that many ideals of the stout, independent, tolerant Dutch mind should have persisted.

An eloquent brief from the Dutch has been prepared by Douglas Campbell.^c He justly complains that American history has been written too much from the English viewpoint. He finds Puritanism a powerful factor in the life of Holland, whose war with Spain was in many ways a Puritan war; he insists that Puritanism was, in fact, not a creation of an obscure English sect, as people commonly assume, but rather a great Continental reaction against ritual religion and social corruption. He points out how the conception of the Dutch as a boorish and besotted people is the survival of an English insularism, whereas, in fact, they were, according to Motley,^d "the most energetic and quick-witted people of the world," indeed the Yankees of Europe, alert in invention of tools and machinery, with an excellent internal government, with an advanced state of personal liberty. Their education was of a high grade, and Leyden, to commemorate its relief from the famous siege, instead of celebrating with fireworks or statues, built a splendid university. In 1609 Holland had about the same population as England, and far greater wealth. In the sixteenth century the Dutch emigrated to England by the thousand, settling thickly in the regions where the Separatist church had its beginning.

During the sojourn of the Pilgrims in Holland, there was ample opportunity for them to learn the conditions of Dutch liberty, so different from the conditions then existent in intolerant aristocracy-ridden England. Campbell claims that the Puritans brought from Holland the public school idea, and that its first establishment in America was by the Dutch settlers; that the Articles of Confederation, the written constitution, the organisation of the senate, the township system, the secret written ballot, the public

[1581-1600 A.D.]

prosecutor, public examination of witnesses, the relief of an acquitted prisoner from costs, the independence of the judiciary, the recording of deeds and mortgages, the freedom of religion and press, the education of girls as well as boys, the absence of primogeniture, prison reforms, and, indeed, the whole spirit of American society, so radically different from the English of that day, had their origin in Holland. John Fiske ^b wisely calls attention to the many exaggerations of such a view and points out the larger element of personal liberty in the English colonies, and yet, though Campbell's book is rather a brief than a judgment, it is in effect a salutary protest against making England too much the mother-country of America.

Even in the foundation of Pennsylvania, which was an English colony, Campbell emphasises the fact that Penn's mother was a Dutch woman and that Penn knew the Dutch language well and spent years of travel and residence under Dutch influence. When the short-lived Swedish colony came to America it was in boats hired from the Dutch, and the whole idea came from the Dutch brain of the discontented Ussellinx.

This colony had been the dream of Gustavus Adolphus, but he did not live to see it made reality. "New Sweden," like New Amsterdam, was purchased from the Indians and the relationship was generally pleasant. But gradually friction with Dutch neighbours brought down wrath and final capture. The Swedes were absorbed later into the states of New Jersey and Delaware. The brief life of the settlement reminds one of the vanished legendary colonies the Scandinavians planted centuries before. By 1600 the race of bold Norse sea-rovers had died out, and left the colony to come over in boats hired from Holland. Later, after the United States had been well established, Swedes and Norwegians both again flocked over in large numbers, settling in the middle west and giving certain localities a distinct foreign nature.

The Quakers were in some ways Puritans. They were an offshoot of the same reaction, though their policy of peace at any price was distinctly different from that of the Puritans, at whose hands the Quakers suffered bitter treatment for a time, notably in Massachusetts, as already described. In spite of their policy of non-resistance, however, they had sturdiness enough of character and high enough sense of equality to establish a firm foundation in a wilderness. If they would not resist, neither would they yield. And of one of them, William Penn, John Fiske ^b is moved to say, "Take him for all in all, he was by far the greatest among the founders of American



WILLIAM PENN
(1644-1718)

commonwealths." This chapter is to be devoted to the Dutch, the Swedes, the Quakers, and others. We shall begin with the first to arrive.^a

THE FIRST DUTCH COLONIES

As the country on the Hudson had been discovered by an agent of the Dutch East India Company, the right of possession was claimed for the United Provinces; and in the very year in which Hudson perished (1610), merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a ship with various merchandise to traffic with the natives. The voyage was prosperous, and was renewed. When Argall, in 1613, returning from his piratical excursion against the French settlement at Port Royal, entered the waters of New York, he found three or four rude hovels,¹ already erected on the island of Manhattan, as a summer shelter for the few Dutch mariners and fur traders, whom private enterprise had stationed there. His larger force made him for the time the lord of the harbour, and in Virginia he boasted of having subjected the establishments of Holland to the authority of England; but the Dutch, as he retired, continued their profitable traffic, and even remained on Manhattan during the winter.

Had these early navigators in the bays around New York anticipated the future, they might have left careful memorials of their voyages. The states general had assured to the enterprising a four years' monopoly of trade with newly discovered lands (March 27th, 1614); and a company of merchants, forming a partnership, but not a corporation, availed themselves of the privilege. Several ships, in consequence, sailed for America; and from the imperfect and conflicting statements we may infer, that perhaps in 1614, the first rude fort was erected, probably on the southern point of Manhattan Island; and the name of an island east of the sound still keeps the record that Adrian Blok sailed through the East river, discovered Long Island to be an island, and examined the coast as far as Cape Cod. The discovery of Connecticut river is undoubtedly due to the Dutch; the name of its first European navigator is uncertain. [It was probably Block.] That in 1615 the settlement at Albany began, on an island just below the present city, is placed beyond a doubt by existing records. It was the remote port of the Indian trader, and was never again abandoned. Yet at this early period there was no colony; not a single family had emigrated; the only Europeans on the Hudson were commercial agents and their subordinates. The Pilgrims, in planning their settlements, evidently esteemed the country unappropriated; and to the English mariner, the Hollanders were known only as having a trade in Hudson's river. As yet the United Provinces made no claim to the territory.

The cause of the tardy progress of colonisation is to be sought in the parties which divided the states. The independence of Holland had brought with

[¹ As we have stated in our chapter on Virginia, the long-accepted statement that Argall went to New Netherlands is branded as false by some recent authorities. In 1648 the so-called Plantagenet^e stated that Argall and Dale returning from Canada "landed at Manhatas Isle in Hudson's river, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company's of Amsterdam share or part, who kept trading boats and trucking with the Indians." The discovery of official correspondence between the Virginian and English governments proves, according to Fernow,^f that Argall never touched at New Netherlands, though in 1621 he so planned; indeed, by the very knowledge that the Dutch were there "a demurre in their proceeding was caused." Fiske,^b however, accepts the original story without comment.]

[1615-1621 A.D.]

it no elective franchise for the people; the municipal officers were either named by the stadtholder, or were self-elected, on the principle of close corporations. The municipal officers elected delegates to the provincial states; and these again, a representative to the states general. The states, the true representative of a fixed commercial aristocracy, resisted the tendencies to popular innovations with a unanimity and decision never equalled even in the struggle of the English parliament against reform; and the same instinct which led the Romans to elevate Julius Cæsar, the commons of England to sustain Henry VII, the Danes to confer hereditary power on the descendants of Frederic III, the French to substitute absolute for feudal monarchy, induced the people of Holland to favour the ambition of the stadtholder. This division of parties extended to every question of domestic politics, theology, and international intercourse. The friends of the stadtholder asserted sovereignty for the states general; while the party of Olden Barneveld and Grotius, with greater reason in point of historic facts, claimed sovereignty exclusively for the provincial assemblies. Prince Maurice desired continued warfare with Spain, and favoured colonisation in America; the aristocratic party, fearing the increase of executive power, opposed colonisation because it might lead to new collisions. Thus the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadtholder were arrayed against the provincial states and municipal authorities. The colonisation of New York by the Dutch depended on the issue of the struggle; and the issue was not long doubtful. The excesses of political ambition, disguised under the forms of religious controversy, led to violent counsels. Olden Barneveld and Grotius were taken into custody, and the selfishness of tyranny not only condemned the first political writer of the age to imprisonment for life, but conducted an old man of threescore years and twelve, the most venerable of the patriots of Holland, to the scaffold.

These events hastened the colonisation of Manhattan. That the river Hudson for a season bore the name of Prince Maurice, implies his favour to those who harboured there. A few weeks after the first acts of violence, in November, 1618, the states general gave a limited act of incorporation to a company of merchants; yet the conditions of the charter were not inviting, and no organisation took place. But after the triumph over intestine commotions, while the Netherlands were displaying unparalleled energy in their foreign relations, the scheme of a West India company was revived. The Dutch planted colonies only under the auspices of chartered companies; the states would never undertake the defence of foreign possessions.

The Dutch West India Company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, incorporated (June 3rd, 1621), for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter, was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa from the tropic of Cancer to the cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the straits of Magellan to the remotest north. England, in its patents, made the conversion of the natives a prominent purpose; the Dutch were chiefly intent "on promoting trade." The English charters gave protection to the political rights of the colonists against the proprietaries; the Dutch, who had no popular liberty at home, bestowed no thought on colonial representation; the company, subject to the approval of the states general, had absolute power over its possessions. The charge of New Netherlands belonged to the branch at Amsterdam. The government of the whole was intrusted to a board of nineteen.

Thus did the little nation of merchants give away continents; and the corporate company, invested with a claim to more than a hemisphere, gradu-

ally culled from its boundless grant the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherlands. Colonisation on the Hudson was neither the motive nor the main object of the establishment of the Dutch West India Company; the territory of the New Netherlands was not described either in the charter or at that time in any public act of the states general, which neither made a formal specific grant nor offered to guarantee the tranquil possession of a single foot of land. The company was to lay its own plans, and provide for its own protection.¹

Yet the period of the due organisation of the company was the epoch of zealous efforts at colonisation. The name of the southern county and cape of New Jersey still attests the presence of Cornelius Mey, who not only visited Manhattan (1623), but entering the bay, and ascending the river of Delaware, known as the South River of the Dutch, took possession of the territory. On Timber creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, he built Fort Nassau. The country from the southern shore of Delaware bay to New Holland or Cape Cod became known as New Netherlands.²

Mey was succeeded by Verhulst, who arrived with three ships, bringing out horses, cattle, sheep, and swine, with a number of new settlers. Next year Peter Minuit was appointed director. The island of Manhattan, "rocky and full of trees," was purchased of the Indians in 1626 for sixty guilders, about twenty-four dollars; and a block-house, surrounded by a palisade of cedars, was erected at its southern extremity, and called Fort Amsterdam. About this fort, the headquarters of the colony, a little village slowly grew up—rudiment of the present metropolis of New York. Six farms were laid out on Manhattan Island; and specimens of the harvest were sent to Holland in proof of the fertility of the soil.³

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the great object of the West India Company; the North American colony was, for some years, little more than an inconsiderable establishment for trade, where Indians, even from the St. Lawrence, exchanged beaver-skins for European manufactures. The Spanish prizes, taken by the chartered privateers on a single occasion in 1628, were almost eightyfold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding years.

In 1627 there was a first interchange of courtesies with the Pilgrims. De Razier [or De Rasieres], the second in command among the Dutch, went as envoy to Plymouth (October 4th). On the south of Cape Cod he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "honourably attended with the noise of trumpets." A treaty of friendship and commerce was proposed. The Pilgrims, who had English hearts, questioned the title of the Dutch to the banks of the Hudson, and recommended a treaty with England; the Dutch, with greater kindness, advised their old friends to remove to the rich meadow on the Connecticut. Harmony prevailed. "Our children after us," said the Pilgrims, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." Such was the benediction of Plymouth on New Amsterdam; at the same time, the Pilgrims, rivals for the beaver trade, begged the Dutch not to send their skiffs into the Narragansett.

These were the rude beginnings of New York. Its first age was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, and the yachts

[¹ Fiske^b says epigrammatically, "It was not government of the people, by the people, and for the people; but it was government of the people, by the director and council, for the West India Company."]

[1627-1630 A.D.]

of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay, and bosom, and inlet from Narragansett to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs, and wooden chimneys, and windmills.

THE CHARTER OF FEUDAL AND COMMERCIAL LIBERTIES

The experiment in feudal institutions followed. While the company of merchant warriors, conducting their maritime enterprises like princes, were conquering the rich fleets of Portugal and Spain, and, by their successes, pouring the wealth of America into the lap of the Netherlands, the states general interposed to subject the government of foreign conquests to a council of nine; and the College of Nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patrons who desired to plant colonies in New Netherlands.

The document is curious, for it was analogous to the political institutions of the Dutch of that day. The colonies in America were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. To everyone who would emigrate on his own account, as much land as he could cultivate was promised; but emigration was not expected to follow from the enterprise of the cultivators of the soil. The boors in Holland enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and were equally destitute of the mobility which is created by the consciousness of political importance. To subordinate proprietaries New Netherlands was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls became lord of the manor, or patroon, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonise. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching as far into the interior as the situation might require; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patroon, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable; but no provision was made for their maintenance. The selfish spirit of monopoly forbade the colonists to make any woollen, or linen, or cotton fabric; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch manufacturers was punishable as a perjury! The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of the corporation; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the territory. Three years before the concession of a charter for Maryland, Godyn purchased of the natives the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware river; this purchase of a territory more than thirty miles long was now ratified by a deed, and duly recorded (July 15th, 1630). This is the first deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the soil of the two lower counties of that state. The opposite shore in New Jersey was also bought by Godyn and Bloemaert, while Pauw became the proprietor of Pavonia, the country round Hoboken, and Staten Island. At the same time, five Indian chiefs, in return for parcels of goods, conveyed the land round Fort Orange, that is, from Albany to the mouth of the Mohawk, to the agent of Van Rensselaer; and a few years afterwards the purchase was extended twelve miles farther to the south.¹

[¹ Fernow *f* is inclined to doubt that "this abortive attempt of establishing the colony of Zwanendael" deserves the credit of founding the state of Delaware.]

FIRST COLONIES ON THE DELAWARE AND ON THE CONNECTICUT (1631 A.D.)

The tract of land acquired by Godyn and his associates was immediately colonised. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania or New Jersey, was undertaken by Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Bloemaert, and the historian De Laet (1630). De Vries,² the historian of the voyage, was its conductor, and held an equal share in the enterprise, which was intended to cover the southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of wheat and tobacco. Embarking from the Texel (December 12th), in vessels laden with stores of seeds, and cattle, and agricultural implements, he reached the bay in 1631, and on the soil of Delaware, near Lewiston, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The voyage of De Vries was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony of De Vries. According to English rule, occupancy was necessary to complete a title to the wilderness. The Dutch now occupied Delaware; and Harvey, the governor of Virginia, in a grant of commercial privileges to Clayborne, recognised "the adjoining plantations of the Dutch." De Vries ascended the Delaware as far as the site of Philadelphia; Fort Nassau had been abandoned; the colony in Delaware was as yet the only European settlement within the bay.

After more than a year's residence in America, De Vries returned to Holland; but Osset, to whose care he committed the colony, could not avoid contests with the Indians. A chief lost his life; the relentless spirit of revenge prepared an ambush, which ended in the murder of every emigrant. At the close of the year, De Vries, revisiting the New World, found the soil which he had planted strewn with the bones of his countrymen.

Thus Delaware was reconquered by the natives; and before the Dutch could renew their claim, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. From the wrecks of his colony, De Vries sailed to Virginia, and as, in the following spring, he arrived at New Amsterdam, he found Worter van Twiller, the second governor of the colony, already in the harbour. Quarrels had broken out among the agents, and between the agents and their employers; the discontented Minuit had been displaced, and the colony had not prospered. The historian of Long Island records no regular occupation of lands on that island till three years after the arrival of Van Twiller.

The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. The soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and a fort was erected (January 8th, 1633) on land within the present limits of that city, some months before the pilgrims of Plymouth colony raised their block-house at Windsor, and more than two years before the people of Hooker and Haynes began the Commonwealth of Connecticut. To whom did the country belong? Should a log-hut and a few straggling soldiers seal a territory against other emigrants? The English planters were on a soil over which England had ever claimed the sovereignty, and of which the English monarch had made a grant. they were there with their wives and children, and they were there forever. It were a sin, said they, according to De Vries,² to leave so fertile a land unimproved. Altercations continued for years.

The Dutch fort long remained in the hands of the Dutch West India Company; but it was surrounded by English towns. At last the swarms of the English in Connecticut grew so numerous as not only to overwhelm the

[1626-1638 A.D.]

feeble settlement at Hartford, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to invade the less doubtful territories of New Netherlands. In the second year of the government of William Kieft (1640), the arms of the Dutch on the east end of Long Island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.⁹

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SWEDEN (1638 A.D.)

It was not against English encroachments alone that the Dutch of New Netherlands had to contend. Ussellinx, the original projector of the Dutch West India Company, dissatisfied at his treatment by those who had availed themselves of his projects, had looked round for a new patron. To Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, greatly distinguished a few years afterwards by his victories in Germany, which saved the Protestants of that empire from total ruin and raised Sweden to a high pitch of temporary importance, Ussellinx proposed a plan for a Swedish trading company. This plan the king inclined to favour [the king himself pledging 400,000 daler], and a charter for such a company was presently issued [June 14th, 1626]. But the scheme was cut short by the breaking out of the German war, and the untimely death of the hero of the north at the victorious battle of Lutzen. The plan of Ussellinx, or a portion of it, was revived by Peter Minuit, whom we have formerly seen director of New Netherlands, and who, after his recall from that government, went to Sweden, where he was patronised by the celebrated Oxenstierna, minister of Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus. Furnished, by his assistance, with an armed vessel, the *Key of Calmar* [*Kalmar Nycken*], a tender called the *Griffin* [*Gripen*], and fifty men, Minuit set sail late in 1637 to establish a Swedish settlement and trading post in America. He touched at Jamestown, in Virginia, took in wood and water, and, during a stay of ten days, endeavoured to purchase a cargo of tobacco, but refused to show his papers, or to state the object of his voyage, which was likely to conflict with the claims of the English as well as of the Dutch. Afterwards, in April, 1638, when he entered the Delaware, he told the Dutch traders whom he met that his visit was only temporary. But presently he bought of the Indians a tract of land near the head of the bay, on the west shore, where he built a fort called Christina, in honour of the Swedish queen—first commencement of the colony of New Sweden.

Kieft, the director of New Netherlands, greatly dissatisfied at this intrusion, maintained, in repeated protests, that the whole South river and bay, as Minuit well knew, belonged to the Dutch, having been in their possession many years, "above and below beset with their forts and sealed with their blood." But to these protests Minuit paid no attention. He presently sailed for Sweden, leaving a garrison behind of twenty-four men, well supplied with arms, goods, and provisions. Not strong enough to attack the Swedish fort, or unwilling to take the responsibility, Kieft referred the subject to the company. Sweden, then at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe, was a powerful state, collision with which was not to be risked, and the company did not authorise interference with the Swedish settlers. The wiser course was adopted of seeking to raise the Dutch province from a mere trading station to a prosperous colony. A proclamation was issued in September, offering free trade to New Netherlands in the company's ships, and transportation thither to all wishing to go.^h

Meantime tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange

their lands in Europe for a settlement on the Delaware. Emigration increased; at the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended; and to preserve the ascendancy over the Dutch, who renewed their fort at Nassau, Printz, the governor, in 1643 established his residence in Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of vast hemlock logs, defended the island; and houses began to cluster in its neighbourhood.

Pennsylvania was, at last, occupied by Europeans; that commonwealth, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. The banks of the Delaware from the ocean to the falls were known as New Sweden. The few English families within its limits, emigrants from New England, allured by the beauty of the climate and the opportunity of Indian traffic, were either driven from the soil, or submitted to Swedish jurisdiction.

While the limits of New Netherlands were narrowed by competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the vengeance of the neighbouring Algonquin tribes.⁹

WARS WITH THE INDIANS, (1640-1644 A.D.)

The Raritans, a tribe on the west shore of the Hudson, were accused of having attacked a Dutch bark with design to rob it. They were also suspected, falsely it would seem, of stealing hogs from Staten Island. On these grounds, an expedition was sent against them, their crops were ravaged, and, in spite of the orders of Van Tienhoven, the leader, several warriors were barbarously killed. The Raritans amused the director with proposals of peace, but took the opportunity to attack Staten Island (July, 1641), where they killed four of De Vries' servants, and burned his buildings. Kieft persuaded some of the neighbouring tribes to assist him, by offering ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every Raritan. That tribe was soon induced to make peace; but, meanwhile, a new quarrel had broken out.

Twenty years before, the servants of Director Minuit had murdered an Indian warrior, upon whose infant nephew, according to the notions of the Indians, the duty devolved of revenging his uncle's death. The nephew, now grown up, had performed that duty by killing an inoffensive old Dutchman. The murderer was demanded, but his tribe, who dwelt up the Hudson about Tappan, refused to give him up, on the ground that, in revenging his uncle's death, he had done only what he ought.

The director summoned a meeting of masters of boweries and heads of families (August 28th) to consult what should be done. As the harvest was not yet gathered, they advised to protract matters by again demanding the murderer, but, meanwhile, to prepare for an expedition. To assist in these preparations, a board of "Twelve Men" was appointed by the commonalty (January 21st, 1642). This popular board presently turned their attention to civil affairs. Kieft's council consisted only of himself and La Montaigne, a Huguenot gentleman, Kieft having two votes. The Twelve Men desired that the number of counsellors might be increased to five; they asked local magistrates for the villages; and offered several other suggestions, to which the director at first seemed to lend a favourable ear, but he soon issued a proclamation, forbidding the board, "on pain of corporal punishment," to meet again without his express permission, such meetings "tend-

[1643 A.D.]

ing to the serious injury both of the country and our authority." The Indians asked for peace, promising to give up the murderer.

A new difficulty presently arose. One of the Hackensacks, a tribe on the Hudson opposite Manhattan, had been made drunk by some colonists, and then robbed. In revenge, he killed two Dutchmen. The chiefs offered wampum by way of atonement, remonstrating, at the same time, against the practice of selling brandy to their people, as having been the cause of the present difficulty. Kieft, like Massachusetts in the case of the Pequots, would be content with nothing but blood. Whilst this dispute was still pending, the Mohawks attacked the late hostile tribe about Tappan. They fled for refuge to the Dutch, who took pity on them, and gave them food; and they soon scattered in various directions, the greater part joining the Hackensacks. There had been all along at New Amsterdam a peace party, headed by De Vries, who counselled patience and forbearance, and insisted on the necessity of keeping on good terms with the Indians, and a war party, led by Secretary Van Tienhoven, restless, passionate, and eager for blood. At a Shrovetide feast, warm with wine, Kieft was persuaded by some leaders of the more violent party to improve the present opportunity to punish the Indians so lately entertained at New Amsterdam for not having fulfilled their former promise to give up the murderer. In spite of the remonstrances of Bogardus, La Montaigne, and De Vries, two companies were fitted out, one of soldiers, under Sergeant Rodolf, the other of volunteers, headed by a chief instigator of the expedition, one of the late Twelve Men, Maryn Adriaensen, once a freebooter in the West Indies. There were two encampments of the Indians, against which these two companies proceeded, "in full confidence," so their commission says, "that God would crown their resolution with success."

The Indians, taken utterly by surprise, and supposing themselves attacked by the formidable Mohawks, hardly made any resistance. De Vries *i* tells us, that, being that night at the director's house, he distinctly heard the shrieks of the victims sounding across the icy river. Warriors, old men, women, and children were slain without mercy, to the number of eighty or more. Babes, fastened to the pieces of bark which the Indian women use as cradles, were thrown into the water, and the miserable mothers, who plunged in after them, prevented by the Dutch party from relanding, perished with their infants. The wounded who remained alive the next morning were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the river. Thirty, however, were taken prisoners and carried the next day to New Amsterdam, along with the heads of several others.

Roused by these injuries, eleven petty tribes, some on the mainland, and the others on Long Island, united to make war on the Dutch, whose scattered boweries now extended thirty miles to the east, twenty miles north, and as far south from New Amsterdam. The houses were burned, the cattle killed, the men slain, and several women and children made prisoners. The Indians, partially supplied with firearms, and wrought up to the highest pitch of rage and fury, were truly formidable. The terrified and ruined colonists fled on all sides into New Amsterdam. Roger Williams *i* was there (March 1st) on his first voyage to England. "Mine eyes saw the flames of their towns," he writes, "the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, and the present removal of all that could to Holland."

A fast was proclaimed. The director, assailed with reproaches and in danger of being deposed, was obliged to take all the settlers into the company's service for two months.

The Indians, satiated with revenge, soon made advances towards a reconciliation, which the Dutch eagerly met. De Vries proceeded to Rockaway, where an interview was had with one of the principal hostile chiefs. He was persuaded, with several of his warriors, to visit New Amsterdam, and a treaty of peace was speedily arranged (March 25th, 1643). A month after, the Hackensacks and other tribes on the river came into the same arrangement. But the presents given were not satisfactory, and they went away in no very good humour.

Shortly after this pacification, Kieft wrote to the commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, congratulating them on their recent union. He complained, however, of certain misrepresentations lately made to the Dutch ambassador in London by Lord Say and Hugh Peters, the Massachusetts agent, and he desired to know whether the commissioners intended to uphold the people of Connecticut in their "insufferable wrongs," especially their treatment of the Dutch residents at the fort of Good Hope. The commissioners, at their next meeting, in September, sent back, in reply, a whole batch of complaints on the part of Connecticut and New Haven, to which Kieft rejoined, vindicating the Dutch title to the shores of the sound.

Whilst the director was engaged in this controversy, New Amsterdam was visited by Sir Edmund Plowden, whose grant of New Albion has been mentioned in a former chapter. But the "Albion knights," as they were called in the charter, had no means to enforce their pretensions, and the earl-palatine presently retired to Virginia, without any attempt at the conversion of the twenty-three kings of Charles or Delaware river, set forth in the patent as the great object of the grant.

Meanwhile, the Indian war broke out anew. A tribe on the Hudson, north of the Highlands, which had taken no share in the former war, attacked and plundered a Dutch canoe coming from Fort Orange, laden with furs. The frontier boweries were again assailed by a new confederacy of seven tribes, some of them inhabitants of the mainland and others of Long Island. The colony of Achter Cul, behind Newark bay, was completely ruined. So were Vredeland and Newtown. It was at this time that Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was slain, with all of her family, except a granddaughter taken prisoner. The Lady Moody's settlement at Gravesend was also attacked; but she had a guard of forty men, who repulsed the Indians.

In this emergency the commonalty had again been resorted to. A meeting of the inhabitants had been called by the director, and a board of "Eight Men" appointed (September 13th) to aid and advise in the conduct of the war. To prevent the English settlers from leaving the province, fifty or more were taken into the company's pay, the commonalty having agreed to meet a third of the expense. Underhill, one of the heroes of the Pequot war, whose former residence in Holland had made him familiar with the Dutch language, and who had lately removed to Stamford, was appointed to command the Dutch soldiers. Application was also made at New Haven, through Underhill and Allerton, a New England merchant who had removed from Plymouth to Manhattan, for an auxiliary force of a hundred and fifty men; but the people of that colony had not forgotten their expulsion from the Delaware; they doubted also the justice of the quarrel, and, on that ground, refused their aid. The Eight Men, in an appeal to Holland (October 24th), give an affecting account of the wretched condition of the colony. The inhabitants, driven from their boweries, of which only three remained on the island of Manhattan, were mostly clustered in straw huts about a ruinous and hardly tenable fort, themselves short of provisions, and their cattle in danger

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of starving. A palisade, kept up for the next fifty years, where Wall street now runs, was presently erected as a protection for New Amsterdam.

Several expeditions against the Indians were meanwhile undertaken. Councillor La Montaigne, with a force of three companies, Dutch burghers under Captain Kuyter, English colonists under Lieutenant Baxter, and Dutch soldiers under Sergeant Cock, crossed to Staten Island. The Indians kept out of the way, but their village was burned, and several hundred bushels of corn were destroyed. The same party proceeded soon after in three yachts against the Indians near Stamford, who had committed great ravages. They landed at Greenwich. The invaders marched some forty miles into the country in January, 1644, killed an Indian or two, took prisoners some women and children, destroyed a little corn, set fire to the forts, and returned to New Amsterdam.

Another expedition was directed against a tribe on Long Island, hitherto esteemed friendly, but recently accused of secret hostilities. The Dutch had given the name of Hemstede to the district inhabited by this tribe. La Montaigne sailed with a hundred and twenty men, Dutch soldiers under Cock, English led by Underhill, and burghers under Pietersen. Underhill, with eighteen men, marched against the smaller village, and La Montaigne, with the main body, against the other. Both parties were completely successful. They took the villages by surprise, and, with the loss of only one killed and three wounded, slew upwards of a hundred Indians. But the victory was disgraced by atrocious cruelties on two Indian prisoners, hacked to pieces with knives in the streets of New Amsterdam.

Captain Underhill, having been sent to Stamford to reconnoitre, was despatched in February, with Ensign Van Dyck and a hundred and twenty men, in three yachts, upon a new enterprise against the Indians in that neighbourhood. He landed at Greenwich, and, after a tedious march in the snow, crossing on the way a rocky hill, and fording two rivers, silently approached the Indian village by moonlight. A large number of Indians, assembled to celebrate some festival, made a desperate resistance; but, after an hour's fighting, during which many Indians were slain, the village was set on fire, and all the horrors of the Pequot massacre were renewed. It was said that five hundred perished in the battle or the flames. The victors slept on the field. Fifteen had been wounded, but none killed. They reached Stamford the next day at noon, where they were kindly entertained by the English settlers, and, two days after, arrived at New Amsterdam, where a public thanksgiving was ordered.

Some of the hostile tribes now asked for peace, but others still continued the war. The Dutch West India Company, made bankrupt by the expenses of military operations in the Brazils, had been quite unable to afford any assistance, and a bill for 2,622 guilders, \$1,045, drawn upon it by the director, which some of the New England traders at Manhattan had cashed, came back protested. The director imposed an excise duty on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver. Though no aid could be obtained from Holland, unexpected but opportune assistance arrived from Curaçoa, in a body of a hundred and thirty soldiers lately expelled from Brazil, where the Portuguese had risen against the Dutch. The inhabitants of Curaçoa, who did not need, and had no means to maintain these soldiers, sent them to New Amsterdam; and their arrival enabled Kieft to dismiss, but "in the most civil manner," the English auxiliaries hitherto employed. These soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, and the excise duties were continued to provide them with clothing. The Eight Men denied the right to levy these taxes, and the brewers

resisted; but Kieft insisted on payment. Presently the Eight Men appealed to Holland in a protest complaining in emphatic terms of Kieft's conduct in the origin and progress of the war. The inhabitants also expressed their opinions with much freedom, and the schout-fiscal at New Amsterdam soon had his hands full of prosecutions for defamation of the director's character.

Rensselaerswick, the only portion of the province which had escaped the ravages of this war, had received, in 1642, an accession of settlers, among them John Megalapolensis, a "pious and well-learned minister," to whom we are indebted for the earliest extant account of the Mohawks. Under the guns of the Fort Aurania, but within the jurisdiction of the patroon, a little village had sprung up near the bend of the river, and hence familiarly known among the inhabitants as the *Fuyk*, or *Beversfuyk*, but officially as *Beverwyck*, the present Albany. Here a church had been built, and here resided Van Cuyler, the president-commissary; also Van der Donck, graduate of the University of Leyden, schout-fiscal of the colony, and author of a description of New Netherlands.

Very jealous of his feudal jurisdiction, aspiring, in fact, to a substantial independence, the patroon would grant no lands unless the settlers would agree to renounce their right of appeal to the authorities at New Amsterdam. He was equally jealous of his monopoly of importation; but Van der Donck, unwilling to be esteemed "the worst man in the colony," especially "as his term of office was short," was rather backward in enforcing the severe laws against irregular trade. This lukewarmness produced a violent quarrel between him and the zealous Van Cuyler. Van der Donck was even accused of secretly fomenting among the inhabitants a spirit of discontent against these regulations, represented "as an attempt to steal the bread out of their mouths"—a discontent which showed itself not only in a protest against Van Cuyler, signed "in a circle," but even in violent threats against that faithful officer's life.

A part of the English settlers at Stamford had sought safety from the Indians by crossing to Long Island, where they commenced a settlement at Hempstead (November 16th, 1643) under a Dutch patent. Advantage was taken of this peace to obtain some additional cessions on Long Island, and Vlissingen, now Flushing, was granted (October 16th, 1645), to a company of Anabaptist refugees from Massachusetts.

The settlements about New Amsterdam, almost ruined by the late war, could hardly muster a hundred men. Of thirty flourishing boweries, but five or six remained. The complaints against Kieft, and the disastrous condition of the colony, caused much discussion. It appeared, from a statement of accounts, that New Netherlands had cost the company more than half a million of guilders (\$200,000) over and above all receipts. Kieft meanwhile became more and more unpopular. Amongst other stretches of authority which made the people of New Netherlands complain that "under a king they could not be worse treated," he had denied the right of appeal from his decisions to the authorities in Holland. Even a new set of prosecutions for libel could not protect the unpopular director from being called by very hard names, and threatened with still rougher usage whenever he should lose the protection of his office. In 1646 he became involved in an unfortunate quarrel with Bogardus, the minister, whom he accused of drunkenness in the pulpit. Bogardus retorted from that very pulpit "in the most brutal manner," and followed up the controversy with the greater zeal when the recall of Kieft became presently known.

[1647 A.D.]

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF STUYVESANT (1647 A.D.)

In consequence of the numerous and loud complaints against Kieft, the directors of the West India Company had resolved to intrust the government of New Netherlands to Petrus Stuyvesant, the governor of Curaçoa, whom the loss of a leg at the siege of St. Martin's, then occupied by the Portuguese, had obliged to return to Holland. It was resolved, also, to remove the remaining restrictions on the trade of New Netherlands by throwing open the right of imports and exports to free competition; but New Amsterdam still remained the sole port of entry.

Virginia and Maryland, the two English colonies on the south, numbered, by this time, some twenty thousand inhabitants; New England, on the north, counted near as many more; while the whole of New Netherlands had hardly two or three thousand colonists, even including the Swedes on the Delaware. Beverwick was a hamlet of ten houses; New Amsterdam was a village of wooden huts, with roofs of straw, and chimneys of mud and sticks, abounding in grog-shops and places for the sale of tobacco and beer. At the west end of Long Island were six plantations under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, but several of them were inhabited chiefly by English. Under the charter of 1640, these villages

enjoyed the privilege of a magistracy, acting chiefly as a local tribunal, annually selected by the director from a triple nomination made by the magistrates of the previous year. Officers corresponding to a constable and clerk were named by the director. Even this limited enjoyment of municipal rights did not extend to New Amsterdam, where the director and fiscal acted as town magistrates.

The West India Company was largely concerned in the slave trade, and some slaves were imported into New Netherlands. Most of them remained the property of the company, and the more trusty and industrious, after a certain period of labour, were allowed little farms, paying, in lieu of all other service, a stipulated amount of produce; but this emancipation did not extend to the children—a circumstance inexplicable and highly displeasing to the commonalty of New Netherlands, who could not understand "how anyone born of a free Christian mother could nevertheless be a slave."

Upon the arrival of the new director, Kieft complained of Kuyter and Melyn, patroons of Staten Island, late leaders of the Eight Men, for slander



PETER STUYVESANT

(1602-1682)

in their protest of 1644. Stuyvesant, who had the arbitrary temper and the haughty airs so common with military officers, took the side of authority, and Kuyter and Melyn were fined, banished, and refused an appeal. They sailed for Holland along with Kieft and Bogardus, in a ship richly laden with furs; but, in consequence of having two Jonahs on board—so, at least, Winthrop ^k thought—fugitives from New England justice, who had sought refuge at New Amsterdam, and whom the Dutch authorities had refused to deliver up, the ship was cast ashore on the coast of Wales, and Kieft, Bogardus, and some eighty others perished—an event “sadly to be lamented,” as Winthrop admits, “on account of the calamity,” but which he relates, nevertheless, with very evident zest, as a palpable judgment on New England’s enemies.

To avoid responsibility, Stuyvesant constituted a board of Nine Men, similar to those of his predecessor, and with similar results. Van der Donck, late of Rensselaerswick, who had received, for his services in the treaty with the Mohawks, the patroonship of Colen Donck, now Yonkers, just above Manhattan, became the leader of this new board in 1649; and in spite of the arbitrary violence of the director, who arrested him, imprisoned him, and excluded him from his seat, he drew up a memorial, which was signed by all the Nine Men, addressed to the states-general of Holland, and praying their protection, and the substitution of a burgher government for that of the company; also a remonstrance setting forth the grievances of the province, and citing the example of New England, where “neither patroons, nor lords, nor princes are known, but only the people.” This appeal was carried to Holland by Van der Donck himself. To counterwork it, Stuyvesant sent after him Secretary Van Tienhoven, fortified with a letter obtained, through Baxter’s influence, from the English magistrates of Gravesend, testifying to his good administration.

EMBROILMENTS WITH NEW ENGLAND

Thus entangled at home and attacked in Holland, the director was simultaneously engaged in an embarrassing correspondence with New England. Besides the old matters, the New England commissioners complained loudly of the Dutch tariff, and of the selling of powder and guns to the Indians, and of some special grievances committed by Stuyvesant; who, after repeatedly soliciting an interview, in a manner which betrayed his weakness, proceeded to the house of Good Hope, in September, 1650, to negotiate in person with the New England commissioners. The matters in dispute related to boundaries, the entertainment of fugitives, and to several specific injuries mutually alleged, all of which it was at last agreed to refer to four arbitrators, all of them English, two named by Stuyvesant, and two by the commissioners. By their award, all the eastern part of Long Island, composing the present county of Suffolk, was assigned to New England. The boundary between the Connecticut colonies and New Netherlands was to begin at Greenwich bay, to run northerly twenty miles into the country, and beyond “as it shall be agreed”; but nowhere to approach the Hudson nearer than ten miles. The Dutch retained their fort of Good Hope, with the lands appurtenant to it; but all the rest of the territory on the river was assigned to Connecticut. Fugitives were to be mutually given up.

The question as to the Delaware, left unsettled, led speedily to new troubles. The project of planting on that river was revived at New Haven. A company of adventurers bound thither touched at Manhattan, and, relying on

[1653-1655 A.D.]

the late treaty, and on letters from the governors of New Haven and Massachusetts, freely avowed their purpose. Stuyvesant, however, seized the ship, detained the emigrants, and, to strengthen the Dutch interest on the river, on the very spot which the New Haven adventurers had intended to occupy, and within five miles of the Swedish fort of Christiana, he built Fort Casimir, on the present site of New Castle. This was denounced at New Haven as a violation of the treaty; and the war which broke out in 1653 between Cromwell and the Dutch suggested the idea of the conquest of New Netherlands, still torn by internal dissensions. The disarming of Fort Bearen, and the imprisonment at New Amsterdam of Van Slechtenhorst, Cuyler's successor as commissary, had produced at Rensselaerswick great ill feeling, which Stuyvesant aggravated by assuming jurisdiction over Beverwick as within the precinct of the company's fort. Van der Donck's complaints, being staved off by the company, resulted only in the establishment, in February, 1653, of a very narrow municipal government for New Amsterdam, composed of two burgomasters and five schepens, of whom, however, the director claimed the nomination, while the provincial schout continued to act as city schout also. Yet even with the board it was not easy to agree either as to the revenue it should enjoy or the expenses it should pay—a matter of no little interest in the embarrassed state of the finances, burdened by a loan for repairing the city palisade, and adding a trench and rampart as defences against New England invasion. The obstinacy of Massachusetts became the safety of the Dutch, as related in the preceding chapter.^h

THE DUTCH CONQUEST OF NEW SWEDEN

With the Swedes, powerful competitors for the tobacco of Virginia and the beaver of the Schuylkill, the Dutch were to contend for the banks of the Delaware. In the vicinity of the river, the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the whole province of New Netherlands was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. From motives of commercial security, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, in 1651, as we saw, on the site of New Castle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. To the Swedes this seemed an encroachment; jealousies ensued; and at last (1654), aided by stratagem and immediate superiority in numbers, Rising [or Rysingh], the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison.

The aggression was fatal to the only colony which Sweden had planted. The metropolis was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom Gustavus had educated had passed from the public service; Oxenstierna was no more. Sweden had ceased to awaken fear or inspire respect; and the Dutch company fearlessly commanded Stuyvesant [who had been absent in the Barbadoes] to "revenge their wrong, to drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission." The order was renewed; and in September, 1655, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware with the purpose of conquest. Resistance was unavailing. One fort after another surrendered: to Rising honourable terms were conceded (September 25th, 1655); the colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates; and, in defiance of protests and the turbulence of the Scandinavians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of New Sweden,¹ the colony that connects

[¹ Such of the Swedes as consented to take an oath of allegiance were guaranteed the possession of their lands. Those who refused were shipped to Holland. All civil connection with

America with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the gulf of Bothnia. It maintained its distinct existence for a little more than seventeen years, and succeeded in establishing permanent plantations on the Delaware. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constitute probably more than one part in two hundred of the present population of the United States. At the surrender, they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. Free from ambition, ignorant of the ideas which were convulsing the English mind, it was only as Protestants that they shared the impulse of the age.

THE GROWTH OF NEW AMSTERDAM; ITS COSMOPOLITAN TOLERATION

The conquest of the Swedish settlements was followed by relations bearing a near analogy to the provincial system of Rome. The West India Company desired an ally on its southern frontier; the country above Christiana was governed by Stuyvesant's deputy; whilst the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, in December, 1656, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook; and afterwards, under cessions from the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But did a city ever govern a province with forbearance? The noble and right honourable lords, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralysing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past or future commands. But Maryland was free; Virginia governed itself. The restless colonists, almost as they landed, and even the soldiers of the garrison, fled in troops from the dominion of Amsterdam to the liberties of English colonies. The province of the city was almost deserted; the attempt to elope was punishable by death, and scarce thirty families remained.

During the absence of Stuyvesant from Manhattan (September, 1655), the warriors of the neighbouring Algonquin tribes, never reposing confidence in the Dutch, made a desperate assault on the colony. In sixty-four canoes, they appeared before the town, and ravaged the adjacent country. The return of the expedition restored confidence. The captives were ransomed, and industry repaired its losses. The Dutch seemed to have firmly established their power, and promised themselves happier years. New Netherlands consoled them for the loss of Brazil. They exulted in the possession of an admirable territory, that needed no embankments against the ocean. They were proud of its vast extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the great river of Canada, and the remote northwestern wilderness. They sounded with exultation the channel of the deep stream, which was no longer shared with the Swedes. Its banks were more inviting than the lands on the Amazon.

Meantime the country near the Hudson gained by increasing emigration. Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reprov'd by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily? The directors, sensitive to commercial honour, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin? The measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price of labour by arbitrary rules? This also was condemned as

the mother country was henceforth terminated; but the Swedish Lutheran church, the rights and freedom of which were secured by the capitulation, continued to recognize an ecclesiastical dependence on Sweden down to the time of the American Revolution.—[HILDRETH.]

[1656 A.D.]

onwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts? The deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom"; and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans? He was chid for his bigotry. Did his hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers" imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne? "Let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

Private worship was, therefore, allowed to every religion. Opinion, if not yet enfranchised, was already tolerated. The people of Palestine, from the destruction of their temple, an outcast and a wandering race, were allured by the traffic and the candour of the New World: and not the Saxon and Celtic races only, the children of the bondmen that broke from slavery in Egypt, the posterity of those who had wandered in Arabia, and worshipped near Calvary, found a home, liberty, and a burial-place on the island of Manhattan.¹

The emigrants from Holland were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the unfortunate. Could we trace the descent of the emigrants from the Low Countries to New Netherlands, we should be carried not only to the bank of the Rhine and the borders of the German Sea, but to the Protestants who escaped from France after the massacre of Bartholomew's eve; and to those earlier inquirers who were swayd by the voice of Huss in the heart of Bohemia. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first fruits of the Reformation, chosen from the Belgic provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps.

The religious sects, which, in the middle ages, had been fostered by the municipal liberties of the south of France, were the harbingers of modern freedom, and had therefore been sacrificed to the inexorable feudalism of the north. After a bloody conflict, the plebeian reformers, crushed by the merciless leaders of the military aristocracy, escaped to the highlands that divide France and Italy. It was found, on the progress of the Reformation, that they had by three centuries anticipated Luther and Calvin. The hurricane of persecution, which was to sweep Protestantism from the earth, did not spare their seclusion: mothers with infants were rolled down the rocks, and the bones of martyrs scattered on the Alpine mountains. Was there no asylum for the pious Waldensians? The city of Amsterdam (December 19th, 1656) offered the fugitives a free passage to America, and a welcome reception was prepared in New Netherlands for the few who were willing to emigrate.

The persecuted of every creed and every clime were invited to the colony. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, the Calvinists of that city were gladly admitted; and the French Protestants came in such numbers that the public documents were sometimes issued in French as well as in Dutch and English. Troops of orphans were sometimes shipped for the milder

[¹ New York was already, indeed from the beginning it had been, a cosmopolitan city. As Holland was a refuge for all persecuted sects, so representatives of most of them had found their way to New Amsterdam. Even twenty years before, according to Jogues,¹ the Jesuit missionary, not less than eighteen different dialects were spoken in it. Refugee Protestants from Spanish Flanders, Bohemia, France, and the valleys of the Alps, fugitive sectaries from New England, Jews, and even some Catholics, were to be found there. Yet public worship was only permitted to the Dutch Reformed churches (progenitors of a now numerous communion, which, down to the American Revolution, remained ecclesiastically dependent on the classis of Amsterdam), to the Swedish Lutherans at the South river, and to such of the English on Long Island as substantially conformed in doctrine and practice to the Established Church.—HILDRETH.²]

destinies of the New World; a free passage was offered to mechanics; for "population was known to be the bulwark of every state." The government of New Netherlands desired "farmers and labourers, foreigners and exiles, men inured to toil and penury." The colony increased; children swarmed in every village; the new year and the month of May were welcomed with noisy frolics; new modes of activity were devised; lumber was shipped to France; the whale pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry planted; flocks of sheep as well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, so long imported from Holland, began to be manufactured near Fort Orange. New Amsterdam could, in 1664, boast of stately buildings, and almost vied with Boston. "This happily situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our fatherland; should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall in a few years become a mighty people."

AFRICAN SLAVES IN NEW NETHERLANDS

Thus did various nations of the Caucasian race assist in colonising the central states. The African also had his portion on the Hudson. The West India Company, which sometimes transported Indian captives to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea, at an early day, in 1626, introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the negro slave-trade without remorse. We have seen Elizabeth of England a partner in the commerce, of which the Stuarts, to the days of Queen Anne, were distinguished patrons; the city of Amsterdam did not blush to own shares in a slave-ship, to advance money for the outfits, and to participate in the returns. In proportion to population, New York had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York is not a slave-state like Carolina is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favoured the export of negroes to the English colonies. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

THE FIRST STRUGGLES FOR POPULAR LIBERTY

With the Africans came the African institution of abject slavery; the large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherlands the Puritan idea of popular freedom. There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. Whole towns had been settled by New England men, who planted New England liberties in a Congregational way, with the consent and under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. Their presence and their activity foretold a revolution.

In the fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherlands, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence, and delegates from the Dutch towns, at first twelve, then perhaps eight in number, had, as we have seen, mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. There was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people; but the people had,

[1644-1653 A.D.]

without a teacher, become convinced of the right of resistance. The brewers (August 18th, 1644) refused to pay an arbitrary excise: "Were we to yield," said they, "we should offend the Eight Men, and the whole commonalty." The large proprietaries did not favour popular freedom; the commander of Rensselaer Stein had even raised a battery, that "the canker of freemen" might not enter the manor; but the patroons cheerfully joined the free boors in resisting arbitrary taxation. As a compromise, it was proposed that, from a double nomination by the villages, the governor should appoint tribunes, to act as magistrates in trivial cases, and as agents for the towns, to give their opinion whenever they should be consulted. Town-meetings were absolutely prohibited.

Discontents increased. Van der Donck and others were charged with leaving nothing untried to abjure what they called the galling yoke of an arbitrary government. A commission repaired to Holland for redress; as farmers, they claimed the liberties essential to the prosperity of agriculture; as merchants, they protested against the intolerable burden of the customs; and when redress was refused, tyranny was followed by its usual consequence—clandestine associations against oppression. The excess of complaint obtained for New Amsterdam a court of justice like that of the metropolis (April 4th, 1652); but the municipal liberties included no political franchise; the sheriff was appointed by the governor; the two burgomasters and five schepens made a double nomination of their own successors, from which "the valiant director himself elected the board." The city had privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties, on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland. Citizenship was a commercial privilege, and not a political enfranchisement. It was not much more than a license to trade.

The system was at war with Puritan usages; the Dutch in the colony readily caught the idea of relying on themselves; and the persevering restlessness of the people had led to a general assembly (or Landtag) of two deputies from each village in New Netherlands (November to December, 1653), an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention sprang from the will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country:

The states-general of the United Provinces [such was the remonstrance and petition, drafted by George Baxter, and unanimously adopted by the convention] are our liege lords; we submit to the laws of the United Provinces; and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We, who have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we, who have, at our own expense, exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with the consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived.

Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. He had never had faith in "the wavering multitude"; and doubts of man's capacity for self-government dictated his reply:

Will you set your names to the visionary notions of the New England man? Is no one of the Netherlands' nation able to draft your petition? And your prayer is so extravagant you might as well claim to send delegates to the assembly of their high mightinesses themselves. (1) Laws will be made by the director and council. Evil manners produce good laws for their restraint; and therefore the laws of New Netherlands are good. (2) Shall the people elect their own officers? If this rule become our cynosure, and the election of magis-

trates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief; the smuggler for a smuggler; and fraud and vice will become privileged. (3) The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects."

The delegates in their rejoinder (December 13th) appealed to the inalienable rights of nature. "We do but design the general good of the country and the maintenance of freedom; nature permits all men to constitute society, and assemble for the protection of liberty and property." Stuyvesant, having exhausted his arguments, could reply only by an act of power; and dissolving the assembly, he commanded its members to separate on pain of arbitrary punishment.¹ "We derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects": such was his farewell message to the convention which he dispersed.

The West India Company declared this resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose"—thus they wrote to Stuyvesant—"have no regard to the consent of the people"; "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream that taxes can be imposed only with their consent." But the people continued to indulge the dream; taxes could not be collected; and the colonists, in their desire that popular freedom might prove more than a vision, listened with complacency to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

ENGLISH ENCROACHMENTS

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherlands; in the days of his son, the design was revived; and the restoration of Charles II threatened New Netherlands with danger from the south, the north, and from England.

In previous negotiations with the agent of Lord Baltimore, the envoy of New Netherlands had, in 1659, firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to the southern bank of the Delaware, pleading purchase and colonisation before the patent to Lord Baltimore had been granted. On the restoration, Lord Baltimore renewed his claims to the country from New Castle to Cape Henlopen. The college of Nineteen of the West India Company was inflexible; conscious of its rights, it refused to surrender its possessions, and (September 1st, 1660) resolved "to defend them even to the spilling of blood." The jurisdiction of his country was maintained; and when young Baltimore, with his train, appeared at the mouth of the Brandywine, he was honoured as a guest; but the proprietary claims of his father were triumphantly resisted. The Dutch, and Swedes, and Finns kept the country safely for William Penn. At last, the West India Company, desiring a barrier against the English on the south, transferred the whole country on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam (February and July, 1663).

With Virginia, during the protectorate, the most amicable relations had been confirmed by reciprocal courtesies. Even during the war of 1653, between England and Holland, friendly intercourse had continued. Equal rights in the colonial courts were reciprocally secured by treaty in 1659. But upon the restoration, the act of navigation, at first evaded, was soon enforced; and by degrees, Berkeley, whose brother coveted the soil of New Jersey, threatened hostility. Clouds gathered in the south.

[¹ Baxter was deposed from the magistracy of Gravesend, and, when he attempted an insurrection, was imprisoned.]

[1662-1663 A.D.]

In the north, affairs were still more lowering. Massachusetts did not relinquish its right to an indefinite extension of its territory to the west; and the people of Connecticut not only increased their pretensions on Long Island (October, 1662) but, regardless of the provisional treaty, claimed West Chester, and were steadily advancing towards the Hudson. To stay these encroachments, Stuyvesant himself repaired to Boston (September, 1663), and entered his complaints to the convention of the United Colonies. But Massachusetts maintained a neutrality; the voyage was, on the part of the Dutch, a confession of weakness; and Connecticut inexorably demanded delay. An embassy to Hartford renewed the language of remonstrance with no better success. Did the Dutch assert their original grant from the states general? It was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. Did they plead discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession? It was replied that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherlands?" And the agents of Connecticut, with provoking indifference, replied, "We do not know."

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages around Esopus (June-November, 1663). The rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste; many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive; and it was only on the approach of winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. The colony had no friend but the Mohawks. "The Dutch," said the faithful warriors of the Five Nations, "are our brethren. With them we keep but one council fire; we are united by a covenant chain."

The contests with the natives, not less than with New England, displayed the feebleness of New Netherlands. The province had no popular freedom, and therefore had no public spirit. In New England there were no poor; in New Netherlands the poor were so numerous it was difficult to provide for their relief. The Puritans easily supported schools everywhere, and Latin schools in their villages; on Manhattan a Latin school lingered, with difficulty, through two years, and was discontinued. In New England the people, in the hour of danger, rose involuntarily and defended themselves; in the Dutch province, men were unwilling to go to the relief even of villages that were in danger from the Indians, and demanded protection from the company, which claimed to be their absolute sovereign.

The necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly (November 1st, 1663); the delegates of the villages would only appeal to the states general and to the West India Company for protection. But the states general had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honour to the defence of the province; and the West India Company was too penurious to risk its funds, where victory was so hazardous. A new and more full diet was held in April, 1664. Rumours of an intended invasion from England had reached the colony; and the popular representatives, having remonstrated against the want of all means of defence, and foreseeing the necessity of submitting to the English, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant, "If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we turn?" The governor, faithful to his trust, proposed the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been done in the fatherland." And thus Manhattan was left without defence; the people would not expose life for the West India Company; and the company would not risk bankruptcy for a colony which it valued chiefly as property. The established government could not but fall into contempt. In vain was the

libeller of the magistrates fastened to a stake with a bridle in his mouth. Stuyvesant confessed his fear of the colonists. "To ask aid of the English villages would be inviting the Trojan horse within our walls." "I have not time to tell how the company is cursed and scolded; the inhabitants declare that the Dutch have never had a right to the country." Half Long Island had revolted; the settlements on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had purchased of the Indians all the seaboard as far as the North river. Such were the narratives of Stuyvesant to his employers.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST; NEW AMSTERDAM BECOMES NEW YORK (1664 A.D.)

In the mean time the United Provinces could not distrust a war with England. No cause for war existed except English envy of the commercial glory and prosperity of Holland. In profound confidence of firm peace, the countrymen of Grotius were planning liberal councils; at home they designed an abandonment of the protective system and concessions to free trade; in the Mediterranean, their fleet, under De Ruyter, was preparing to suppress the piracies of the Barbary states, and punish the foes of Christendom and civilisation. And at that very time the English were engaging in a piratical expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea. The king had also, with equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut, and the claims of the Netherlands, granted to the duke of York (March 12th, 1664), not only the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the whole territory from the Connecticut river to the shores of the Delaware; and under the conduct of Richard Nichols, groom of the bedchamber to the duke of York, the English squadron, which carried the commissioners for New England to Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts, and received on board the governor of Connecticut, approached the narrows, and quietly cast anchor in Gravesend bay (August 28th). Long Island was lost; soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breukelen ferry.

In New Amsterdam there existed a division of councils. Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nichols the cause of his presence, he replied by requiring of Stuyvesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. At the same time, Winthrop of Connecticut, whose love of peace and candid affection for the Dutch nation had been acknowledged by the West India Company, advised his personal friends to offer no resistance. "The surrender," Stuyvesant nobly answered, "would be reprov'd in the fatherland." The burgomasters, unable to obtain a copy of the letter from Nichols, summoned, not a town meeting—that had been inconsistent with the manners of the Dutch—but the principal inhabitants to the public hall, where it was resolved that the community ought to know all that related to its welfare.

On a more urgent demand for the letter from the English commander, Stuyvesant angrily tore it in pieces; and the burgomasters, instead of resisting the invasion, spent their time in framing a protest against the governor. On the next day (September 3rd) a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nichols declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" said the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nichols; "for to-morrow I will speak

[1664-1672 A.D.]

with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships of war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected on the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.^g

It was with bitter regret that the old soldier Stuyvesant was persuaded not to resist the English, by a remonstrance signed by ninety-three prominent citizens, including his own son, and enforced by the tears of women and children. "Let it be so," he said; "I had rather be carried to my grave." Fiske^b says that no canon of morality can justify Charles II in this conquest, and that it merited the revenge of the Dutch when in their next war they burned the English fleet at Chatham and blockaded the Thames—"the sorest military humiliation that England has ever known since William the Norman landed in Sussex."

After the surrender, Stuyvesant went to Holland to justify himself, and received the most cordial support from the people he had governed with fairness in everything except regard for popular liberty, which he abhorred.



NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1669

He returned to New York in 1667 and dwelt in his bowery, bounded by the present Fourth avenue, Sixth and Seventeenth streets, and the East river. He and the English governor, Nichols, were great friends. Stuyvesant died in 1672, aged eighty, and is buried in St. Mark's church, founded by his widow in 1687.^a

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority, by the mediation of the younger Winthrop and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and other inhabitants assembled in the town hall (September 8th) and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the Navigation Act was delayed for six months. During that period direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were still to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies with free voices in all public affairs.¹

[¹ At the treaty of July, 1667, the Dutch were allowed, as compensation for New Netherlands, to retain the colony of Surinam, in Guiana, then lately planted by some English adventurers, but captured by the Dutch during the war—an exchange the policy of which was doubted by many, who thought colonies within the tropics more profitable than plantations in North America. For the first hundred years Surinam kept pretty equal pace with

The colonists were satisfied; very few embarked for Holland; it seemed rather that the new benefit of English liberties was to be added to the security of property. The recruits from Massachusetts were dismissed. In a few days (September 24th, 1664) Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was wisely renewed. October 1st, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated.

For the first time the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. The country had obtained geographical unity.

THE SEPARATION OF NEW JERSEY FROM NEW YORK (1664 A.D.)

The dismemberment of New Netherlands ensued on its surrender. The duke of York had already, on June 23rd-24th, two months before the conquest, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. In honour of Carteret, the territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of New Jersey. If to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a commonwealth, the duke of York gave political existence to New Jersey. The Dutch had been the first to plant the soil which Hudson had discovered; the moral character of the commonwealth was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland.

THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW JERSEY

A few families of Quakers had found a refuge in New Jersey before the end of 1664. More than a year earlier, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, solicited and obtained leave to establish themselves and their cherished institutions on the Raritan. To favour colonisation, Nichols, ignorant of the sale of New Jersey, encouraged farmers from Long Island and New England to emigrate in numbers by authorising them to purchase lands directly from the natives; and without the knowledge of the proprietaries, the coast from the old Dutch [not Danish as some have claimed] settlement of Bergen to Shrewsbury was adorned with a semicircle of villages.

Meantime England witnessed one of the most interesting occurrences in American history. Avarice paid its homage to freedom; and the bigoted royalists, who were now lords of the soil, indifferent to liberty, yet desirous to foster the rapid settlement of their province, vied with New England in the invention of a liberal constitution (February 10th, 1665). Security of persons and property under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council, and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the act of the colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions; freedom of judgment, and conscience, and worship, to every peaceful citizen; in a word, a guaranty against the abuse of any prerogative, whether of the king, the parliament, or the proprietary—these were the pledges of prosperity to New Jersey, and the invitation to all inhabitants of the

New York. Subsequently, by the aid of Dutch capital and an active slave trade, it advanced with rapid strides, being one of the first American plantations into which the cultivation of coffee was successfully introduced. But, about the time of the American Revolution, it received a terrible check in a servile insurrection, resulting, after a destructive war, in the establishment of an independent negro community in the rear of the colony.—HILDRETH.⁴

[1665-1672 A.D.]

English dominions. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised largely at a moderate quitrent; the servant, at the period of enfranchisement, became a freeholder. The duke of York, now president of the African Company, was the patron of the slave-trade, as well as of Berkeley and Carteret; the proprietaries of New Jersey, more true to the prince than to humanity, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres of land for the importation of each able slave. Quitrents were not to be collected till 1670. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

Such was the institution of a separate government for New Jersey, the only portion of New Netherlands which at once gained popular freedom. The concession of political franchises gave it a distinct existence; in vain did Nichols protest against the division of his province, and struggled to recover for his patron the territory which had been released in ignorance. He was not seconded by the people of New Jersey, and, therefore, his complaints were fruitless. The colony quietly received Philip Carteret as its governor (August, 1665); and the cluster of four houses, which, in honour of the fashionable, kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was now called Elizabethtown, rose into dignity as the capital of the province. To New England, even from the first the nursery of men and hive of swarms of emigrants, messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a shelter on the Raritan. And New England men, whose citizens had already overrun Long Island, had, years before, struggled for a settlement on the Delaware, and had just been purchasing an extensive territory in Carolina, came and bargained with the Indians for Newark. The province increased in numbers and prosperity. Everything was of good augury, till quitrents were seriously spoken of. But on the subject of real estate in the New World the Puritans and the lawyers differed widely. The New England men always asserted that the earth had been given to Noah and his posterity; that the heathen, as a part of his lineal descendants, had a rightful claim to their lands; that therefore a deed from the Indians was paramount to any land-title whatever. The Indian deeds, executed partly with the approbation of Nichols, partly with the consent of Carteret himself, were pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; disputes were followed by confusion; the established authority fell into contempt; and the colonists, conscious of their ability to take care of themselves, appointed their own magistrates and managed their own government. There was little danger from the neighbouring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior, and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Philip Carteret withdrew to England, leaving the colonists to domestic peace.

The mild system of New Jersey did not extend beyond the Delaware, the settlements in New Netherlands on the opposite bank, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch around Lewistown and New Castle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana creek, at Chester, and near Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. At last, in 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force. The county was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the duke of York; and Delaware still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland.

POPULAR DISCONTENT IN NEW YORK; TEMPORARY RECONQUEST BY THE DUTCH

In respect to civil liberties, the territory shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the expected concessions. Connecticut, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favourable boundary on the main (December 1st, 1664). The city of New York was incorporated; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was conceded. Once, indeed, and only once, an assembly was held (March, 1665) at Hempstead, chiefly for the purpose of settling the respective limits of the towns on Long Island. The rate for public charges was there perhaps agreed upon; and the deputies were induced to sign an extravagantly loyal address to the duke of York. But "factious republicans" abounded; the deputies were scorned by their constituents for their inconsiderate servility; and the governor, who never again conceded an assembly, was "reproached and vilified" for his arbitrary conduct. Even the Dutch patents for land were held to require renewal, and Nichols gathered a harvest of fees from exacting new title-deeds.

Under Lovelace, his successor, the same system was more fully developed. Even on the southern shore of the Delaware, the Swedes and Finns, the most enduring of all emigrants, were roused to resistance. "The method for keeping the people in order is severity, and laying such taxes as may give them liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." Such was the remedy proposed in the instructions from Lovelace to his southern subordinate, and carried into effect by an arbitrary tariff.

In New York, when the established powers of the towns favoured the demand for freedom, eight villages united (October 9th, 1669) in remonstrating against the arbitrary government; they demanded the promised legislation by annual assemblies. But absolute government was the settled policy of the royal proprietary; and taxation for purposes of defence, by the decree of the governor, was the next experiment. The towns of Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton expressed themselves willing to contribute, if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies. The people of Huntington refused altogether; for, said they, "we are deprived of the liberties of Englishmen." The people of Jamaica declared the decree of the governor a disfranchisement, contrary to the laws of the English nation. Flushing and Hempstead were equally resolute. The votes of the several towns were presented to the governor and council; they were censured as "scandalous, illegal, and seditious, alienating the peaceable from their duty and obedience," and, according to the established precedents of tyranny, were ordered to be publicly burned before the town-house of New York.

It was easy to burn the votes which the yeomanry of Long Island had passed in their town meetings. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of the duke of York was hated as despotic; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen of Zealand, approached Manhattan (July 30th, 1673) the city was surrendered without a blow; the people of New

[1673-1674 A.D.]

Jersey made no resistance, and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example. The quiet of the neighbouring colonies was secured by a compromise for Long Island and a timely message from Massachusetts. The year in which Champlain and the French entered New York on the north as enemies to the Five Nations, Hudson and the Dutch appeared at the south as their friends. The Mohawk chiefs now came down to congratulate their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French come down from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them"; and the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands.

The moment at which Holland and Zealand retired for a season from American history, like the moment of their entrance, was a season of glory. The little nation of merchants and manufacturers had just achieved its independence of Spain, and given to the Protestant world a brilliant example of a federal republic, when its mariners took possession of the Hudson. The country was now reconquered, at a time when the provinces, single-handed, were again struggling for existence against yet more powerful antagonists. France, supported by the bishops of Münster and Cologne, had succeeded in involving England in a conspiracy for the political destruction of England's commercial rival. Charles II had begun hostilities as a pirate; and Louis XIV did not disguise the purpose of conquest. The annals of the human race record but few instances where moral power has so successfully defied every disparity of force. At sea, where greatly superior numbers were on the side of the allied fleets of France and England, the untiring courage of the Dutch would not consent to be defeated. On land, the dikes were broken up; the country drowned. The landing of British troops in Holland could be prevented only by three naval engagements. About three weeks after the conquest of New Netherlands the last and most terrible conflict took place near the Helder (August 21st, 1673). Victory was with De Ruyter and the younger Tromp, the guardians of their country. The British fleet retreated, and was pursued; the coasts of Holland were protected.

For more than a century no other naval combat was fought between Netherlands and England. The English parliament, condemning the war, refused supplies; Prussia and Austria were alarmed; Spain openly threatened, and Charles II consented to treaties. All conquests were to be restored, and Holland, which had been the first to claim the enfranchisement of the oceans, against its present interests, established by compact the rights of neutral flags. In a work dedicated to all the princes and nations of Christendom, and addressed to the common intelligence of the civilised world, the admirable Grotius, contending that right and wrong are not the evanescent expressions of fluctuating opinions, but are endowed with an immortality of their own, had established the freedom of the seas on an imperishable foundation. Ideas once generated live forever. With the recognition of maritime liberty, Holland disappears from American history; when, after the lapse of more than a century, this principle comes in jeopardy, Holland, the mother of four American states, will rise up as an ally, bequeathing to the new federal republic the defence of commercial freedom which she had vindicated against Spain, and for which we shall see her prosperity fall a victim to England.

On the final transfer of New Netherlands to England (October 31st, 1674), after a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, the brother of Charles II resumed the possession of New York, and Carteret appears once

more as proprietary of the eastern moiety of New Jersey; but the banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had been taught by [George Fox] the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver to seek the principle of God in their own hearts, and to build the city of humanity by obeying the nobler instincts of human nature.

THE QUAKERS; THEIR SETTLEMENT IN WEST NEW JERSEY (1675 A.D.)

Everywhere in Europe the Quakers were exposed to persecution. In England, the general laws against dissenters, the statute against papists, and special statutes against themselves put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as "an abominable sect"; "their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government." During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, everywhere, and for long, wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs. They were whipped, crowded into jail among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination; fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer; twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Haled out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, "willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord." They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for a refuge? When New Netherlands was recovered from the United Provinces in 1674, Berkeley and Carteret, as we have seen, entered again into possession of their province. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realised; there was nothing before him but contests for quitrents with settlers resolved on governing themselves; and March 18th, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all the colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty peer, for £1,000, sold the moiety of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed by the benevolent decision of William Penn; and in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the *Griffith* for the asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot, and as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas became his assigns as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jersey were offered for sale. As an affair of property, it was like the land companies of to-day; except that in those days speculators bought acres by the hundred thousand. But the Quakers wished more; they desired to possess a territory where they could institute a government; and Carteret readily agreed to a division (August 26th, 1676), for his partners left him the best of the bargain.

[1676-1681 A.D.]

And now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the *Mayflower*, of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The concessions are such as Friends approve of"; this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people." And on the third day of March, 1677, the charter (or fundamental laws) of West New Jersey was perfected and published. They are written with almost as much method as present day constitutions, and recognise the principle of democratic equality as unconditionally and universally as the Quaker society itself.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good wishes of Charles II, flocked to West New Jersey, and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs, till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, then the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and already at Burlington, under a tent covered with sailcloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. The Indian kings also gathered in council under the shades of the Burlington forests in 1678, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace.

Everything augured success to the colony, but that, at New Castle, the agent of the duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remonstrances were made, the duke freely referred the question to a disinterested commission.

The argument of the Quakers breathes the spirit of Anglo-Saxons:

"An express grant of the powers of government induced us to buy the moiety of New Jersey. If we could not assure people of an easy, free, and safe government, liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement. It were madness to leave a free country to plant a wilderness, and give another person an absolute title to tax us at will."

Sir William Jones decided that, as the grant from the duke of York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. The duke of York promptly acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture (August 6th, 1680) relinquished every claim to the territory and the government.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light of peace dawned upon West New Jersey; and in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said "thee" and "thou" to all the world, and wore their hats in presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation, and in the spirit of "the Concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. What shall we relate of a community thus organised? That they multiplied, and were happy; that they levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be

paid in corn, or skins, or money; that they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds; that they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians; that they forbade imprisonment for debt. The formation of this little government of a few hundred souls, that soon increased to thousands, is one of the most beautiful incidents in the history of the age. West New Jersey had been a fit home for Fénélon. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England; and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received.

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed as proprietary the right of nominating the deputy-governor. The usurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions, according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. Everything went well in West New Jersey; this method of reform was the advice of William Penn.

For in the mean time William Penn had become deeply interested in the progress of civilisation on the Delaware. In company with eleven others, he had purchased East New Jersey of the heirs of Carteret. But of the eastern moiety of New Jersey, peopled chiefly by Puritans, the history is intimately connected with that of New York. The line that divides East and West New Jersey is the line where the influence of the humane society of Friends is merged in that of Puritanism.

BANCROFT'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAREER OF WILLIAM PENN

It was for the grant of a territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware that William Penn, in June, 1680, became a suitor. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to his son a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. Massachusetts had bought Maine for a little more than one thousand pounds; then, and long afterwards, colonial property was lightly esteemed; and to the prodigal Charles II, always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province seemed the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. William Penn had powerful friends in North, Halifax, and Sunderland; and a pledge given to his father on his death-bed obtained for him the assured friendship of the duke of York.

Sustained by such friends, and pursuing his object with enthusiasm, William Penn triumphed over "the great opposition" which he encountered, and obtained a charter for the territory, which received from Charles II the name of Pennsylvania, and which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. The duke of York desired to retain the three lower counties, that is, the state of Delaware, as an appendage to New York; Pennsylvania was, therefore, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary received the assent of the agents of the duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. The acts of the future colonial legislature were to be submitted to the king and council, who had power to annul them if contrary to English law. The bishop of London, quite unnecessarily, claimed security for the English church. The people of the country were to be safe against taxation, except by the

[1681 A.D.]

provincial assembly or the English parliament. In other respects the usual franchises of a feudal proprietary were conceded.

Pennsylvania included the principal settlements of the Swedes; and patents for land had been made to Dutch and English by the Dutch West India Company, and afterwards by the duke of York. The royal proclamation of April 2nd, 1681, soon announced to all the inhabitants of the province that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and pre-eminences necessary for the government. The proprietary also issued his proclamation to his vassals and subjects. It was in the following words:

MY FRIENDS: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to lett you know, that it hath pleased God in his Providence to cast you within my Lott and Care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty and an honest minde to doe it uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled at your chainge and the king's choice; for you are now fixt, at the mercy of no Governour that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own makeing, and live a free, and if you will, a sober and industrious People. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnisht me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with—I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true Friend,

London, 8th of the Month called April, 1681. WM. PENN.

Such were the pledges of the Quaker sovereign on assuming the government; it is the duty of history to state that during his long reign these pledges were redeemed. He never refused the freemen of Pennsylvania a reasonable desire. With his letter to the inhabitants, young Markham immediately sailed as agent of the proprietary. During the summer the conditions for the sale of lands were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. The enterprise of planting a province had been vast for a man of large fortunes; Penn's whole estate had yielded, when unencumbered, a revenue of £1,500; but in his zeal to rescue his suffering brethren from persecution, he had, by heavy expenses in courts of law and at court, impaired his resources, which he might hope to retrieve from the sale of domains. Would he sacrifice his duty as a man to his emoluments as a sovereign? In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehanna. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound, by his religion, to equal laws, and he rebuked the cupidity of monopoly: "I will not abuse the love of God"—such was his decision—"nor act unworthy of his Providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, to honour his name and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations"; and he adds to a Friend, "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

With a company of emigrants, full instructions were forwarded (September 30th) respecting lands and planting a city. Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by thoughts on the government which he should establish. To him government was a part of religion itself. He believed "any government to be free to the people, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to the laws." That Penn was superior to avarice, was clear from his lavish expenditures to relieve the imprisoned; that he had risen above ambition, appeared from his preference of the despised Quakers to the career of high advancement in the court of Charles II. But he loved to do good;

and could passionate philanthropy resign absolute power, apparently so favourable to the exercise of vast benevolence? Here, and here only, Penn's spirit was severely tried; but he resisted the temptation. "I purpose"—such was his prompt decision (May 5th, 1682)—"for the matters of liberty I purpose, that which is extraordinary—to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." Taking counsel, therefore, from all sides, listening to the theories of Algernon Sidney, whose Roman pride was ever faithful to the republican cause, and deriving still better guidance from the suavity and humanity of his Quaker brethren, Penn published a frame of government, not as an established constitution, but as a system to be referred to the freemen in Pennsylvania. About the same time a free society of traders was organised. "It is a very unusual society"—such was their advertisement—"for it is an absolute free one, and in a free country; everyone may be concerned that will, and yet have the same liberty of private traffique, as though there were no society at all."

Thus the government and commercial prosperity of the colony were founded in freedom; to perfect his territory, Penn desired to possess the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke of York a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, the lower province was granted (August 24th) by two deeds of feoffment. From the forty-third degree of latitude to the Atlantic, the western and southern banks of Delaware river and bay were under the dominion of William Penn.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, Penn, in a beautiful letter, took leave of his family. His wife, who was the love of his youth, he reminded of his impoverishment in consequence of his public spirit, and recommended economy: "Live low and sparingly till my debts be paid." Yet for his children he adds, "Let their learning be liberal; spare no cost, for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved." Agriculture he proposed as their employment. "Let my children be husbandmen and housewives." After a long passage, on the 27th day of October, 1682, William Penn¹ landed at Newcastle.

The son and grandson of naval officers, his thoughts had from boyhood been directed to the ocean; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarised his imagination with the New World, and in Oxford,² at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions of happiness, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul; and at Oxford, where his excellent genius received the benefits of learning, the words of a Quaker [perhaps] preacher so touched his heart that he was fined and afterwards expelled for nonconformity. His father, bent on subduing his enthusiasm, beat him and turned him into the streets, to choose between poverty with a pure conscience or fortune with obedience. But how could the hot anger of a petulant sailor continue against an only son? It was in the days

[¹ Penn was born in London in 1644. His mother was Margaret Jasper, daughter of a rich merchant of Amsterdam. On his father's side, it is said, he was Welsh, and his grandfather was a John Tudor, called Penmunnith, *i. e.*, "Hill-top," later abbreviated to John Penn.]

[² He was noted at Oxford both as a scholar and as an athlete.]

[1664-1670 A.D.]

of the glory of Descartes that, to complete his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the Continent.

In 1664 the appointment of his father to the command of a British squadron, in the naval war with Holland, compelled his return to the care of the estates of the family. In London the travelled student of Lincoln's Inn, if diligent in gaining a knowledge of English law, was yet esteemed, says Pepys,^m "a most modish fine gentleman."

Having thus perfected his understanding by the learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England, in the bloom of youth, being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist, of great natural vivacity and gay good humour, the career of wealth and preferment opened before him through the influence of his father and the ready favour of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with "a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiosity of its religions."

At length, in 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn heard his old friend Thomas Loe speak of the faith that overcomes the world; the undying fires of enthusiasm at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice of conscience. "Religion"—such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland—"is my crime and my innocence: it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman." After his release, returning to England, he encountered bitter mockings and scornings, the invectives of the priests, the strangeness of all his old companions; it was noised about, in the fashionable world, as an excellent jest, says Pepys,^m that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing"; and in 1667 his father, in anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a mother's fondness, became an author, and announced to princes, priests, and people that he was one of the despised, afflicted, and forsaken Quakers; and repairing to court with his hat on,¹ he sought to engage the duke of Buckingham in favour of liberty of conscience, claimed from those in authority better quarters for dissenters than stocks, and whips, and dungeons, and banishments, and was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when he himself, in the heyday of youth, was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower in 1668. His offence was heresy; the bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. Charles II sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the young enthusiast. "The Tower"—such was Penn's message to the king—"is to me the worst argument in the world." In vain did Stillingfleet urge the

[¹Charles II was only amused at Penn's refusal to doff his hat in the royal presence. Indeed, on one occasion the king himself stood bareheaded. "Why dost thou remove thy hat, friend Charles?" asked Penn. And Charles answered, "Because where I am it is customary for only one to remain uncovered." The use of "thee" and "thou" in those days meant much. The singular "thou" was reserved, as are the French *tu*, the German *du*, and various equivalents in other languages to this day, for intimate friends, or, strangely enough, for those whom one scorns; the plural "you" being reserved for all formal usages. To the Quakers the use of a plural form for one person, even the sovereign, was bad as grammar and worse as snobbery. To royalty and formal acquaintances, however, the familiar "thou" came always as a belittling insult, or at least a familiarity, like the unwarranted use of the first name to-day. It had, therefore, a personal and a political meaning to all Europe, difficult to understand now that "thou" has passed out of colloquial use in the English language.]

motive of royal favour and preferment; the inflexible young man demanded freedom of Arlington, "as the natural privilege of an Englishman." After losing his freedom for about nine months, his prison door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the duke of York; for his constancy had commanded the respect and recovered the favour of his father.

Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year when, after the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. "Not all the powers on earth shall divert us from meeting to adore our God who made us." Thus did the young man of five-and-twenty defy the English legislature. Amidst angry exclamations and menaces, he proceeded to plead earnestly for the fundamental laws of England, and, as he was hurried out of court, still reminded the jury that "they were his judges." Dissatisfied with the first verdict returned, the recorder heaped upon the jury every opprobrious epithet. "We will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it." "You are Englishmen," said Penn, who had been again brought to the bar; "mind your privilege, give not away your right." "It never will be well with us," said the recorder, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." At last the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day (September 5th, 1670) gave their verdict, "not guilty." The recorder fined them forty marks apiece for their independence, and, amercing Penn for contempt of court, sent him back to prison. The trial was an era in judicial history. The fines were soon afterwards discharged by his father, who was now approaching his end. "Son William," said the dying admiral, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end of the priests."

Inheriting a large fortune, he continued to defend publicly, from the press, the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality; he remonstrated in unmeasured terms against the bigotry and intolerance, "the hellish darkness and debauchery," of the university of Oxford; he exposed the errors of the Roman Catholic church, and in the same breath pleaded for a toleration of their worship; and never fearing publicly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for his honesty by a six months' imprisonment (1670-1671). "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them. Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

From Newgate Penn addressed parliament and the nation in the noblest plea for liberty of conscience—a liberty which he defended by arguments drawn from experience, from religion, and from reason. If the efforts of the Quakers cannot obtain "the olive branch of toleration, we bless the providence of God, resolving by patience to outweary persecution, and by our constant sufferings to obtain a victory more glorious than our adversaries can achieve by their cruelties." On his release from imprisonment, a calmer season followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then returning to England, he married a woman¹ of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper,

¹ Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir Wm. Springett, a parliamentary officer killed in the civil war.]

[1670-1680 A.D.]

whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honoured him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life and the animating pursuit of letters; till the storm was renewed, and the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. What need of narrating the severities which, like a slow poison, brought the prisoner to the borders of the grave? Why enumerate the atrocities of petty tyrants, invested with village magistracies, the ferocious passions of irresponsible jailers?

It was his love of freedom of conscience which gave interest to Penn's exertions for New Jersey. The summer and autumn after the first considerable Quaker emigration to the eastern bank of the Delaware (1677), George Fox and William Penn and Robert Barclay, with others, embarked for Holland, to evangelise the Continent; and Barclay and Penn went to and fro in Germany, from the Weser to the Main, the Rhine, and the Neckar, distributing tracts, discoursing with men of every sect and every rank, preaching in palaces and among the peasants, rebuking every attempt to inthrall the mind, and sending reproofs to kings and magistrates, to the princes and lawyers of all Christendom.

The opportunity of observing the aristocratic institutions of Holland and the free commercial cities of Germany was valuable to a statesman. On his return to England, the new sufferings of the Quakers excited a direct appeal to the English parliament. The special law against papists was turned against the Quakers.

Defeated in his hopes by the prorogation and dissolution of the parliament in 1679, Penn appealed to the people, and took an active part in the ensuing elections. But every hope of reform from parliament vanished. Bigotry and tyranny prevailed more than ever, and Penn, despairing of relief in Europe, bent the whole energy of his mind to accomplish the establishment of a free government in the New World. Humane by nature and by suffering; familiar with the royal family; intimate with Sunderland and Algernon Sidney; acquainted with Russell, Halifax, Shaftesbury, and Buckingham; as a member of the Royal Society, the peer of Newton and the great scholars of his age—he valued the promptings of a free mind more than the awards of the learned, and revered the single-minded sincerity of the Nottingham shepherd more than the authority of colleges and the wisdom of philosophers. And now, being in the meridian of life, but a year older than was Locke, when, twelve years before, he had framed a constitution for Carolina, the Quaker legislator was come to the New World to lay the foundations of states. Would he imitate the vaunted system of the great philosopher?

Locke, like William Penn, was tolerant; both loved freedom; both cherished truth in sincerity. Locke compared the soul to a sheet of white paper, just as Hobbes had compared it to a slate, on which time and chance might scrawl their experience; to Penn, the soul was an organ which of itself instinctively breathes divine harmonies, like those musical instruments which are so curiously and perfectly framed that, when once set in motion, they of themselves give forth all the melodies designed by the artist that made them. To Locke,ⁿ "conscience is nothing else than our own opinion of our own actions"; to Penn, it is the image of God, and his oracle in the soul. Locke deduces government from Noah and Adam, rests it upon contract, and announces its end to be the security of property; Penn, far from going back to Adam, or even to Noah, declares that "there must be a people before a government," and, deducing the right to institute government from man's moral nature, seeks its fundamental rules in the immutable dictates "of

universal reason," its end in freedom and happiness. Locke, as an American lawgiver, dreaded "a too numerous democracy," and reserved all power to wealth and the feudal proprietaries; Penn believed that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul; and therefore, stretching out his arms, he built—such are his own words—"a free colony for all mankind." This is the praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe; in an age when Sidney nourished the pride of patriotism rather than the sentiment of philanthropy, when Russell stood for the liberties of his order, and not for new enfranchisements, when Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government should rest on property—Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast, like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile, was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "the Holy Experiment."

The news spread rapidly that the Quaker king was at New Castle; and, on the day after his landing (October 28th, 1682), in presence of a crowd of Swedes and Dutch and English, who had gathered round the courthouse, his deeds of feoffment were produced; the duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedoms.

From New Castle Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester. From Chester, tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the beautiful bank, fringed with pine trees, on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise. In the following weeks Penn visited west and east New Jersey, New York, the metropolis of his neighbour proprietary, the duke of York, and, after meeting Friends on Long Island, he returned to the banks of the Delaware.

THE GREAT TREATY WITH THE LENNI-LENAPE (1682-1683 A.D.)

To this period belongs his first grand treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm tree at Shackamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia,¹ William Penn, surrounded by a few friends, in the habiliments of peace, met the numerous delegation of the Lenni-Lenape tribes. The great treaty was not for the purchase of lands, but, confirming what Penn had written and Markham covenanted, its sublime purpose was the recognition of the equal rights of humanity. Under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even from the Susquehanna, the same simple mes-

[¹ Bancroft, ^a Fiske, ^b and others place this meeting about November, 1682. Stoney dates it on June 23rd, 1683, basing the date on Penn's *Letters to the Free Society of Traders* of August 16th, 1683; Stone claims that at Penn's first meeting the Indians refused to sell him any land, or at least did not understand his purpose. As we have seen, this was by no means the first instance of purchase from Indians. The Dutch under Minuit bought lands, as did the Puritans and Roger Williams, not to mention West's purchase of the site of Richmond in 1610, Calvinist's in 1634, and the Swedish in 1638.]

[1683 A.D.]

sage of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell, and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk. The English and the Indian should respect the same moral law, should be alike secure in their pursuits and their possessions, and adjust every difference by a peaceful tribunal, composed of an equal number of men from each race. "We meet"—such were the words of William Penn—"on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine, and renounced their guile and their revenge. They received the presents of Penn in sincerity; and with hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure."

This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun and the river and the forest for witnesses. It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of wampum, and, long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn. New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian.

Was there not progress from Menendez to Roger Williams—from Cortes and Pizarro to William Penn? The Quakers, ignorant of the homage which their virtues would receive from Voltaire and Raynal, men so unlike themselves, exulted in the consciousness of their humanity. We have done better, said they truly, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us we teach their rights as men." The scene at Shackamaxon forms the subject of one of the pictures of West; but the artist, faithful neither to the Indians nor to Penn, should have no influence on history.⁹

Of this Shackamaxon Treaty, Voltaire⁹ says: "It was the sole treaty between these peoples and the Christians that was neither sworn to nor broken." He comments also on "the very novel spectacle of a sovereign whom everybody could 'thee-and-thou' (*tutoyer*) and address with hat on head. William Pen (*sic*) could boast of having brought back the Age of Gold, which is spoken of so often, but has never really existed except in Pennsylvania."

Francis Parkman somewhat qualifies his praise of Penn's success with the Indians. He says: "With regard to the alleged results of the pacific conduct of the Quakers, our admiration will diminish on closely viewing the circumstances of the case. The position of the colony was a most for-

tunate one. Had the Quakers planted their colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence, or among the warlike tribes of New England, their shaking of hands and assurances of tender regard would not long have availed to save them from the visitations of the scalping-knife. But the Delawares, the people on whose territory they had settled, were like themselves debarred the use of arms. The Iroquois had conquered them, disarmed them, and forced them to adopt the opprobrious name of "women." The humble Delawares were but too happy to receive the hand extended to them, and dwell in friendship with their pacific neighbours; since to have lifted the hatchet would have brought upon their heads the vengeance of their conquerors, whose good will Penn had taken pains to secure.¹

The sons of Penn, his successors in the proprietorship of the province, did not evince the same kindly feeling towards the Indians which had distinguished their father. Earnest to acquire new lands, they commenced through their agents a series of unjust measures, which gradually alienated the Indians, and, after a peace of seventy-years, produced a disastrous rupture. The Quaker population of the colony sympathised in the kindness which its founder had cherished towards the benighted race. This feeling was strengthened by years of friendly intercourse; and, except where private interest was concerned, the Quakers made good their reiterated professions of attachment. Kindness to the Indian was the glory of their sect.⁷

In the year 1683 Penn often met the Indians in council, and at their festivals. He visited them in their cabins, shared the hospitable banquet of hominy and roasted acorns, and laughed and frolicked, and practised athletic games with the light-hearted, mirthful, confiding red men.² He touched the secret springs of sympathy, and succeeding generations on the Susquehanna acknowledged his loveliness.

Peace existed with the natives; the contentment of the emigrants was made perfect by the happy inauguration of the government. A general convention had been permitted by Penn (December 4th to 7th, 1682). The people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the territories; these were now enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all the inhabitants being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant to the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved; as a day of leisure, for the ease of the creation. The rule of equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word of an honest man was evidence without an oath. The mad spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every man liable to civil burdens possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The Quaker is a spiritualist; the pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery a felony. The Quakers had suffered from wrong imprisonment; the false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a workhouse. There were neither poor rates nor

¹ He paid twice for his lands; once to the Iroquois, who claimed them by right of conquest, and once to their occupants, the Delawares.

² Watson quotes an eye-witness who said she saw Penn outdance all the Indians.]

[1683-1687 A.D.]

tithes. The Swedes and Finns and Dutch were invested with the liberties of Englishmen.

The government having been organised, William Penn, accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West River, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces (December 11th). A discussion of three days led to no result; tired of useless debates, Penn crossed the Chesapeake to visit Friends at Choptank, and returned to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation, or to submit to arbitration in England.

PENN FOUNDS PHILADELPHIA

He now selected a site for a city, purchased the ground of the Swedes, and in a situation "not surpassed"—such are his words—"by one among all the many places he had seen in the world," on a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, appointed for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, William Penn laid out Philadelphia, the city of refuge, the mansion of freedom, the home of humanity. But vast as were the hopes of the humble Friends, who now marked the boundaries of streets on the chestnut or ash and walnut trees of the original forest, they were surpassed by the reality. Pennsylvania bound the northern and the southern colonies in bonds stronger than paper chains; Philadelphia was the birthplace of American independence and the pledge of union.

March 12th, 1683, the infant city, in which there could have been few mansions but hollow trees, was already the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives, Swedes, Dutch, and Quaker preachers, of Wales and Ireland and England, were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. When the general assembly came together, Penn referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying, "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT (1687·A.D.)

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one-third being renewed annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the initiation of all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Thus no law could be enacted but with the direct assent of the whole community. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. But it received modifications from the legislature by which it was established. The assembly set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council, and such a power was virtually a right to negative any law. It had been more simple to have left the assembly full power to originate bills, and to the governor an unconditional negative. This was virtually the method estab-

lished in 1683; it was distinctly recognised in the fundamental law in 1696. Besides, the charter from Charles II held the proprietary responsible for colonial legislation; and no act of provincial legislation could be perfected till it had passed the great seal of the province. That a negative voice was thus reserved to William Penn, was, we believe, the opinion of the colonists of that day; such was certainly the intention of the royal charter, and was necessary, unless the proprietary relation was to cease. In other respects, the frame of government gave all power to the people; the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in case of good behaviour, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned.

But for the hereditary office of proprietary, Pennsylvania had been a representative democracy. In Maryland, the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania, by the people. In Maryland, the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives; and the governor could perform no public act, but with the consent of the council. Lord Baltimore had a revenue derived from the export of tobacco, the staple of Maryland; and his colony was burdened with taxes; a similar revenue was offered to William Penn, and declined; and tax-gatherers were unknown in his province.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assembly with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." In the decline of life, the language of his heart was still the same. "If, in the relation between us," he writes in his old age, "the people want of me anything that would make them happier, I should readily grant it."

To the charter which Locke invented for Carolina, the palatines voted an immutable immortality; and it never gained more than a short, partial existence. To the people of his province Penn left it free to subvert or alter the frame of government; and its essential principles remain to this day without change. Such was the birth of popular power in Pennsylvania and Delaware. It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the mind. The Scandinavian emigrants came from their native forests with imaginations clouded by the gloomy terrors of an invisible world of fiends; and a turbulent woman was brought to trial as a witch. Penn presided, and the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner were required to give bonds that she should keep the peace; and in Penn's domain, from that day to this, neither demon nor hag ever rode through the air on goat or broomstick; and the worst arts of conjuration went no farther than to foretell fortunes, mutter powerful spells over quack medicines, or discover by the divining rod the hidden treasures of the buccaneers.

RAPID GROWTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

Meantime the news spread abroad, that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation"; and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From

[1687-1761 A.D.]

England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine it was whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the highlands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, the Quaker emissary, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the progress of New England. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. "I must, without vanity, say"—such was his honest exultation—"I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found amongst us."

The mission of William Penn was accomplished; and now, like Solon, the most humane of ancient legislators, he prepared to leave the commonwealth of which he had founded the happiness. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, Penn sailed for England (August 12th, 1684), leaving freedom to its own development. His departure was happy for the colony and for his own tranquillity. He had established a democracy, and was himself a feudal sovereign. The two elements in the government were incompatible; and for ninety years the civil history of Pennsylvania is but the account of the jarring of these opposing interests, to which there could be no happy issue but in popular independence. But rude collisions were not yet begun; and the benevolence of William Penn breathed to his people a farewell, unclouded by apprehension. "My love and my life are to you and with you, and no water can quench it, nor disturbance bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me and dear to me beyond utterance. And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, and that thy children may be blessed. Dear friends, my love salutes you all."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, it was decided that the tract of Delaware did not constitute a part of Maryland. The proper boundaries of the territory remained to be settled; and the present limits of Delaware were established by a compromise.

This decision formed the basis of an agreement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterwards the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750 the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years afterwards they were, by agreement, more accurately defined; and in 1761 the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania towards the west was run by Mason and Dixon. Delaware lies between the same parallels with Maryland; and Quakerism did not exempt it from negro slavery.

But the care of colonial property did not absorb the enthusiasm of Penn; and, now that his father's friend had succeeded to the throne, he employed his fortune, his influence, and his fame to secure that "impartial" liberty of conscience which, for nearly twenty years, he had advocated, with Buck-

ingham and Arlington, before the magistrates of Ireland, and English juries, in the Tower, in Newgate, before the commons of England, in public discussions with Baxter and the Presbyterians, before Quaker meetings, at Chester and Philadelphia, and through the press to the world. It was his old post—the office to which he was faithful from youth to age. Fifteen thousand families had been ruined for dissent since the restoration; five thousand persons had died victims to imprisonment. The monarch was persuaded to exercise his prerogative of mercy; and at Penn's intercession, in 1686, not less than twelve hundred Friends were liberated from the horrible dungeons and prisons where many of them had languished hopelessly for years. Penn delighted in doing good. His house was thronged by swarms of clients, envoys from Massachusetts among the number; and sometimes there were two hundred at once claiming his disinterested good offices with the king. For Locke, then a voluntary exile, and the firm friend of intellectual freedom, he obtained a promise of immunity, which the blameless philosopher, in the just pride of innocence, refused. And at the very time when the Roman Catholic Fénelon, in France, was pleading for Protestants against the intolerance of Louis XIV, the Protestant Penn, in England, was labouring to rescue the Roman Catholics from the jealousy of the English aristocracy. The political tracts of "the arch Quaker" have the calm wisdom and the universality of Lord Bacon; in behalf of liberty of conscience, they beautifully connect the immutable principles of human nature and human rights with the character and origin of English freedom, and exhaust the question as a subject for English legislation. Penn never gave counsel at variance with popular rights. He resisted the commitment of the bishops to the Tower, and, on the day of the birth of the prince of Wales, pressed the king exceedingly to set them at liberty. His private correspondence proves that he esteemed parliament the only power through which his end could be gained. England to-day confesses his sagacity, and is doing honour to his genius. He came too soon for success, and he was aware of it. After more than a century, the laws which he reproved began gradually to be repealed; and the principle which he developed, sure of immortality, began slowly but firmly asserting its power over the legislation of Great Britain.

The political connections of William Penn have involved him in the obloquy which followed the overthrow of the Stuarts; and the friends to the tests, comprising nearly all the members of both the political parties, into which England was soon divided, have generally been unfriendly to his good name. But their malice has been without permanent effect. Their final award is given freely, and cannot be shaken. Every charge of hypocrisy, of selfishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous confidence; every form of reproach, from virulent abuse to cold apology; every ill name, from tory and Jesuit to blasphemer and infidel—has been used against Penn; but the candour of his character always triumphed over calumny. His name was safely cherished as a household word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland, and among the peasantry of Germany; and not a tenant of a wigwam from the sea to the Susquehanna doubted his integrity. His fame is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory.

Was he prospered? Before engaging in his American enterprise, he had impaired his patrimony to relieve the suffering Quakers; his zeal for his provinces hurried him into colonial expenses beyond the returns;¹ his

[¹ While the Pennsylvanians were jealously reaching out for enlarged liberties, Penn wrote to them: "I am sorry at heart for your animosities. For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy and open in your dissatisfactions." He

[1687-1761 A.D.]

philanthropy, establishing popular power, left him without a revenue; and he who had so often been imprisoned for religion, in his old age went to jail for debt. But what is so terrible as remorse—what so soothing as an approving conscience? William Penn was happy. “He could say it before the Lord, he had the comfort of having approved himself a faithful steward to his understanding and ability.”⁹

LATER YEARS OF PENN

Penn was four times imprisoned by King William [on his accession after the revolution of 1689]: the king took from him the government of the province, and in 1693 appointed Colonel Benjamin Fletcher governor of Pennsylvania and New York. King William at length became convinced, from the strictest scrutiny, that Penn's attachment to the Stuart family was merely personal, and that his gratitude was not likely to occasion any detriment to him, and the proprietor was soon reinstated in the royal favour (August 20th, 1694). Being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, he appointed William Markham to be his deputy governor. In 1696 the assembly passed a third frame of government, which was signed by the governor, the object of which was to correct certain breaches of the charter government, against which the second frame had not sufficiently guarded.

In 1699, Penn, accompanied by his family, again visited his colony, with the intention of ending his days in the society of his people. Negro slavery and Indian intercourse had crept into the colony, and their effects were abundantly visible in the altercations which ensued between the proprietor and the assembly. Penn prepared three bills, and presented them to the assembly; but the two most important were negatived, and the third, relative to the trial and punishment of slaves, was the only one sanctioned by the legislature. With his own sect, he was more successful; and the final abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania was ultimately owing to Quaker influence.

Penn was disheartened, and determined to return to England; but it would have been impolitic to leave the province whilst affairs were in such a state of confusion. He therefore prepared a new constitution in 1701, which was readily accepted by the assembly. This fourth frame of government introduced many important changes. It gave to the assembly the power of originating bills, which had previously been possessed by the governors only, and that of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the governor it reserved a negative on the acts of the assembly, the right of appointing his own council, and the executive power. Although this charter gave general satisfaction in the province of Pennsylvania, yet the “Three Lower Counties” refused to accept it; and, in the following year, they established a separate assembly at New Castle, acknowledging, however, the same governor.

After this fourth charter was accepted, Penn returned to England, assigning as a reason his having learned that the ministry intended to abolish the proprietary governments in North America, which made it absolutely necessary for him to appear there in order to oppose a measure so derogatory to his interests. While in England, he was pursued by complaints from America against Governor Evans. This governor exerted himself to establish a militia system, which, though popular in Delaware, was odious in Pennsylvania;

complained that their quarrels were preventing immigration, and had cost him personally £10,000. When his quitrents were complained of as taxes which he did not need, he wrote, “God is my witness, I am above £6,000 out of pocket more than I ever saw by the province.”]

and he also announced the approach of a hostile invasion, which caused many individuals, and amongst these four Quakers, to take up arms. This report proving false, the assembly impeached Evans and his secretary Logan.

Penn therefore removed Evans, and appointed in his stead Charles Gookin, whose age, experience, and mild character seemed well suited to satisfy the people over whom he was to preside. But having complained once, they seemed to have acquired a love of complaint, and not only were more hostile to Gookin than they had been to Evans, but began to scan very narrowly the conduct of Penn himself. Finding that the provincial affairs still went wrong, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, addressed the assembly in a letter replete with calm solemnity and dignified concern. Had all other knowledge of Penn and his deeds been lost, this letter alone would have enabled us to write the character of its author. Its effect was apparent at the next election, when the enemies of Penn were rejected by the voters. But before this change could have been known to him, he was attacked by a succession of apoplectic fits which ultimately terminated his life, July 30th, 1718.^s

The heirs of Penn instituted a suit for the succession to the governorship, which was finally awarded to his three sons by his second wife. In 1779 the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a new constitution abolishing the proprietary government and the quitrents of the Penn heirs, and voted £130,000 remuneration, to be paid three years after peace with England. It was eventually paid in the sum of \$570,000. In 1790 the British government voted the eldest male descendant of Penn's second wife a pension of £4,000 to quiet his claims for the surrender of his territories. As late as 1884 this pension was commuted for the sum of £67,000.^a

By pursuing the course commenced by Penn, the colony gradually increased in wealth and population, without any of those fearful Indian invasions which so much retarded the increase of the other colonies. The only subject of disquiet in the colony, for many years, was a dispute between the governors and the assembly, on the subject of exempting the lands of the proprietary from general taxation—a claim which the inhabitants resisted as unjust. After much altercation on this subject, the assembly deputed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin to London, as their agent to petition the king for redress. In the discussion before the privy council, Franklin acceded to an arrangement making the assessments fair and equitable; and a bill, signed by the governor, for levying these taxes received the royal approbation.

Pennsylvania was the last colony settled, excepting Georgia, and her increase in wealth and population was more rapid than that of any of the others. In 1775 she possessed a population of 372,208 inhabitants, collected and raised in less than a century.^s

SOUTHERN COLONIES; THE CAROLINAS

The early history of the American colonies is of necessity a disjointed chronicle, in which each must be carried forward to a certain point and left there, while others are brought to convenient resting-places. Eventually, all these streams flow into one broad river, whose course has continuity of progress. We have almost reached that point, but must delay yet awhile to recount the foundation of the southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia, and the northern French Colonies, which have since become Canada.^a

[1630 A.D.]

We must now leave for the present the states of New England, austere alike in character and clime, and turn to those summer realms of the south which excited the cupidity of the early French and Spanish adventurers. We must become more intimately acquainted with the region where De Soto wandered in search of the land of gold; where the good Coligny planted his settlements of persecuted Huguenots; where Catholic bigotry dyed the soil with their blood; and where, also, the brave Raleigh planned magnificent schemes of colonisation, and reaped only the fruits of disappointment and sorrow.

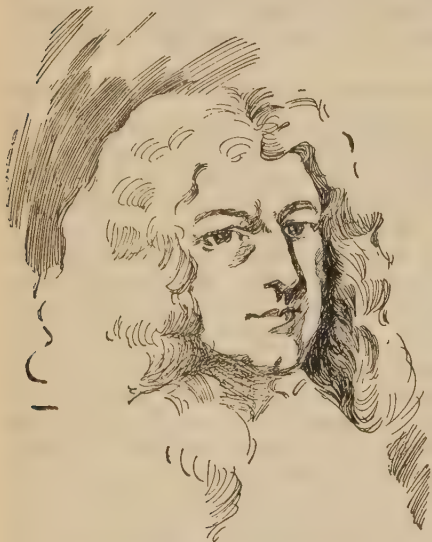
The vast territory of North America was, as we have seen, for half a century after the English began to colonise it, divided into two districts, called North and South Virginia; "all lands lying towards the river St. Lawrence, from the northern boundaries of the province now called Virginia, belonged to the northern, and all those to the southward, as far as the gulf of Florida, to the southern district."

The French colonists first gave the name of Carolina to the country which is still so designated, in honour of their worthless monarch, Charles IX. In 1630, Charles I of England granted a tract of land south of Chesapeake bay to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, under the name of Carolana; but owing to the political agitations in England, the projected colonisation of this country was never carried out. With the restoration, the English reasserted their claim to that portion of America which had been known under the designation of South Virginia, and the fertility and desirableness of which was now an established fact. Somewhat before the time, therefore, when the restored monarch made a grant to his brother, the duke of York, of the Dutch possessions of New Netherlands, he conferred the vast territory comprised between Albemarle sound, southward to the river St. John, under the name of Carolina, upon eight proprietors, among whom were some of his principal courtiers; that is to say, Clarendon, the prime minister; General Monk, now duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir John Colleton, Lord John Berkeley, his brother, Sir William, governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret. The grant made to these proprietaries constituted them absolute sovereigns of the country. Their right, however, was immediately disputed both by the Spaniards—whose fort of St. Augustine was considered to establish actual possession—and by the assigns of Sir Robert Heath; but neither claimants could stand before the new and more powerful patentees. Besides these, other parties of a much more sturdy and unmanageable character had already established themselves on its coasts. New England, which possessed within itself not only an expansive principle, but one which took deep root on any soil which it touched, had planted not only a little settlement on Cape Fear, which had been fostered in its distresses by the mother colony, but had sown the seeds of democratic liberty, from which, in part, must be traced the resolute spirit which distinguished the colony of North Carolina in the long struggle through which it had to pass.

Virginia, too, was "the mother of colonies"; and in 1622 the adventurous Porey, then secretary of Virginia, travelled overland to the banks of the Chowan, or South river, reporting on his return most favourably of the kindness of the natives, the fertility of the country, and the happy climate, which yielded two harvests in the year. During the succeeding forty years his explorations were followed up, and when religious persecution took place in Virginia dissenters emigrated largely. The country around Albemarle sound was established by Nonconformists, who had purchased a right to their

lands from the aborigines. These settlements were claimed by the new proprietaries of Carolina, and Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia and one of the joint proprietors, was ordered by his colleagues to assume jurisdiction over them in their name.

Berkeley, however, who knew too well the character of these pioneer-settlers, did not venture to enforce his orders too strictly. Instead of this, he appointed William Drummond, one of the settlers, to be the governor; and instituting a simple form of government, a council of six members, and an easy tenure of land, left the colony to take care of itself, to enjoy liberty of conscience and the management of its own affairs. "Such," says Bancroft,⁹ "was the origin of fixed settlements in North Carolina. The child of ecclesiastical oppression was swathed in independence."



SIR ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER
(1621-1683)

Besides these settlements of New England and Virginia, several planters of Barbadoes had purchased from the Indians a tract of land thirty-two miles square on Cape Fear river, where the New Englanders had first settled themselves, and now applied to the new proprietaries for a confirmation of their purchase and a charter of government. All their wishes were not granted, but Sir John Yeamans, a cavalier, and the head of these Barbadoes planters, was appointed governor, with a jurisdiction extending from Cape Fear to the St. Matheo, the country being called Clarendon. This settlement absorbed that of the New Englanders, who, however, were so far respected that Yeamans was instructed to be "very tender" towards them, to "make things easy to the people of New England, that others might be

attracted there." The colony immediately applied itself to the preparation of boards, shingles, and staves to be shipped to the West Indies, and the same continues to this day to be the staple of that region of pine forests and sterile plains.

The proprietaries in the mean time having ascertained the character of their territory, and become better acquainted with its geography, obtained, in 1665, a second charter.

This second charter was in total disregard of all other claims; and this time their grant was extended half a degree farther north, so as to include the settlements on the Chowan, and a degree and a half farther south, including the Spanish colony of St. Augustine and part of Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This vast grant, in fact, comprised all the present territory of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, a considerable portion of Florida and Missouri, nearly all Texas, and a large part of Mexico. Nor was this all; an additional grant shortly afterwards added the group of the Bahama Isles, then famous as the resort of buccaneers, to the vast realms which their charter already included.

[1665-1669 A.D.]

The infant settlement of Albemarle continued to receive accessions from Virginia and New England; and from Bermuda, already famous for the building of fast-sailing ships, came a colony of shipbuilders. In 1669 the first laws were enacted by an assembly composed of the governor, Stevens, who had succeeded Drummond, a council of six, and twelve delegates chosen by the people. According to the laws of Virginia, land was offered to all newcomers, and immigrant debtors were protected for five years against any suit for debt contracted beyond the colony. The governor and court constituted a court of justice, and were entitled to a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco on every suit; and the colony being without any minister of religion, marriage became a civil rite. Three years afterwards the proprietaries solemnly confirmed the settlers in possession of their lands, and granted to them the right of nominating six councillors in addition to the six nominated by the patentees. The right of self government was thus established on the soil of North Carolina.

LOCKE'S GRAND MODEL CONSTITUTION

In the mean time, the ambition of the proprietaries extending with the extent of their charter, a magnificent scheme of sovereignty was conceived, which was intended not only to give them the wealth of empires but the fame of legislators. All that philosophic intellect and worldly sagacity could do to frame a model government was now done. The earl of Shaftesbury was deputed by his fellow-proprietaries to frame for this infant empire a constitution commensurate with its intended greatness; and he employed his friend and *protégé* John Locke, afterwards so well known for his philosophical writings, as his agent for this purpose.

Locke commenced his labours on the principle that "compact is the true basis of government, and the protection of property its great end." Cold and calculating, with no generous enthusiasm of soul, no sympathetic and aspiring impulses, guided alone by intellect and conventionality, it is no wonder that the "Grand Model," as the constitution of Carolina was called, failed of practical application, and was finally, after the vain attempt of many years to enforce it, abandoned as totally inapplicable to its purpose.

It has been well remarked by Bancroft¹ that "the formation of political institutions in the United States was not effected by giant minds or 'nobles after the flesh.' The truly great lawgivers in the colonies first became as little children."¹ But futile as was this Grand Model constitution, we must give some idea of it to our readers, to show how little intellect merely and political wisdom can comprehend the principles of successful government or the basis of a prosperous and happy social state:

"The interests of the proprietaries, a government most agreeable to monarchy, and a careful avoidance of a numerous democracy," are the avowed threefold objects of the Carolina constitution. The proprietaries, eight in number, were never to be increased or diminished; their dignity was hereditary. The vast extent of territory was to be divided into counties, each containing about seven hundred and fifty square miles; to each county appertained two orders of nobility, a landgrave or earl, and two caciques or barons; the land was to be divided into five equal parts, one of which became the inalienable right of the proprietaries, another equally inalienably the property of the nobility, and the remaining three-fifths were reserved for the people, and might be held by lords of manors who were not hereditary legislators, but, like the nobility, exercised judicial powers in their baronial courts. The

[¹ We have previously quoted Bancroft's comparison of the theories of Locke and William Penn.]

number of three nobles for each county was to remain unalterable; after the current century no transfer of lands could take place. Each county, being divided into twenty-four parts, called colonies, was to be cultivated by a race of hereditary leetmen, or tenants, attached to the soil, each holding ten acres of land at a fixed rent; these tenants not being possessed of any political franchise, but being "adscripts of the soil under the jurisdiction of their lord without any appeal"; and it was added that "all the children of leetmen shall be leetmen, and so to all generations."

The political rights of the great body of the people being thus disposed of, and a legislative barrier placed, as it were, against progressive popular improvement and enlightenment, a very complicated system of government was framed for the benefit of the privileged classes. "Besides the court of proprietors, invested with supreme executive authority, the president of which was the oldest proprietor, with the title of palatine, there were seven other courts, presided over by the remaining seven proprietors, with the titles respectively of admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer; besides the president, each of these courts had six councillors appointed for life, two-thirds, at least, of whom must be nobles." There is something almost childish and ludicrous in the business of some of these supreme and pompous dignitaries of an infant settlement, the inhabitants of which lived in log cabins scattered through the wilderness. The court of the admiral had cognisance of shipping and trade; the chamberlain's, of pedigrees, festivals, sports, and ceremonies; the chancellor's, of state affairs and license of printing; the constable's, of war; the chief justice's, of ordinary judicial questions; the high steward's, of public works; the treasurer's, of finance.

"All these courts united," says Hildreth,^h "were to compose a grand council of fifty members, in whom was vested exclusively the right of proposing laws, which required, however, the approval of a parliament of four estates, proprietors, landgraves, caciques, and commoners, to render them valid. The four estates composing the parliament were to sit in one chamber, each landgrave and cacique being entitled to a seat, but the proprietors, if they chose, to sit by deputy. Four commoners for each county were the representatives of the commons; the possession of five hundred acres being, however, requisite to qualify for a seat, and fifty acres of land to give an elective vote. The proprietaries in their separate courts had a veto on all acts."

The people had thus no share whatever in the executive, judicial, or legislative authority. "The four-and-twenty colonies of each county were divided into four precincts, each precinct having a local court, whence appeals were to lie to the court of chief justice. Juries were to decide by majority." To plead for money or reward in any court was denounced as "base and vile," an enactment little in accordance with the interests of the lawyer. "None could be freemen who did not acknowledge God and the obligation of public worship. The Church of England—against the wishes of Locke, who wished to put all sects on the same footing—was to be supported by the state. Any seven freemen might, however, form a church or religious society, provided its members admitted the rightfulness of oaths—which clause at once excluded the Quakers. By another provision, every freeman of Carolina, of whatsoever opinion or religion, possessed absolute power and authority over his negro slaves."

This "Grand Model constitution," which was extravagantly praised in England, was signed in March, 1670, and Monk, duke of Albemarle, as the oldest of the proprietaries, was appointed palatine. Whilst this pompous scheme of legislature was occupying the wisest heads in England, three vessels conveyed out emigrants, at the expense of £12,000 to the proprietaries,

[1670-1677 A.D.]

under the command of William Sayle, who established themselves on the old site of Port Royal. The grand aristocratical constitution was sent over in due form to Carolina, but neither was it found more suitable at Albemarle, in the north, than by Sayle's colony in the south. The character of the people of Albemarle rendered its introduction impossible; "those sturdy dwellers in scattered log cabins of the wilderness could not be noblemen, and would not be serfs." This unfortunate constitution, which made John Locke a landgrave, and the noble proprietaries in succession palatines, led to a long and fruitless struggle of its founders to force upon the settlers a form of government incompatible with their circumstances, and from which they had nothing to gain, but everything to lose. The contest continued for three-and-twenty years, when the Grand Model, baseless as a fabric of mist, was formally abrogated.

About the time when the new constitution was first exciting the derision and abhorrence of the sturdy Nonconformists of Albemarle, distinguished ministers among the Quakers travelled from Virginia into North Carolina, and were received "tenderly" by a people naturally religious, but amongst whom, at that time, was no minister of Christ. The "Society of Friends" were the first to organise a religious government in this portion of America. In the autumn of 1672 George Fox himself visited Carolina. Carolina, like Rhode Island, was a place of refuge for schismatics of all kinds, who now "lived lonely in the woods, with great dogs to guard their houses"; men and women of thoughtful minds "open to the conviction of truth," and who received the preachings and teachings of George Fox and his brethren with great joy.

CULPEPER'S REBELLION (1677 A.D.)

Willing disciples of George Fox, as the people of North Carolina proved themselves to be, were sure to protest against and oppose a constitution like that of Shaftesbury and Locke. The introduction of it was not only difficult, but was soon rendered impossible, by the accession of dissenters from England, and so-called "runaways, rogues, and rebels" from Virginia, who, on the suppression of an insurrection there, fled daily to Carolina as their common place of refuge. Another cause of dissatisfaction with the English government, and of constant irritation, was the enforcement of the Navigation Laws. The population of the whole state as yet, in 1677, amounted to little more than four thousand; "a few fat cattle, a little maize, and eight hundred hogsheads of tobacco formed all their exports," and the few foreign articles which they required were brought to them by the traders of Boston. Yet, small as this traffic was, it was envied by the English merchants; the Navigation Law was ordered to be strictly enforced, the New England trader was driven from their harbour by unreasonable duties, and the Carolinians themselves had no other free market for their few exports than England.

The attempts at enforcing the Navigation Laws hastened an insurrection, which was fostered by the refugees from Virginia and the men of New England, and which justified itself by the publication of the first American manifesto. The threefold grievances of the colony were stated herein to be: excessive taxation; the abridgment of political liberty by the altered form of government, with the denial of a free election of an assembly; and the unwise interruption of the natural channels of commerce. The head of this insurrection was John Culpeper, a man stigmatised by the English party as one "who deserved hanging, for endeavouring to set the poor to plunder the

rich." The whole body of the settlers was insurgent; Miller, the chief object of their hatred, and seven proprietary deputies were arrested and imprisoned, courts of justice established, and a parliament called. With a popular government, anarchy was at an end; though when the new governor, Eastchurch, arrived, none would acknowledge his authority. The following year, Culpeper and Holden were sent to England to negotiate a compromise with the proprietaries and to obtain the recall of Miller.

Miller, however, and his companions, having escaped from prison, met the deputies in England, and as the supporters of the Navigation Laws were sustained by a powerful interest there, Culpeper when about to embark for America was arrested in his turn on the charge of interrupting the collection of duties and their embezzlement. He demanded his trial in Carolina, where the act was committed. "Let no favour be shown," cried the adverse party; and he was brought to trial. Shaftesbury, however, then in the zenith of his popularity, appeared on his behalf, declaring "that there never had been a regular government in Albemarle; that its disorders were only feuds among the planters, which could not amount to treason"—and he was acquitted. On the acquittal of Culpeper, the proprietaries found themselves in a difficult position. After looking at the question in every point of view, excepting that which was simple and straightforward, "they resolved," says Chalmers,^o "to govern in future according to that portion of obedience which the insurgents should be disposed to yield." The wise exclaimed, in the language of prediction, that a government actuated by such principles cannot possibly be of long continuance.

Mild as had appeared the temper of the proprietaries, it seemed, however, as if they had determined severely to punish the offending colony, when, in 1683, they sent over Seth Sothel as governor. He appears, by the report of all parties, to have been of that scoundrel class by which human nature is degraded. He was himself one of the eight proprietaries, and he accepted office merely for sordid purposes. "The annals of delegated authority," says Chalmers,^o "have not recorded a name so deserving of infamy as that of Sothel. Bribery, extortion, injustice, rapacity, with breach of trust and disobedience of orders, are the crimes of which he was accused during the five years that he misruled this unhappy colony. Driven almost to despair, the inhabitants at length seized his person, in 1688. The assembly compelled him to abjure the country for twelve months and the government forever. The proprietaries, though they heard with indignation of the sufferings which Sothel had inflicted on the colony, were yet displeased that the colony through its assembly had assumed supreme power, which act was regarded as "prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and to the honour of the proprietaries."

Well, however, was it for North Carolina that she thus took the law into her own hands; tranquillity was restored. Mighty changes were in the mean time taking place in England; the revolution of 1688 was overturning not only political parties, but the very constitution itself. But neither the strife of parties nor the removal of the crown from one royal head to another, mattered in North Carolina, where, at length, peace and prosperity were established. "The settlers of North Carolina," we are told by Bancroft,^g "began now to enjoy to their heart's content liberty of conscience and personal independence, the freedom of the forest and the river. Unnumbered swine fattened on the fruits of the forest or the heaps of peaches; spite of imperfect husbandry, cattle multiplied on the pleasant savannahs. There was neither city nor township; there was hardly even a hamlet, or one house within

[1670-1671 A.D.]

sight of another; nor were there roads, except as the paths from house to house were distinguished by notches on the trees. The settlers were gentle in their tempers, of serene minds, enemies to violence and bloodshed; and the spirit of humanity maintained its influence in the Arcadia, as royalist writers will have it, of rogues and rebels in the paradise of Quakers."

THE GROWTH OF SOUTH CAROLINA

We have already related how, in 1670, the year in which the Grand Model constitution was signed, a company of emigrants were sent out, at the expense of £12,000 to the proprietaries, under the command of William Sayle, a military officer and Presbyterian, who twenty years before had attempted to plant a colony in the Bahama Isles, under the title of an Eleutheria, and who more latterly had been employed by the proprietaries in exploring the coasts of their province. These emigrants were accompanied by Joseph West, as commercial agent of the proprietaries, authorised to supply the settlers with provisions, cattle, implements, and all other necessities; a trade being commenced for this purpose with Virginia, Bermuda, and Barbadoes.

The vessels containing the infant colony, which was intended to be constituted according to the Grand Model, entered the harbour of Port Royal, on the shores of which, a century before, the Huguenots had erected their fort—the early Carolina—and of which even yet some traces remained. Each settler was to receive a hundred and fifty acres of land, and the district thus taken possession of was called Carteret county. It was soon discovered, as was to be expected, that the Grand Model was far too complex a system of government even for this settlement sent out by the proprietaries themselves; "yet, desiring to come as nigh to it as possible," says Chalmers,^o "five persons were immediately elected by the freeholders, and five others chosen by the proprietaries, who were to form a grand council, and these, with the governor and twenty delegates elected by the people, composed a parliament which was invested with legislative power."

Scarcely had Sayle thus far fulfilled his office, when he fell a victim to the effects of the climate, and died. Sir John Yeamans succeeded him, and Clarendon county, in consequence, was annexed to Carteret. The same year, 1671, the settlement removed from Port Royal to the banks of the Ashley river, "for the convenience of pasturage and tillage," and upon the neck of the peninsula then called Oyster Point, between that river and the Cooper—both thus called in honour of Shaftesbury—the foundation of Charleston was laid by the settlement there of a few graziers' cabins. The situation thus chosen, though full of natural beauty—the primeval forest, as we are told, sweeping down to the river's edge, laden with yellow jessamine, the perfume of which filled the air—was not salubrious. The place for many years indeed was considered so unhealthy during the hot months of the year that people fled from it at that time as from the pestilence. But the clearing away of the woods, probably, and the draining of the soil, so far altered its character in this respect, that it is now rather singularly healthy than otherwise.

Spite of the shortcomings of the settlement as regarded the Grand Model, Governor Yeamans was created landgrave, and, Albemarle being dead, Lord Berkeley had become palatine. Yeamans introduced negro slavery in 1671, bringing with him a cargo of slaves from Barbadoes. The heat of the climate rendered labour difficult to the whites, and from its first settlement South

Carolina was a slave state; besides which, these settlers seem to have been a somewhat improvident and shiftless set of people, deriving their supplies for several years from the proprietaries, for which, though obtained as purchases, they appear never to have paid; complaining bitterly when the proprietaries, objecting naturally enough to supply them on these terms, declared that "they would no longer continue to feed and to clothe them." To such men it would soon become an object to possess negro slaves, without which, it was early said, "a planter can never do any great matter." The climate of South Carolina was not only congenial to the negro, but, as we have seen, the temper of the people made them willingly avail themselves of slave labour, and very soon the slave population far outnumbered the whites.

The management of Sir John, or Landgrave Yeamans not being by any means satisfactory to the proprietaries, nor yet to the colony, he was recalled in 1674, and Joseph West was appointed governor and created landgrave, and to him the proprietaries made over as salary their outstanding claims against the colony—the surest means of trying his popularity. Nevertheless, we find, at the end of ten years, that "he received the whole product of his traffic, as the reward of his services, without any impeachment of his morals." The proprietaries, seeing the character of the emigrants they had sent over, encouraged settlers from the New England and the northern colonies; and with a desire to promote the advantage of the industrious, sent over further supplies, informing the colony, however, that they must be paid, being determined "to make no more desperate debts."

INFLUX OF HUGUENOTS AND OTHERS

The fame of the beautiful land of South Carolina, "the region where every month had its succession of flowers," soon led to the attempt to introduce and cultivate the olive, the orange, the mulberry for the production of the silk-worm, and vines for the production of wine. Charles II himself sent over to the colony two small vessels with these plants, and Protestants from the south of France for their cultivation; he also exempted the province from the payment of duties on these commodities for a limited time, which caused dissatisfaction at home, and the remonstrance against "encouraging people to remove to the plantations, as too many go thither already to the unpeopling and ruin of the kingdom." Emigrants continued to come over from England, and these of various classes, not only impoverished cavaliers and discontented churchmen, but the soundest element for colonisation, sturdy dissenters, to whom their native land no longer afforded a secure abode. Among other companies of emigrants were a considerable number from Somersetshire, who accompanied Joseph Blake, the brother of the celebrated admiral, now dead. Blake was himself no longer young, but unable to endure the present oppressions of England, and dreading still worse from a popish successor to the crown, devoted the whole of the vast fortune he had inherited from his brother to the purposes of emigration. A colony of Irish went over, under Ferguson, and soon amalgamated with the population. Lord Cardross also took over a company of brave Scotch exiles, who had suffered grievously at home for their religion—men who had been thumb-screwed and tortured for conscience' sake; but they, having established themselves at Port Royal, fell victims to the animosity of the Spaniards, who claimed that portion of the district as appertaining to St. Augustine, and consequently destroyed their settlement. Many returned to Scotland; the rest, like the Irish, became blended with the original colonists.

[1674 A. D.]

From France also came great numbers of the best and noblest of her people, men and women of whom she was not worthy, forced from their country by the severity of laws which placed truth, sincerity, and uprightness before God and man on a par with treason and murder. Louis XIV, an old debauchee, sought to atone for a life of profligacy by converting the Huguenots to the Catholic faith, even at the point of the sword; their native land was made intolerable to them, and they sought for peace by flight and voluntary exile. But flight and exile were no longer permitted to them; to leave their native land was made felony. Tyranny, however, is powerless against the human will based on the rights of conscience; and spite of the prohibitions of law, the persecuted Calvinists fled in thousands to that happy land beyond the Atlantic, the noblest privilege of which has ever been that it furnished a safe asylum to the true-hearted and the conscientious of every European land, and where men might worship according to the dictates of their own souls. These refugees were warmly welcomed to New England and New York, but the mild, congenial climate of South Carolina was more attractive to the exiles of France.

Hither came these fugitives from the most beautiful and fertile regions of France—"men," says Bancroft *g* eloquently, "who had all the virtues of the English Puritans without their bigotry, to the land to which the tolerant benevolence of Shaftesbury had invited the believers of every creed. From a land which had suffered its king to drive half a million of its best citizens into exile, they came to the land which was the hospitable refuge of the oppressed; where superstition and fanaticism, infidelity and faith, cold speculation and animated zeal were alike admitted without question." In this chosen home of their exile, lands were assigned to them, on the banks of the Cooper river, and there they soon established their homes. Their church was in Charleston, and "thither," says the same historian, who so keenly feels every beautiful trait of humanity, "on the Lord's Day, gathered from their plantations on the banks of the river, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of tide, they might regularly be seen, parents with their children, whom no bigot could wrest from them, making their way along the river, through scenes so tranquil that the silence was broken only by the rippling of the oars, and the hum of the flourishing villages that gemmed the confluence of the rivers. Other Huguenot emigrants established themselves on the south bank of the Santee."

Thus was the original scheme of the Huguenot colonisation on this very soil, as entertained by Coligny, at length accomplished, although a century later. Liberal as was the Grand Model constitution as regarded religious toleration, the spirit of the settlers was not equal to it in this respect. The Huguenot colonists were not cordially received by them; persecution was impossible, but hospitality was withheld; and though they formed the most industrious, useful, and sterling portion of the population, it was many years before they were allowed the rights of fellow-citizenship. As striking instances, showing the noble character of these emigrants, Bancroft *g* says: "The United States are full of monuments of the emigrations from France. When the struggle for independence arrived, the son of Judith Manigault intrusted the vast fortune he had acquired to the service of the country that had adopted his mother; the hall in Boston where the eloquence of New England rocked the infant spirit of independence was the gift of the son of a Huguenot; when the Treaty of Paris for the independence of the country was framing, the grandson of a Huguenot, acquainted from childhood with the wrongs of his ancestors, would not allow his jealousies of France to be

lulled, and exerted a powerful influence in stretching the boundary of the states to the Mississippi. On the northeastern frontier state, the name of the oldest college bears witness to the liberality of a descendant of the Huguenots."

The province of South Carolina was divided, in 1683, into three counties: Colleton, including the district around Port Royal; Berkeley, embracing Charleston and its vicinity; and Craven, the district formerly Clarendon, towards Cape Fear, the earliest settlement of the whole. But Berkeley only as yet was sufficiently populous to afford a county court. West, who governed to the contentment of the settlers, failed to give satisfaction to the proprietaries, and was superseded, in 1683, by Moreton, a relative of Blake, who was also created landgrave; the next year however, West was re-elected; a new governor was then sent from England, but he died, and West remained in office; a second governor came over, but he was soon deposed by the proprietaries, in consequence of favouring the buccaneers, and Moreton again resumed office. In six years the head of the government was changed five times.

The relationship between the colonists and the proprietaries increased in difficulty every succeeding year. There was little that was straightforward on either side, and where either apparently wished to do right, they were counteracted by the other. For instance, the proprietaries opposed and remonstrated against the practice of the settlers to carry on partisan war with the neighbouring Indians for the purpose of kidnapping and selling them as slaves in the West Indies; but the settlers persisted in it; nay, even Governor West himself was accused of connivance at this barbarous practice. The payment of debts which had been contracted out of the province could not be enforced; nor would the more populous districts of Charleston, where the members of assembly were elected, allow to the other provinces the same privilege, when population extended, which they themselves enjoyed.

THE BUCCANEERS

Another serious charge against them is the favour which they showed to the buccaneers. "These remarkable freebooters," says Hildreth,^h "a mixture of French, English, and Dutch, consisted originally of adventurers in the West India seas, whose establishments the Spaniards had broken up. Some fifty or sixty years before, contemporaneously with the English and French settlements on the Caribbee Islands, they had commenced as occasional cruisers on a small scale against the Spaniards, in the intervals of the planting season. During the long war between France and Spain, from 1635 to 1660, they had obtained commissions to cruise against Spanish commerce, principally from the governors of the French West India Islands. Almost anything, indeed, in the shape of a commission was enough to serve their purpose. As an offset to that Spanish arrogance which had claimed to exclude all other nations from these West Indian seas, the Spanish commerce in those seas was regarded by all other nations as fair plunder. The means and number of the buccaneers gradually increased. The unquiet spirits of all countries resorted to them. Issuing from their strongholds, the island of Tortugo, on the west coast of St. Domingo, and Port Royal in Jamaica, they committed such audacious and successful robberies on the Spanish American cities as to win almost the honours of legitimate heroes. They were countenanced for a time by France and England; one of their leaders was appointed governor of Jamaica, and another was knighted by Charles II."

[1683-1685 A.D.]

Charles, spite of the favour he had shown to the buccaneer chief, was compelled, however, by treaties with his allies and by the complaints of his own subjects, whose commerce was injured by these illegal traders, to use his most strenuous endeavours to put an end to them; and his successor was even still more in earnest. In 1684 a law was passed against pirates, which was confirmed by the proprietaries of South Carolina, and their commands issued, that it should be rigorously enforced within their jurisdiction. But this was not an easy matter. The colonists not only favoured the buccaneer, who brought abundance of Spanish gold and silver into their country, but they were irritated against the Spaniards, who, justly perhaps, incensed by the English encroachments on their borders, had destroyed the Scotch settlement at Port Royal, and were glad of any means to make reprisals. Little attention, therefore, was paid by the English to the suppression of piracy. "The pirates," says Hewatt,^t in his history of South Carolina, "had already, by their money, their gallant manners, and their freedom of intercourse with the people, so ingratiated themselves into the public favour that it would have been no easy matter to bring them to trial, and dangerous even to have punished them as they deserved. When brought to trial, the courts of law became scenes of altercation, discord, and confusion. Bold and seditious speeches were made from the bar in contempt of the proprietaries and their government. Since no pardons could be obtained but such as they authorised the governor to grant, the assembly violently proposed a bill of indemnity, and when the governor refused his assent to this measure, they made a law empowering magistrates and judges to put in force the *habeas corpus* act of England. Hence it happened that several of those pirates escaped, purchased lands from the colonists, and took up their residence in the country. While money flowed into the colony by this channel, the authority of government was too feeble a barrier to stem the tide and prevent such illegal practices."

The very proprietaries themselves at length, to gratify the people, granted an indemnity to all the pirates, excepting in one case, where the plunder had been from the dominions of the Great Mogul. Very justly does this historian remark, that "the gentleness of government towards these public robbers, and the civility and friendship with which they were treated by the people, were evidences of the licentious spirit which prevailed in the colony." And not only an evidence of this, but of the enmity which existed towards the Spaniards; so great indeed was this enmity that but for the earnest remonstrances of the proprietaries, which in this case were regarded, they would have invaded Florida to drive the Spaniards thence, and that even while the two nations were at peace.

POLITICAL UNREST; ABROGATION OF THE GRAND MODEL

Affairs became still more and more difficult, and in 1685 James II meditated a revocation of the charter itself. The palatine court, wishful not to offend the king at this critical moment, and to satisfy the English merchants who were jealous of the trade of South Carolina, ordered the governor and council to use their diligence in collecting the duty on tobacco transported to other colonies, and to seize all ships that presumed to trade contrary to the acts of navigation. But vain were these orders, which they had no power to enforce. The colonists resisted every attempt of this kind, disregarding the dictates of the proprietaries, and holding themselves independent almost of the English monarch.

At a loss how to manage in these perplexed circumstances, and imagining that the fault existed in the governor as well as in the people, the proprietaries resolved to remedy one error at least by sending out James Colleton, brother of the proprietary, who, to sustain his dignity of governor-landgrave, should be endowed with forty-eight thousand acres of land. This was like the reasoning of the founders of the Grand Model, with whom "the aristocracy was the rock of English principles," and "the object of law the preservation of property." Colleton arrived, armed with all the dignity that could be conferred upon his office, intending to awe the people into submission; and his first act was to come into direct collision with the colonial parliament. A majority of the members refused to obey the Grand Model constitution, and these men were excluded by him from the house, as "sapping the very foundations of government." All returned to their several homes, spreading discontent and disaffection wherever they came. A new parliament was called, and only such members were elected to it as "would oppose every measure of the governor." He next attempted to collect the quit-rents due to the proprietaries; but here again direct opposition met him: the people, in a state of insurrection, seized upon the public records and imprisoned the secretary of the province. Colleton, not knowing how to deal with such refractory elements, pretended danger from the Indians or Spaniards, and, calling out the militia, declared the province under martial law. A more unwise step could not have been taken; for men of their temper were just as likely to use their arms against a ruler whom they at once despised and disliked, as against the general enemy. Any further step in folly was saved him. The English revolution of 1688 took place; William and Mary were proclaimed, and, as if in imitation of the mother-country, Colleton was impeached by the assembly and banished the province.

Political convulsions, however, were not wholly at an end; for in the midst of the ferment, the infamous Seth Sothel, whom we have seen banished from North Carolina, suddenly made his appearance in Charleston, and thinking, probably, that this was a people kindred to himself, seized the reins of government, and for some little time found actually a faction to support him. But after two years' rule, he was not only deposed by the people, but censured severely and recalled by the proprietaries, who, though he was still a member of their own body, treated him as "a usurper of office."

A new governor, Philip Ludwell, was appointed, with orders to "inquire into the grievances complained of and to inform them what was best to be done"; and in this respect they had at last discovered the true dignity of the governor. A general pardon was granted, and in April, 1693, "the Grand Model constitution" was abrogated, the proprietaries wisely conceding "that as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request."^u

THE CAROLINAS BOUGHT BY THE CROWN; RICE INTRODUCED

Nothing of importance happened in the northern settlements until 1710, when they received an accession to their numbers by the arrival of some German settlers at Roanoke. In the southern colony, Governor Ludwell, in obedience to the commands of the proprietors, was desirous of allowing the French settlers the same privileges which the English enjoyed; but he was resisted by the assembly and people, and applied to the proprietaries for

[1710-1715 A.D.]

further instructions. The answer he received was an order to vacate his office in favour of Thomas Smith. During his administration, the captain of a Madagascar vessel, which touched at Charleston on her voyage to Britain, presented Smith with a bag of seed-rice, which he prudently distributed among his friends for cultivation; who, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this circumstance Carolina dates the introduction of one of her chief staples.

Archdale, one of the proprietaries, and a Quaker, arrived in Charleston in August, 1695, and, by a wise administration, he quieted the public discontents, and gave such general satisfaction as to receive a vote of thanks from the assembly of the province. He then went to North Carolina, tranquillised that colony, secured the good will and esteem of the Indians and Spaniards, and returned to England at the close of the year 1696. Archdale nominated Joseph Blake as his successor, who governed the colony wisely for four years.

Blake died in 1700, and with his death terminated the short interval of tranquillity which had commenced under Archdale. Under Blake's successors, James Moore and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colony was harassed with Indian wars, and involved in debt by an unsuccessful expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine. Henceforward, every kind of misrule distracted the colony, until 1729, when the proprietary interests were sold to the crown. [The king paid £2,500 for each of the seven shares. The population was then about ten thousand.]

The first Indian war which signalised this period broke out in 1703, the Spaniards having instigated the Indians to commence hostilities. Governor Moore soon finished the affair, by killing and taking prisoners about eight hundred of the Indians. In 1706 the Spaniards attacked Charleston, but were repulsed by Governor Johnson, leaving one ship and ninety men in the hands of the English. In 1712 the outer settlements of the northern province were attacked by about twelve hundred of the Coree and Tuscarora tribes of Indians. A sudden attack, in which one hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists were massacred in a single night, gave the first notice of the intentions of the Indians. A powerful force was despatched to the field of action by the southern colony, under Colonel Barnwell, who, after overcoming the most incredible obstacles in his march through a wilderness of two hundred miles, suddenly attacked and defeated the Indians in their encampment, killing three hundred of their number, and taking one hundred prisoners. The Tuscaroras then retreated to their town, fortified by a wooden breastwork. Barnwell surrounded them, and after killing, wounding, or capturing a thousand Indians, he made peace. The inhabitants of the forest, burning for revenge, soon broke the treaty, and the southern colony was again applied to for aid. Colonel James Moore, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians, was sent to their aid, and finding the enemy in a fort near Cotechny river, he surrounded them, and after a week's siege took the fort and eight hundred prisoners. After suffering these defeats, the Tuscaroras removed north and joined the Five Nations, making the sixth of that confederacy.

The Tuscarora war ended, the Yemassee commenced hostilities against the southern colony. On the 15th of April, 1715, they began their operations by murdering ninety persons at Pocotaligo and the neighbouring plantations. The inhabitants of Port Royal escaped to Charleston. The colonists soon found that all the southern tribes were leagued against them, but they relied upon the assistance of those tribes who inhabited the country west of them. In this they were mistaken, for these Indians were either enemies or remained

neutral. Thus with about twelve hundred men, all that were fit for bearing arms in the colony, Governor Craven had to contend against seven thousand armed Indians. With this force Craven cautiously advanced into the Indian country and drove them into Florida. The colony offered the lands vacated by the Indians to purchasers. Five hundred Irishmen soon settled on them, but, by the injustice of the proprietaries, they were compelled to remove, and the frontier was again exposed. After the settlement of South Carolina, that colony had a separate assembly and governor, but remained under the jurisdiction of the same proprietaries; but when, in 1729, these persons sold their shares to the king, they were entirely separated.

For nearly a century after their first settlement both colonies had their population confined to the sea-coast; but in the middle of the eighteenth century it was discovered that the lands of the interior were by far the more fertile, and from that time the tide of emigration set westward. Numbers of emigrants from the more northern colonies, Pennsylvania particularly, attracted by the fertility of the soil, removed into the Carolinas, and the lands were soon in a high state of cultivation.

"Carolina," says Grahame,^v "by its amazing fertility in animal and vegetable produce, was enabled from an early period to carry on a considerable trade with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the Leeward Islands, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, are said to have depended in a great measure on that colony for the means of subsistence. Its staple commodities were rice, tar, and afterwards indigo." Oldmixon,^w whose history was published in the year 1708, observes that the trade of the colony with England had recently gained a considerable increase; "for notwithstanding all the discouragements the people lie under," he adds, "seventeen ships came last year loaded from Carolina with rice, skins, pitch, and tar, in the Virginia fleet, besides straggling ships." At the commencement of the Revolution the population of North Carolina amounted to a quarter of a million, whilst South Carolina possessed nearly two hundred and forty-eight thousand inhabitants.

GEORGIA; OGLETHORPE, WESLEY

The youngest of all the states which engaged in the war of independence was Georgia. The tract of land now forming the state of Georgia had been originally included in Heath's patent of 1630; but no settlements were made under that instrument, and it was declared void. The final settlement of the colony was owing principally to national rivalry and ambition. Another cause for its colonisation was the desire of the settlers at Charleston to interpose a barrier between them and the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who, they were fearful, would attempt to substantiate their boundless claims by force of arms. Individual patriotism, also, had a share in promoting the settlement of Georgia. It was requisite for the interest of Great Britain and the security of Carolina that a plantation should be established somewhere between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers—the territory included between those rivers being entirely destitute of white inhabitants. The Spaniards would probably ere long have attempted to annex it to Florida by a settlement, and the French would include it in the advances with which they were peopling the valley of the Mississippi. A settlement in this territory would have been particularly valuable to the French, as they could easily communicate, from it, with their sugar islands, and these latter need not then depend on the British colonies for food.

[1729-1735 A.D.]

In the year 1732 a charter was granted to Sir James Oglethorpe and several other noblemen and gentlemen of England, who proposed to remove to the colony the insolvent and imprisoned debtors, who were pining in poverty and want. The charter granted the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers, and which, in honour of the king, was called Georgia. The trustees were vested with legislative power in the colony for twenty-one years, when the government was to pass into the hands of the king. This example of public spirit and philanthropy was warmly applauded throughout the kingdom, and elicited numerous donations from all classes of people; and in the space of two years the house of commons had voted, at different times, the sum of £36,000 towards the support of the colony. On the 6th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend with a hundred and sixteen persons. They landed at Charleston first, where they were presented with a large supply of cattle and other provisions by the government of the province. Hence they set out for their new place of abode, which they reached on the 1st of February, 1733.

Oglethorpe fixed on a high bluff on the Savannah river, to which he gave the name of that stream, for a settlement. Here a fort was erected, and a few guns mounted on it for the defence of the infant colony. He immediately formed the settlers into a militia company, and appointed certain days for training the company. The Carolinians continued to send supplies of provisions, and skilful workmen to direct and assist in their labours. Oglethorpe's next measure was the establishment of some definite treaty with the Indians. He gave them presents, and they gave him as much land as he wanted. The Indians promised, with "straight hearts and love to their English brethren," to permit no other race of white men to settle in that country. Oglethorpe then committed the government to two individuals named Scott and St. Julian, and ordered Scott to make a treaty with the Choctaw Indians. This was done, and the interest of these powerful Indians secured to the English.

Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him Tomochichi, the king of the Creeks, with his queen and several other chiefs. They were entertained in London with magnificent hospitality, loaded with presents and attentions from all classes of people, and introduced to the king and the nobility. After remaining in London four months, they returned with Oglethorpe and a shipload of emigrants. At the expiration of a year from this time between five and six hundred emigrants had arrived and taken up their abode in this colony. But it was soon found by experience, what might have been expected from a knowledge of the kind of colonists sent over, that the settlement did not fulfil the expectations of the projectors.

The trustees offered land to other emigrants, and more than four hundred persons arrived in the colony from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, in 1735. Among these were some of the associates of Count Zinzendorf, the



JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE
(1696-1785)

Moravian missionary. These were not the only persons of a religious character who arrived in the colony during this year.

John Wesley had formed, when at college, a pious association of young men, who visited the prisons and made many efforts to reform the vices of their race. Charles Wesley, the brother of the former, and George Whitefield, whose labours are well known to the student of American history, were among the principal members of this society, which was styled in derision, by the college wits, "the Godly Club." Oglethorpe was introduced to the two Wesleys, and, being made acquainted with their character, he prevailed upon them to come to America. With them came to the colony three or four of their associates, and three hundred others, among whom were one hundred and seventy more Moravian Germans. Wesley laboured in this field for some time without much success, when he returned to England. Soon after, Whitefield came out to the colony, and laboured much to establish an orphan asylum, in which design he partially succeeded, the asylum being still in existence, though not in a flourishing state.

WAR WITH THE SPANIARDS; OGLETHORPE'S STRATEGY

Naturally fearful of the close proximity of the Spaniards, Oglethorpe applied himself to the fortification of the colony. In pursuance of this design, he built a fort on the banks of the Savannah, at a place he called Augusta. At Frederica, another fort with four regular bastions was erected; and a third was placed on Cumberland Island, which commanded the entrance to Jekyl Sound, through which alone ships of force could reach Frederica. Ten thousand pounds were granted by parliament for the construction of these forts and the maintenance of the garrisons. While the forts were building, the Spanish garrison was reinforced, and the governor of Georgia was informed by the commander of that garrison of the arrival of a commissioner from Havana, who wished a speedy conference with the British governor. This personage required of Oglethorpe the immediate evacuation by the English of all the territories south of St. Helena sound, as they were the property of the king of Spain, who would shortly vindicate his claim.

It was in vain for Oglethorpe to attempt to use arguments with a person who relied upon his supposed superiority of force; and he therefore sailed immediately to England, in order to state the condition of affairs to the ministry. In London, the founder of Georgia was promoted to the rank of major-general of all the forces in South Carolina and his own colony, with a regiment of six hundred new soldier emigrants for the defence of the colony.

During his absence in England the Spaniards made many attempts to detach the Creek and other friendly tribes from their alliance, and at the time of his arrival in Georgia some of the Creek chiefs were in St. Augustine. When they returned, they found at their town an invitation from Oglethorpe to visit him at Frederica, where he renewed the treaty, and foiled the intrigues of the Spaniards. These now employed an unwarrantable stratagem against the English.

Some of Oglethorpe's soldiers had been in the fortress at Gibraltar, where they had learned to speak the Spanish language. One of these soldiers they found means to corrupt, and employed him to excite a mutiny in the English camp. He formed a conspiracy, and a daring attempt was made to assassinate the general, whose courage and self-command happily rescued him from danger, and the conspirators were put to death.

[1740-1750 A.D.]

In 1740 the trustees rendered an account of their administration, in which it was stated that twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent to the colony, and \$500,000 had been expended on it; but such was the character of the emigrants, and so grievous were the restrictions laid upon the colony, that it yet depended upon charitable contributions for support.

War being declared between England and Spain, Oglethorpe led an army of four hundred chosen men, and a body of Indians, into Florida. He took two of the Spanish forts, and laid siege to St. Augustine. The garrison found means, however, to admit a reinforcement of seven hundred men into the town, with provisions. The Indians soon left the English camp, and many of the soldiers were sick. There was no prospect of starving the garrison out, and Oglethorpe, with great chagrin, raised the siege and returned to Frederica.

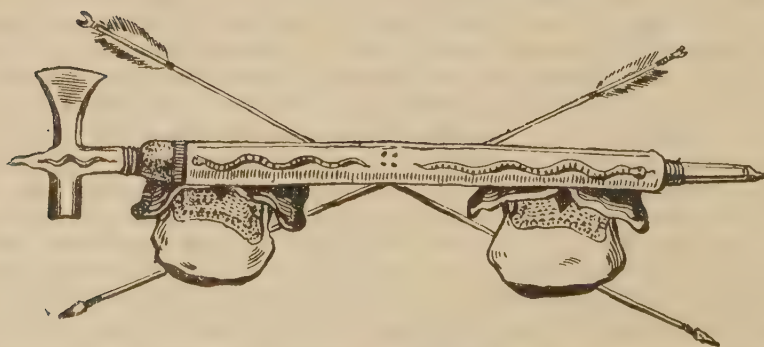
In 1742 an expedition from Havana, consisting of a formidable land and naval force [of fifty-one sail], sailed up the Altamaha, for the purpose of retaliating these aggressions. The army of the invaders consisted of five thousand men. The object of the expedition was not merely the destruction of Georgia, but the entire extermination of all the British settlements in the southern part of North America. Oglethorpe applied to the South Carolinians, who thought it more prudent to keep their men at home and fortify themselves, leaving Georgia to repulse the invaders herself, if possible. Oglethorpe, thus thrown on his own resources, proceeded in the following manner as related by David Ramsay:^x When the Spanish force proceeded up the Altamaha, Oglethorpe was obliged to retreat to Frederica. He had but about seven hundred men besides Indians; yet, with a part of these, he approached within two miles of the enemy's camp, with the design of attacking them by surprise, when a French soldier of his party fired a musket and ran into the Spanish lines. His situation was now very critical, for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. Returning, however, to Frederica, he had recourse to the following expedient. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and to urge them to the attack. If he could not effect this object, he desired him to use all his art to persuade them to stay three days at Fort Simon's, as within that time he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land troops, besides six ships of war; cautioning him, at the same time, not to drop a hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner was intrusted with this letter, under promise of delivering it to the deserter; but he gave it, as was expected and intended, to the commander-in-chief, who immediately put the deserter in irons.

In the perplexity occasioned by this letter, while the enemy was deliberating what measures to adopt, three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had at last sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared on the coast. The Spanish commander was now convinced, beyond all question, that the letter, instead of being a stratagem, contained serious instructions to a spy; and, in this moment of consternation, set fire to the fort, and embarked so precipitately as to leave behind him a number of cannon and a quantity of military stores. Thus, by an event beyond human foresight or control—by a correspondence between the suggestions of a military genius and the blowing of the winds—was the infant colony providentially saved from destruction, and Oglethorpe gained the character of an able general.¹ He

[¹ So remarkable was this defeat of 5,000 men by 650, that George Whitefield *v* was led to exclaim, "The deliverance of Georgia is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament."]

now returned to England, and never again revisited Georgia. In 1775 he was offered the command of the British army in America. He professed his readiness to accept the appointment, if the ministers would authorise him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them; but the command was given to Sir William Howe. He died in August, 1785, at the age of ninety-seven, being the oldest general in the service. Nine years before his death, the province of Georgia, of which he was the father, had been raised to the rank of a sovereign, independent state, and was now acknowledged as such by the mother country, under whose auspices it had been planted.

The importation of West India rum into the colony being prohibited by the original charter, all the commerce of the colony with those islands was suspended; and it was asserted by the settlers that the prohibition, by the same instrument, of negro slavery in the colony prevented the successful cultivation of their lands. This latter assertion was, however, disproved by the Moravian settlers, whose lands were always well cultivated, without the least assistance of negroes or other servants. Many complaints were also made by the settlers against the tenure by which they held their lands. But, whether owing to these causes or to the indolence and ignorance of the settlers, it is certain that, at the end of ten years, the people obtained with difficulty a scanty subsistence. These apparent disadvantages deterred many emigrants from settling in the colony. It was useless to complain to the trustees, who disregarded all their petitions for a redress of grievances; and the colony languished until 1752, when the charter passed into the hands of the king, and the colony enjoyed the same privileges, and advanced in population and wealth as rapidly, as the neighbouring provinces.^s





CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH COLONIES

LIBERTY and Absolutism, New England and New France! The one was the offspring of a triumphant government; the other, of an oppressed and fugitive people. The story of New France is from the first a story of war: war with savage tribes and potent forest commonwealths; war with the encroaching powers of Heresy and of England. Her brave, unthinking people were stamped with the soldier's virtues and the soldier's faults. The expansion of New France was the achievement of a gigantic ambition striving to grasp a continent. It was a vain attempt. Long and valiantly her chiefs upheld their cause, leading to battle a vassal population warlike as themselves. Borne down by numbers from without, wasted by corruption from within, New France fell at last; and out of her fall grew revolutions whose influence to this hour is felt through every nation of the civilised world.—FRANCIS PARKMAN.^b

THWAITES¹ ON EARLY FRENCH COLONIES

THE story of early French efforts at colonisation in North America, from Cartier's visit (1534) to Champlain's foundation of Quebec (1608), the first permanent French colony in Canada, has already been told.

It was unfortunate for New France that Champlain incurred at the outset the hostility of the Iroquois; the French and the Algonquin tribes, with whom they maintained friendly relations, were long after sorely afflicted by them. Had it not been for the Iroquois wall interposed between Champlain and the south, the French would doubtless have preceded the English upon the Atlantic plain. The presence of this opposition led the founder of New France, in his attempts to extend the sphere of French influence, to explore along the line of least resistance, to the north and west.

In 1611 Montreal was planted at the first rapids in the St. Lawrence, and near the mouths of the Ottawa and Richelieu. Four years later (1615)

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Champlain reached Lake Huron by the way of the Ottawa. There were easier highways to the Northwest, but the French were compelled for many years thereafter to take this path, because of its greater security from the all-devouring Iroquois.

To extend the sphere of French influence and the Catholic religion, as well as to induce the savages to patronise French commerce, were objects which inspired both lay and clerical followers of Champlain. Their wonderful zeal illumined the history of New France with a poetic glamour such as is cast over no other part of America north of Mexico. Under Champlain's guidance and inspired by his example, traders and priests soon penetrated to the far West—the former bent on trafficking for peltries and the latter on saving souls. Another large class of rovers, styled *coureurs de bois*, or wood-rangers, wandered far and wide, visiting and fraternising with remote tribes of Indians; they were attracted by the love of lawless adventure, and conducted an extensive but illicit fur-trade. Many of these explorers left no record of their journeys, hence it is now impossible to say who first made some of the most important geographical discoveries.

We know that by 1629, the year before the planting of the Massachusetts Bay colony, Champlain saw an ingot of copper obtained by barter with Indians from the shores of Lake Superior. In 1634 Jean Nicolet, another emissary from Champlain, penetrated to central Wisconsin, by way of the Fox river, and thence went overland to the Illinois country, making trading agreements with the savage tribes along his path. Seven years afterwards (1641) Jesuit priests said mass before two thousand naked savages at Sault Sainte Marie. In the winter of 1658-1659, two French fur-traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, imbued with a desire "to travell and see countreys" and "to be knowne with the remotest people," visited Wisconsin, probably saw the Mississippi, and built a log fort on Chequamegon Bay of Lake Superior. During 1662 they discovered James' Bay to the far northeast, and became impressed with the fur-trading capabilities of the Hudson Bay region. Not receiving French support in their enterprise, they sold their services to England. On the strength of their discoveries, the Hudson Bay Company was organised (1670). Saint-Lusson took formal possession of the Northwest for the French king at Sault Sainte Marie in 1671. Two years later (1673) Joliet and Marquette made their now famous trip over the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and rediscovered the Mississippi.^c

PARKMAN ON THE CONTRAST BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH COLONISTS¹

The American colonies of France and England grew up to maturity under widely different auspices. Canada, the offspring of church and state, nursed from infancy in the lap of power, its puny strength fed with artificial stimulants, its movements guided by rule and discipline, its limbs trained to martial exercise, languished, in spite of all, from the lack of vital sap and energy. The colonies of England, outcast and neglected, but strong in native vigour and self-confiding courage, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striv-

[¹ We have elsewhere described the first explorations of the French and their commissioners, such as Verrazano. We have described the Huguenot colony planted in Florida, at the instance of Admiral Coligny, by Ribaut, and its annihilation by the Spanish under Menendez. We have also recounted the voyages of Cartier, Roberval, de la Roche and Champlain, resulting in the settlements at Quebec, Montreal, and in Acadia, or Acadie. We have also seen the great influx of Huguenots into the English colonies of South Carolina.]

[1673 A.D.]

ing, and developed the rugged proportions and unwieldy strength of a youthful giant.

In the valley of the St. Lawrence, and along the coasts of the Atlantic, adverse principles contended for the mastery. Feudalism stood arrayed against democracy; popery against protestantism; the sword against the ploughshare. The priest, the soldier, and the noble ruled in Canada. The ignorant, light-hearted Canadian peasant knew nothing and cared nothing about popular rights and civil liberties. Born to obey, he lived in contented submission, without the wish or the capacity for self rule. Power, centred in the heart of the system, left the masses inert. The settlements along the margin of the St. Lawrence were like a far-extended camp, where an army lay at rest, ready for the march or the battle, and where war and adventure, not trade and tillage, seemed the chief aims of life. The lords of the soil were noblemen, for the most part soldiers, or the sons of soldiers, proud and ostentatious, thriftless and poor; and the people were their vassals. Over every cluster of small white houses glittered the sacred emblem of the cross. The church, the convent, and the roadside shrine were seen at every turn; and in the towns and villages one met each moment the black robe of the Jesuit, the gray garb of the Recollet, and the formal habit of the Ursuline nun. The names of saints, St. Joseph, St. Ignatius, St. Francis, were perpetuated in the capes, rivers, and islands, the forts and villages of the land; and with every day, crowds of simple worshippers knelt in adoration before the countless altars of the Roman faith.

If we search the world for the sharpest contrast to the spiritual and temporal vassalage of Canada, we shall find it among her immediate neighbours, the stern Puritans of New England, where the spirit of nonconformity was sublimed to a fiery essence, and where the love of liberty and the hatred of power burned with sevenfold heat. The English colonist, with thoughtful brow and limbs hardened with toil; calling no man master, yet bowing reverently to the law which he himself had made; patient and laborious, and seeking for the solid comforts rather than the ornaments of life; no lover of war, yet, if need were, fighting with a stubborn, indomitable courage, and then bending once more with steadfast energy to his farm or his merchandise—such a man might well be deemed the very pith and marrow of a commonwealth.

In every quality of efficiency and strength, the Canadian fell miserably below his rival; but in all that pleases the eye and interests the imagination, he far surpassed him. Buoyant and gay, like his ancestry of France, he made the frozen wilderness ring with merriment, answered the surly howling of the pine forest with peals of laughter, and warmed with revelry the groaning ice of the St. Lawrence. Careless and thoughtless, he lived happy in the midst of poverty, content if he could but gain the means to fill his tobacco-pouch, and decorate the cap of his mistress with a painted ribbon. The example of a beggared nobility, who, proud and penniless, could only assert their rank by idleness and ostentation, was not lost upon him. A rightful heir to French bravery and French restlessness, he had an eager love of wandering and adventure; and this propensity found ample scope in the service of the fur-trade, the engrossing occupation and chief source of income to the colony. When the priest of St. Ann's had shrived him of his sins; when, after the parting carousal, he embarked with his comrades in the deep-laden canoe; when their oars kept time to the measured cadence of their song, and the blue, sunny bosom of the Ottawa opened before them; when their frail bark quivered among the milky foam and black rocks of the rapid;

and when, around their camp-fire, they wasted half the night with jests and laughter—then the Canadian was in his element. His footsteps explored the farthest hiding-places of the wilderness. In the evening dance his red cap mingled with the scalp-locks and feathers of the Indian braves; or, stretched on a bear-skin by the side of his dusky mistress, he watched the gambols of his hybrid offspring, in happy oblivion of the partner whom he left unnumbered leagues behind.

The fur trade engendered a peculiar class of restless bushrangers, more akin to Indians than to white men. Those who had once felt the fascinations of the forest were unfitted ever after for a life of quiet labour; and with this spirit the whole colony was infected. From this cause, no less than from occasional wars with the English and repeated attacks of the Iroquois, the agriculture of the country was sunk to a low ebb; while feudal exactions, a ruinous system of monopoly, and the intermeddlings of arbitrary power cramped every branch of industry. Yet by the zeal of priests and the daring enterprise of soldiers and explorers, Canada, though sapless and infirm, spread forts and missions through all the western wilderness. Feebly rooted in the soil, she thrust out branches which overshadowed half America; a magnificent object to the eye, but one which the first whirlwind would prostrate in the dust.

Such excursive enterprise was alien to the genius of the British colonies. Daring activity was rife among them, but it did not aim at the founding of military outposts and forest missions. By the force of energetic industry, their population swelled with an unheard-of rapidity, their wealth increased in a yet greater ratio, and their promise of future greatness opened with every advancing year. But it was a greatness rather of peace than of war. The free institutions, the independence of authority, which were the source of their increase, were adverse to that unity of counsel and promptitude of action which are the soul of war. It was far otherwise with their military rival. France had her Canadian forces well in hand. They had but one will, and that was the will of a mistress. Now here, now there, in sharp and rapid onset, they could assail the cumbrous masses and unwieldy strength of their antagonists, as the king-bird attacks the eagle or the swordfish the whale. Between two such combatants the strife must needs be a long one.

The Jesuit Missionaries

Canada was a true child of the church, baptised in infancy and faithful to the last. Champlain, the founder of Quebec, a man of noble spirit, a statesman and a soldier, was deeply imbued with fervid piety. "The saving of a soul," he would often say, "is worth more than the conquest of an empire"; and to forward the work of conversion, he brought with him four Franciscan monks from France. At a later period the task of colonisation would have been abandoned, says Charlevoix,^d but for the hope of casting the pure light of the faith over the gloomy wastes of heathendom. All France was filled with the zeal of proselytism. Men and women of exalted rank lent their countenance to the holy work. From many an altar daily petitions were offered for the well-being of the mission; and in the Holy House of Montmartre a nun lay prostrate day and night before the shrine, praying for the conversion of Canada. In one convent, thirty nuns offered themselves for the labours of the wilderness; and priests flocked in crowds to the colony.¹ The powers of darkness took alarm; and when a ship, freighted

¹ "*Vivre en la Nouvelle France c'est à vray dire vivre dans le sein de Dieu.*" Such are the extravagant words of Le Jeune in his report of the year 1635.

[1673 A.D.]

with the apostles of the faith, was tempest-tossed upon her voyage, the storm was ascribed to the malice of demons trembling for the safety of their ancient empire.

The general enthusiasm was not without its fruits. The church could pay back with usury all that she received of aid and encouragement from the temporal power; and the ambition of Louis XIII could not have devised a more efficient enginery for the accomplishment of its schemes than that supplied by the zeal of the devoted propagandists. The priest and the soldier went hand in hand, and the cross and the *fleur-de-lis* were planted side by side.

Foremost among the envoys of the faith were the members of that singular order who, in another hemisphere, had already done so much to turn back the advancing tide of religious freedom and strengthen the arm of Rome. To the Jesuits was assigned, for many years, the entire charge of the Canadian missions, to the exclusion of the Franciscans, early labourers in the same barren field. Inspired with a self-devoting zeal to snatch souls from perdition, and win new empires to the cross; casting from them every hope of earthly pleasure or earthly aggrandisement, the Jesuit fathers buried themselves in deserts, facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. Their story is replete with marvels—miracles of patient suffering and daring enterprise. They were the pioneers of Northern America.¹ We see them among the frozen forests of Acadia, struggling on snow-shoes with some wandering Algonquin horde, or crouching in the crowded hunting-lodge, half stifled in the smoky den, and battling with troops of famished dogs for the last morsel of sustenance. Again we see the black-robed priest wading among the white rapids of the Ottawa, toiling with his savage comrades to drag the canoe against the headlong water. Again, radiant in the vestments of his priestly office, he administers the sacramental bread to kneeling crowds of plumed and painted proselytes in the forests of the Hurons; or, bearing his life in his hand, carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like one who invades unarmed a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur-trader scarcely dared to follow. They planted missions at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac (1668-1671); and one of their fraternity, the illustrious Marquette, discovered the Mississippi, and opened a new theatre to the boundless ambition of France (1673).

The path of the missionary was a thorny and a bloody one, and a life of weary apostleship was often crowned with a frightful martyrdom. Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lallemant preached the faith amongst the villages of the Hurons, when their terror-stricken flock were overwhelmed by an irruption of the Iroquois (1649). The missionaries might have fled, but, true to their sacred function, they remained behind to aid the wounded and baptise the dying. Both were made captive, and both were doomed to the fiery torture. Brébeuf, a veteran soldier of the cross, met his fate with an undaunted composure, which amazed his murderers. With unflinching constancy he endured

[¹ Thwaites observes that "the story of New France is also, in part, the story of much of New England, and of the States whose shores are washed by the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river. It may truly be said that the history of every one of our northern tier of commonwealths, from Maine to Minnesota, has its roots in the French régime. It is not true, as Bancroft avers, that the Jesuit was ever the pioneer of New France; we now know that in this land, as elsewhere in all ages, the trader nearly always preceded the priest. But the trader was not a letter-writer or a diarist; hence we owe our intimate knowledge of New France, particularly in the seventeenth century, chiefly to the wandering missionaries of the Society of Jesus."]

torments too horrible to be recorded, and died calmly as a martyr of the early church, or a war-chief of the Mohawks.

The slender frame of Lallemant, a man younger in years and gentle in spirit, was enveloped in blazing savin-bark. Again and again the fire was extinguished; again and again it was kindled afresh; and with such fiendish ingenuity were his torments protracted that he lingered for seventeen hours before death came to his relief.

Isaac Jogues, taken captive by the Iroquois, was led from canton to canton, and village to village, enduring fresh torments and indignities at every stage of his progress. Men, women, and children vied with each other in ingenious malignity. Redeemed, at length, by the humane exertions of a Dutch officer, he repaired to France, where his disfigured person and mutilated hands told the story of his sufferings. But the promptings of a sleepless conscience urged him to return and complete the work he had begun, to illumine the moral darkness upon which, during the months of his disastrous captivity, he fondly hoped that he had thrown some rays of light. Once more he bent his footsteps towards the scene of his living martyrdom, saddened with a deep presentiment that he was advancing to his death. Nor were his forebodings untrue. In a village of the Mohawks the blow of a tomahawk closed his mission and his life.

Such intrepid self-devotion may well call forth our highest admiration; but when we seek for the results of these toils and sacrifices we shall seek in vain. Patience and zeal were thrown away upon lethargic minds and stubborn hearts. The reports of the Jesuits, it is true, display a copious list of conversions; but the zealous fathers reckoned the number of conversions by the number of baptisms; and, as Le Clercq observes, with no less truth than candour, an Indian would be baptised ten times a day for a pint of brandy or a pound of tobacco. Neither can more flattering conclusions be drawn from the alacrity which they showed to adorn their persons with crucifixes and medals. The glitter of the trinkets pleased the fancy of the warrior; and, with the emblem of man's salvation pendent from his neck, he was often at heart as thorough a heathen as when he wore in its place a necklace made of the dried forefingers of his enemies. At the present day, with the exception of a few insignificant bands of converted Indians in Lower Canada, not a vestige of early Jesuit influence can be found among the tribes. The seed was sown upon a rock.

While the church was reaping but a scanty harvest, the labours of the missionaries were fruitful of profit to the monarch of France. The Jesuit led the van of French colonisation; and at Detroit, Michilimackinac, St. Mary's, Green Bay, and other outposts of the West, the establishment of a mission was the precursor of military occupancy. In other respects no less, the labours of the wandering missionaries advanced the welfare of the colony. Sagacious and keen of sight, with faculties stimulated by zeal and sharpened by peril, they made faithful report of the temper and movements of the distant tribes among whom they were distributed. The influence which they often gained was exerted in behalf of the government under whose auspices their missions were carried on; and they strenuously laboured to win over the tribes to the French alliance, and alienate them from the heretic English. In all things they approved themselves the staunch and steadfast auxiliaries of the imperial power; and the marquis du Quesne observed of the missionary Picquet that in his single person he was worth ten regiments.

Among the English colonies, the pioneers of civilisation were for the most part rude yet vigorous men, impelled to enterprise by native restlessness,

[1673 A.D.]

or lured by the hope of gain. Their range was limited, and seldom extended far beyond the outskirts of the settlements. With Canada it was far otherwise. There was no energy in the bulk of her people. The court and the army supplied the mainsprings of her vital action, and the hands which planted the lilies of France in the heart of the wilderness had never guided the ploughshare or wielded the spade. The love of adventure, the ambition of new discovery, the hope of military advancement, urged men of place and culture to embark on bold and comprehensive enterprise. Many a gallant gentleman, many a nobleman of France, trod the black mould and oozy mosses of the forest with feet that had pressed the carpets of Versailles. They whose youth had passed in camps and courts grew gray among the wigwams of savages, and the lives of Castine, Joncaire, and Priber are invested with all the interest of romance.^h

BANCROFT'S ACCOUNT OF MARQUETTE, JOLIET, AND LA SALLE

In 1660 the colony of New France was too feeble to defend itself against the dangerous fickleness and increasing confidence of the Iroquois; the very harvest could not be gathered in safety; it seemed as if all must be abandoned. Montreal was not safe—one ecclesiastic was killed near its gates; a new organisation of the colony was needed, or it would come to an end. The company of the Hundred Associates resolved, therefore, to resign the colony to the king (February 14th, 1663); and immediately, under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the new company of the West Indies.

A powerful appeal was made, in favour of Canada, to the king; the company of Jesuits publicly invited him to assume its defence, and become their champion against the Iroquois. After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as viceroy; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs. Every omen was favourable, save the conquest of New Netherlands by the English. That conquest eventually made the Five Nations a dependence on the English world. The Bourbons found in them implacable opponents. Undismayed by the sad fate of Gareau and Mesnard, indifferent to hunger, nakedness, and cold, to the wreck of the ships of bark, and to fatigues and weariness, by night and by day, August 8th, 1665, Father Claude Allouez embarked on a mission, by way of the Ottawa, to the far West. On the first day of October he arrived at the great village of the Chippewas, in the bay of Chequamegon. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. Allouez was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of Louis XIV and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois. On the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs, who had never seen a European, came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell and of the last judgment; there a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the *pater* and the *ave*. During his long sojourn, he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The scattered Hurons and Ottawas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and, before his return, obtained his presence in their morasses.

The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer and beaver and buffalo. The Illinois, also—a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow—came to rehearse their sorrows. Their ancient glory and their numbers had been diminished by the Sioux on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south.

Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild, impassive warriors of the Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the great river, of which Allouezⁱ reported the name to be “Messipi.”¹

After residing for nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, and connecting his name imperishably with the progress of discovery in the West, Allouez returned to Quebec (August, 1667), to urge the establishment of permanent missions, to be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants; and such was his own fervour, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way returning to the mission at Chequamegon.

The prevalence of peace favoured the progress of French dominion; the company of the West Indies, resigning its monopoly of the fur-trade, gave an impulse to Canadian enterprise; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the present limits of the commonwealth of Michigan.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Allouez, Dablon, and Marquette, were employed in confirming the influence of France in the vast regions that extend from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior. The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it in the autumn of 1669.

It became the fixed purpose of Talon, the intendant of the colony, to spread the power of France to the utmost borders of Canada. To this end, Nicolas Perrot appeared as his agent in the West, to propose a congress of the nations at St. Mary's. The invitation reached the tribes of Lake Superior, and was carried even to the wandering hordes of the remotest north. Nor did the messenger neglect the south: obtaining, at Green Bay, an escort of Pottawotomies, he, the first of Europeans, repaired on the same mission of friendship to the Miamis at Chicago.

The day appointed for the unwonted spectacle of the congress of nations arrived in May, 1671; and with Allouez as his interpreter, St. Luson, fresh from an excursion to southern Canada—that is, the borders of the Kennebec, where English habitations were already sown broadcast along the coast—appeared at the falls of St. Mary as the delegate of Talon. There are assem-

[ⁱ The indefatigable archivist of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, Pierre Margry,^j claimed that La Salle was the actual discoverer or rather (rediscoverer) of the Mississippi in 1670. This is disputed by Parkman,^k Shea,^l and others, who give the credit to Joliet, and the date as June 17th, 1673. There are still earlier claimants, as we have seen, Radisson and Groseilliers, who are by many believed to have found the Great River in 1658 or 1659. Then, too, we must not forget that the Spaniards had long before found the lower river, Pineda, probably as early as 1519, and Soto twenty years later. The explorations by Marquette and La Salle were, however, the first to bring the river into full comprehension.]

[1673 A.D.]

bled the envoys of the wild republicans of the wilderness, and brilliantly clad officers from the veteran armies of France. It was formally announced to the natives, gathered, as they were, from the head-springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Red river, that they were placed under the protection of the French king.

In the same year Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan, and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the West and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonquins. Here, also, Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan. The countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Allouez and Dablon, who bore the cross through eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe were intent on an excursion against the Sioux, and they prayed to the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Allouez, fearless of danger, extended his rambles to the cabins of the Foxes on the river which bears their name.

The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec, of whom there is no record, but of this one excursion, that gives him immortality, and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted, near abundant fisheries, on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered, with equal humility, upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and, by its results, affected the destiny of nations.

In 1673, on the 10th day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifted their two canoes on their backs and walked across the narrow portage that divides the Fox river from the Wisconsin. They reach the watershed; already they stand by the Wisconsin. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette,^m "leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hillsides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest; no sound broke the appalling silence but the ripple of their canoes and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days "they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed"; and the two birch-bark canoes floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable water-fowl, between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa.

About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-coloured plumes. "We are Illinois," said they—that is, when translated, "We are men"—and they offered the calumet.

At the great council Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke also of the great captains of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers, who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy and fish and the choicest viands from the prairies. After six days' delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

The little group proceeded onwards. "I did not fear death," says Marquette;^m "I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God." They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and when they came to the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world—where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea—the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois. The thick canes begin to appear so close and strong that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; and forests of whitewood, admirable for their vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed that, in the land of the Chickasaws, the Indians have guns.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must indeed ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day, a long wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansca, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Sioux and Chickasaws, could speak only by an interpreter. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel—a proof of commerce with Europeans. Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

So, having spoken of God, and the mysteries of the Catholic faith; having become certain that the Father of rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida,

[1673-1678 A.D.]

nor yet to the gulf of California, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea (July 17th, 1673), and ascended the Mississippi.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude they entered the river Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies covered with buffaloes and stags, for the loveliness of its rivulets and the prodigal abundance of wild duck and swans, and of a species of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan, and before the end of September all were safe in Green Bay.

Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinac, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church, then begged the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour. At the end of the half hour they went to seek him, and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep (May 18th, 1675) on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name.

At the death of Marquette, there dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Of a good family, he had renounced his inheritance by entering the seminary of the Jesuits. After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge from the fraternity, and about the year 1667 embarked for fame and fortune in New France. Established at first as a fur-trader, at La Chine, and encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he explored Lake Ontario, and ascended to Lake Erie; and when the French governor, some years after occupying the banks of the Sorel, began to fortify the outlet of Lake Ontario, La Salle, repairing to France in 1675, and aided by Frontenac, obtained the rank of nobility, and the grant of Fort Frontenac, now the village of Kingston, on condition of maintaining the fortress. The grant was, in fact, a concession of a large domain and the exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.

Joliet, as he descended from the upper lakes, had passed by the bastions of Fort Frontenac—had spread the news of the brilliant career of discoveries opened in the West. In the solitudes of Upper Canada the secluded adventurer had inflamed his imagination by reading the voyages of Columbus, and the history of the rambles of De Soto; and the Iroquois had, moreover, described the course of the Ohio. Thus the young enthusiast framed plans of colonisation in the southwest, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi. Once more he repaired to France, and from the policy of Colbert and the special favour of Seignelay, Colbert's son, he obtained, with the monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins, a commission for perfecting the discovery of the Great River. With Tonti, an Italian veteran, as his lieutenant, and a recruit of mechanics and mariners, La Salle, in the autumn of 1678, returned to Fort Frontenac. Before winter, "a wooden canoe" of ten tons, the first that ever sailed into Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the vicinity of the falls; at Niagara, a trading-house was established; in the mouth of Tonawanta creek, the work of shipbuilding began; Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, venturing among the Senecas, established relations

of amity—while La Salle himself, skilled in the Indian dialects, was now urging forward the shipbuilders, now gathering furs at his magazine, now gazing at the mighty cataract, now sending forward a detachment into the country of the Illinois to prepare the way for his reception.

Under the auspices of La Salle, Europeans first pitched a tent at Niagara; it was he who, in 1679, amidst the salvo from his little artillery, and the chanting of the Te Deum, and the astonished gaze of the Senecas, first launched a wooden vessel, a bark of sixty tons, on the upper Niagara river, and, in the *Griffin*, freighted with the colony of fur-traders for the valley of the Mississippi, on the 7th day of August, unfurled a sail to the breezes of Lake Erie. La Salle, first of mariners, sailed over Lake Erie and between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit; debated planting a colony on its banks; gave a name to Lake St. Clair (August 17th) from the day on which he traversed its shallow waters; and, after planting a trading-house at Mackinaw (August 27th), cast anchor in Green Bay. Here, having despatched his brig to Niagara river with the richest cargo of furs, he himself, with his company in scattered groups, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan; and at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in that peninsula where Allouez had already gathered a village of Miamis, awaiting the return of the *Griffin*, he constructed the trading-house, with palisades, known as the Fort of the Miamis. But of his vessel, on which his fortunes so much depended, no tidings came. Weary of delay, he resolved to penetrate Illinois; and (December 3rd), leaving ten men to guard the Fort of the Miamis, La Salle himself, with Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's and entered the Kankakee. Before the end of December the little company had reached the site of an Indian village on the Illinois, probably not far from Ottawa, in La Salle county.

The spirit and prudence of La Salle, who was the life of the enterprise, won the friendship of the natives. But clouds lowered over his path; the *Griffin*, it seemed certain, was wrecked, thus delaying his discoveries as well as impairing his fortunes. Fear and discontent pervaded the company; and when La Salle planned and began to build a fort on the banks of the Illinois, four days' journey, it is said, below Lake Peoria, thwarted by destiny and almost despairing, he named the fort Crèveœur [*i.e.*, "Heart-break," though by some said to be a remembrance of his share in the siege of Fort Crèveœur in the Netherlands].

Yet here the immense power of his will appeared. Dependent on himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, pursued by enemies at Quebec, and in the wilderness surrounded by uncertain nations, he inspired his men with resolution to saw trees into plank and prepare a bark; he despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the upper Mississippi; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives on the course of the Mississippi; he formed conjectures respecting the Tennessee river; and then, as new recruits were needed, and sails and cordage for the bark, in the month of March, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, with a blanket for his protection, and skins of which to make moccasins, he, with three companions, set off on foot for Fort Frontenac, to trudge through thickets and forests, to wade through marshes and melting snows, having for his pathway the ridge of highlands which divide the basin of the Ohio from that of the lakes—without drink, except water from the brooks—without food, except supplies from the gun. Of his thoughts on that long journey no record exists.

[1680-1684 A.D.]

During the absence of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, bearing the calumet, and accompanied by Du Gay and Michael d'Accault [also called Akko] as oarsmen, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi; and, invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, ascended the mighty stream far beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin—as he falsely held forth, far enough to discover its source.¹ The great falls in the river, which he describes with reasonable accuracy, were named (February, 1680) from the chosen patron of the expedition. After a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, he and his companions returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay.

In Illinois Tonti was less fortunate. The quick perception of La Salle had selected, as the fit centre of his colony, Rock Fort, near a village of the Illinois. This rock Tonti was to fortify, and during the attempt men at Crèvecœur deserted. Besides, the enemies of La Salle had instigated the Iroquois to hostility, and in September a large party of them, descending the river, threatened ruin to his enterprise. After a parley, Tonti and the few men that remained with him, excepting the aged Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde, fled to Lake Michigan, where they found shelter with the Potawatomies.

When, therefore, La Salle returned to Illinois, with large supplies of men and stores for rigging a brigantine, he found the post in Illinois deserted. Hence came the delay of another year, which was occupied in finding Tonti and his men and perfecting a capacious barge. At last (February 6th, 1682) La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea. His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasaw bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France near the gulf of Mexico (April 9th), he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime, he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana. The year of the descent has been unnecessarily made a question; its accomplishment was known in Paris before the end of 1682.

La Salle, remaining in the West till his exclusive privilege had expired, returned to Quebec (May 12th, 1683), to embark for France. In the early months of 1684 the preparations for colonising Louisiana were perfected, and (July 24th) the fleet left Rochelle. Four vessels were destined for the Mississippi, bearing two hundred and eighty persons, to take possession of the valley. Of these, one hundred were soldiers—an ill omen, for successful colonists always defend themselves; about thirty were volunteers, two of whom were nephews to La Salle; of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle; there were, moreover, mechanics of various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonisation. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their art; the soldiers, though they had for their commander Joutel,^s a man of courage and truth, and afterwards the historian of the grand enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline and without experience; the volunteers were restless with indefinite expectations; and, worst of all, the naval commander, Beaujeu, was deficient

[¹ There has been general agreement among historians since the day of Sparksⁿ that Father Hennepin^o in his claim to have discovered the upper Mississippi stole his data from Le Clercq.^q He has been branded as a downright liar by Gravier,^v Bancroft,^u Parkman,^k and others, though Shea^r has indicated some point in his possible exculpation.]

in judgment. The voyage begins amidst variances between La Salle and the naval commander. In every instance on the record the judgment of La Salle was right.¹

At Santo Domingo, La Salle, delayed and cruelly thwarted by Beaujeu, saw already the shadow of his coming misfortunes. On the 10th day of January, 1685, they must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and the fleet sailed by. Presently he perceived his error and desired to return, but Beaujeu refused, and thus they sailed to the west, and still to the west, till they reached the bay of Matagorda. Weary of differences with Beaujeu—believing the streams that had their outlet in the bay might be either branches from the Mississippi, or lead to its vicinity—La Salle resolved to disembark. Whilst he was busy in providing for the safety of his men, his store-ship, on entering the harbour, was wrecked by the careless pilot. Others gazed listlessly; La Salle, calming the terrible energy of his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save at least some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed utterly to pieces. The stores, provided with the munificence that marked the plans of Louis XIV, lay scattered on the sea; little could be saved. To aggravate despair, the savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Terror pervaded the group of colonists; the evils of the wreck and the gale were charged to La Salle—as if he ought to have deepened the channel and controlled the winds; men deserted and returned to the fleet. La Salle, who by the powerful activity of his will controlled the feeble and irritable persons that surrounded him, was yet, in his struggle against adversity, magnanimously tranquil. The fleet sets sail, and there remain on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of about two hundred and thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no reliance but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle. Ascending the small stream at the west of the bay, in the vain hope of finding the Mississippi, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The spot he named St. Louis.

This is the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. In its sad condition, it had yet saved from the wreck a good supply of arms, and bars of iron for the forge. Even now this colony possessed, from the bounty of Louis XIV, more than was contributed by all the English monarchs together for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic. Its number still exceeded that of the colony of Smith in Virginia, or of those who embarked in the *Mayflower*. France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its stately forest trees; and by no treaty or public document, except the general cessions of Louisiana, did she ever after relinquish the right to the province as colonised under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory because the colony found there its grave.

La Salle proposed to seek the Mississippi in canoes; and after an absence of about four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river," and yet renewing hope by his presence. In April, 1686, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions, lured towards New Mexico by the brilliant fictions of the rich mines of Sainte Barbe, the El Dorado of northern Mexico. On his return he heard of the wreck of the little bark which had remained with the colony; he heard it unmoved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies; and, with the

¹This is Bancroft's opinion, though Winsor² curiously deduces the theory that La Salle was in "a state of mental unsoundness."

[1685-1687 A.D.]

giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame—with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime—with no Europeans nearer than the river Penuco, no French nearer than Illinois—he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis (January 12th, 1687), La Salle, with sixteen men, departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Ceniz, which found their pasture everywhere in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; for want of other paths, following the track of the buffalo, and using skins as the only shelter against rain; winning favour with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader—they ascended the streams towards the first ridge of highlands, walking through beautiful plains and groves, among deer and buffaloes, till they had passed the basin of the Colorado, and in the upland country had reached a branch of Trinity river. In the little company of wanderers there were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny: the base malignity of disappointed avarice, maddened by suffering and impatient of control, awakened the fiercest passions of ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him, and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the 20th of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion, and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter La Salle asked, "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer Duhaut fired, and, without uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" shouted one of the conspirators as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts.

Such was the end of this daring adventurer. For force of will and vast conceptions; for various knowledge and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope—he had no superior among his countrymen. He had won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favour of Louis XIV. After beginning the colonisation of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he will be remembered through all time as the father of colonisation in the great central valley of the West.

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the conspirators, grasping at an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide for the Arkansas; and fording rivulets, crossing ravines, by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red river, leaving an esteemed companion in a wilderness grave on which the piety of an Indian matron heaped offerings of maize at last, as the survivors came upon a branch of the Mississippi (July 24th, 1687), they beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two

Frenchmen. Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post near the Arkansas.⁹

Parkman^h says of La Salle: "To a sound judgment and a penetrating sagacity, he joined a boundless enterprise and an adamant constancy of purpose. But his nature was stern and austere; he was prone to rule by fear rather than by love; he took counsel of no man, and chilled all who approached him by his cold reserve." [With Bancroft's and Parkman's admiration for La Salle, Dr. J. G. Shea^u cannot agree. He says: "La Salle has been exalted into a hero on the very slightest foundation of personal qualities or great deeds unaccomplished." Shea accuses him of utter incapacity.]

RESETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

Very shortly after the Peace of Ryswick the French renewed their attempts, interrupted and postponed by the late war, to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, to which they were the more invited by the growing prosperity of their settlements on the west end of Santo Domingo. The Canadian D'Iberville, lately distinguished by his exploits on the shores of Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, and by the capture of Pemaquid, was selected as the leader of the new colony. He was born at Quebec. Sauvolle and Bienville, two of his brothers, were joined with him in this enterprise; and with two hundred colonists, mostly disbanded Canadian soldiers, two frigates, and two tenders, he sailed to find and plant the mouth of the Mississippi, which never yet had been entered from the sea.

Having touched and recruited at Santo Domingo, D'Iberville proceeded on his voyage; but on reaching the bay of Pensacola, he found his entrance prohibited by a fort erected there by Spanish soldiers from Vera Cruz, under the guns of which two Spanish ships lay at anchor. The Spaniards, who still claimed the whole circuit of the gulf of Mexico, jealous of the designs of the French, had hastened to occupy this, the best harbour on the gulf; and the barrier thus established ultimately determined the dividing line between Florida and Louisiana.

These explorers presently entered (February 27th, 1699) an obscure outlet of the mighty stream, up which they ascended as high as Red river, encountering several parties of Indians, from one of which they received Tonti's letter to La Salle, written fourteen years before—a circumstance which assured them they had found the Mississippi. As the crowded lands of the lower Mississippi hardly seemed to invite settlement, the flat and sandy shores of the shallow bay of Biloxi were selected as the site for the incipient colony. There, within the limits of the present state of Mississippi, a fort was built and huts erected. The colony thus planted, D'Iberville returned to France for supplies.

It was rather English than Spanish rivalry that the French had to dread. The course and mouth of the Mississippi had become known in Europe through the two narratives of Father Hennepin,^o in the last of which, just published and dedicated to King William, that Flemish friar set up a claim to have himself anticipated La Salle in descending to the mouth of the river. Coxe, a London physician, already interested in America as a large proprietor of West Jersey, had purchased the old patent of Carolana, granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1630, and under that patent, with the countenance of William, had put forward pretensions to the mouth of the Mississippi, which two armed English vessels had been sent to explore.

[1699-1701 A.D.]

D'Iberville returned towards the end of the year with two vessels and sixty Canadians. Determined to be beforehand with the English in occupying the river, he undertook a new expedition to find a proper place for a settlement. He was joined by the aged Tonti, the old associate of La Salle, who had descended from the Illinois with seven companions. D'Iberville and Tonti ascended together a distance of some three or four hundred miles; and on the bluff where now stands the city of Natchez, among the Indians of that name, with whom St. Come had lately established himself as a missionary, D'Iberville marked out a settlement which he named Rosalie, in honour of the duchess of Pontchartrain. But the feeble and starving state of the colony caused these posts to be soon abandoned.

When D'Iberville came the third time from France, in 1702, with provisions and soldiers, the inconvenience of Biloxi had become manifest. Most of the settlers were removed to Mobile, near the head of the bay of that name; and this first European settlement within the limits of the present state of Alabama now became, and remained for twenty years, the headquarters of the colony.

The soil of all this region was almost as barren as that about Biloxi. The climate was unsuited to European grains. As it seemed almost useless to attempt cultivation, the colonists employed themselves in trade with the Indians, in fishing or hunting, or in a futile search for pearls and mines. Though recruits repeatedly arrived, the whole number of colonists, at any one time during the next ten years, never exceeded two hundred; and it was only by provisions sent from France and Santo Domingo that these few were kept from starving.

While a foothold at the southwest was thus sought and feebly gained by the French, they curtailed nothing of their pretensions at the east and north. Villebon, still stationed at the mouth of the St. John, gave notice in 1698 to the authorities of Massachusetts, immediately after the Peace of Ryswick, that he claimed the whole coast, with an exclusive right of fishing, as far as Pemaquid.

The mission among the Penobscots was still kept up. The Norridgewocks, or Canabas, as the French called them, built a church at their principal village on the upper Kennebec, and received as a resident missionary the Jesuit Sebastian Rasles, an able and accomplished priest, who kept that tribe, for the next quarter of a century, warmly attached to the French. In the Treaty of Ryswick the English had made no provision for their allies, the Five Nations. In making arrangements with the governor of Canada for exchange of prisoners, Bellamont had endeavoured to obtain an acknowledgment of English supremacy over those tribes, and the employment of English agency in negotiating a peace. But Callières, who became governor-general after Frontenac's death, sent messengers of his own to the Iroquois villages, with the alternative of peace or an exterminating war, against which the English could now afford them no assistance. Their jealousy was also excited by a claim of Bellamont to build forts in their territory; and they were presently induced to send commissioners to Montreal, where a grand assembly of all the French allies was collected, and, with many formalities, a lasting treaty was at length concluded in August, 1701. But of the Frenchmen prisoners among the Iroquois, quite a number refused to return to the restraints of civilised life.

Free passage to the West thus secured, a hundred settlers, with a missionary leader, were sent to take possession of the beautiful strait between Lakes Erie and St. Clair. A fort was built; several Indian villages found

protection in its neighbourhood; and Detroit soon became the favourite settlement of western Canada. About the missionary stations at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the east bank of the Mississippi, between the mouths of the Ohio and the Illinois, villages presently grew up; and if the zeal of the missionaries cooled by degrees, and the idea of a Jesuit theocracy gradually faded away, that of a great French American empire began gradually to spring up in its place.

These territorial pretensions of the French occasioned no little alarm and anxiety in Massachusetts and New York. Eliot had left no successors in New England, where the missionary spirit was pretty much extinct. An attempt, indeed, had been made in New York to supply the religious wants of the Mohawks, and so to prevent their alliance with the French, by the appointment of Dellius, of the Reformed Dutch church, as a missionary for that tribe. "But his proselytes," says Charlevoix,^d "were very few, and he did not seem very anxious to augment them." "This, indeed," he adds, "was not the first essay of the sort, which ought to convince Messieurs the Reformed that their sect lacks that fecundity, that constant and laborious zeal for the salvation of unbelievers, the most obvious and distinguishing mark of the true church of Christ. It is in vain they oppose to this so many calumnies, invented by themselves, to obscure the apostleship of our missionaries. Without wishing to apologise for individual failings, of which, doubtless, there have been instances, one must, however, be wilfully blind not to see that the far greater number lead a life truly apostolic, and that they have established churches very numerous and fervent—a thing of which no sect not of the Roman communion can boast." Abhorrence of these Catholic missionaries was sufficiently evinced by acts passed in Massachusetts and New York, which remained in force down to the period of the Revolution, and under which any Jesuit or popish priest coming within their territories was to be "deemed and accounted an incendiary and disturber of the public peace and safety, and an enemy of the true Christian religion," to suffer perpetual imprisonment, or death if an escape were attempted. Any person who should knowingly "receive, harbour, conceal, aid, succour, or relieve" any such popish priest, besides forfeiting £200, was to be three times set in the pillory, and obliged to give securities for good behaviour.

To promote the more rapid settlement of Louisiana, which at the end of twelve years numbered hardly three hundred inhabitants, the whole province, with a monopoly of trade, had been granted, in 1712, pending the late war, to Anthony Crozat, a wealthy French merchant, who flattered himself with profits to be derived from the discovery of mines, and the opening of a trade with Mexico. Crozat contracted, on his part, to send every year two ships from France with goods and immigrants. He was to be entitled, also, to import an annual cargo of slaves from Africa, notwithstanding the monopoly of that trade in the hands of a special company. The French government agreed to pay annually 50,000 livres (\$10,000) towards supporting the civil and military establishments.

Under these new auspices, a trading house was established far up the Alabama, near the present site of Montgomery, and another at Natchitoches, on the Red river. Fort Rosalie was built on the site of Natchez, and presently a town began to grow up about it—the oldest on the lower Mississippi.

Crozat made strenuous efforts to open a trade with Mexico. His agents traversed the wilds of Texas, and reached the Spanish settlements on the lower Rio Grande; but they were arrested there, and sent into the interior. The intercourse by sea, allowed during the war, was prohibited after the

[1716-1721 A.D.]

peace; and a vessel which Crozat despatched to Vera Cruz was obliged to return without starting her cargo. As yet, Spain had relaxed little or nothing of her jealous colonial policy.

After five years of large outlay and small returns, Crozat was glad to resign his patent. Other speculators, still more sanguine, were found to fill his place. The exclusive commerce of Louisiana for twenty-five years, with extensive powers of government and a monopoly of the Canadian fur-trade, was bestowed on the Company of the West, otherwise called the Mississippi Company, known presently, also, as the Company of the Indies, and notorious for the stock-jobbing and bubble hopes of profit to which it gave rise. At the date of this transfer the colony contained, soldiers included, about seven hundred people. The Mississippi Company¹ undertook to introduce six thousand whites, and half as many negroes; and their connection with Law's Royal Bank, and the great rise in the price of shares, of which new ones were constantly created, gave them, for a time, unlimited command of funds. Private individuals, to whom grants of land were made, also sent out colonists on their own account. Law received twelve miles square on the Arkansas, which he undertook to settle with fifteen hundred Germans.

Bienville, reappointed governor, intending to found a town on the river in 1718, set a party of convicts to clear up a swamp, the site of the present city of New Orleans. At the end of three years, when Charlevoix^d saw it, the rising city could boast a large wooden warehouse, a shed for a church, two or three ordinary houses, and a quantity of huts crowded together without much order. The prospect did not seem very encouraging; yet, in "this savage and desert place, as yet almost entirely covered with canes and trees," that hopeful and intelligent Jesuit could see "what was one day to become—perhaps, too, at no distant day—an opulent city, the metropolis of a great and rich colony." Bienville, equally hopeful, presently removed thither the seat of government.

During the rupture between France and Spain, occasioned by the intrigues of Alberoni, Pensacola twice fell into the hands of the French, but after the peace reverted again to its former owners. A new attempt to plant a settlement near Matagorda Bay was defeated by the hostility of the natives. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroaching spirit, now first established military posts in Texas. The disastrous failure of Law's Royal Bank, and the great depreciation in the company's stock, put a sudden period to immigration. But already there were several thousand inhabitants in Louisiana, and the colony might be considered as firmly established. It still remained, however, dependent for provisions on France and Santo Domingo; and the hopes of profit, so confidently indulged by the projectors, proved a total failure. Agriculture in this new region was an expensive and uncertain adventure. Annual floods inundated the whole neighbourhood of the lower Mississippi, except only a narrow strip on the immediate river bank; and even that was not entirely safe unless protected by a levee or raised dike. The unhealthiness of the climate presented a serious obstacle to the progress of the colony. The unfitness of the colonists was another difficulty. Many of them were transported convicts or vagabonds, collected from the public highways; but these proved so unprofitable that their further importation was forbidden. The chief reliance for agricultural operations was on the labour of slaves imported from Africa. Law's German settlers on the Arkansas, finding themselves abandoned, came down to New Orleans, received allotments on both

¹For a full account of the "Mississippi Bubble" see our history of France, Vol. XII, Chapter I.]

sides the river, some twenty miles above the city, and settled there in cottage farms, raising vegetables for the supply of the town and the soldiers. Thus began the settlement of that rich tract still known as the "German coast."

Six hundred and fifty French troops and two hundred Swiss were maintained in the province. The administration was intrusted to a commandant-general, two king's lieutenants, a senior counsellor, three other counsellors, an attorney-general, and a clerk. These, with such directors of the company as might be in the province, composed the superior council, of which the senior counsellor acted as president. This council, besides its executive functions, was the supreme tribunal in civil and criminal matters. Local tribunals were composed of a director or agent of the company, to whom were added two of the most notable inhabitants in civil and four in criminal cases. Rice was the principal crop, the main resource for feeding the population."

PARKMAN ON THE SITUATION OF FRANCE IN AMERICA; INDIAN RELATIONS

And now it remained for France to unite the two extremities of her broad American domain, to extend forts and settlements across the fertile solitudes between the valley of the St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Mississippi, and intrench herself among the forests which lie west of the Alleghanies, before the swelling tide of British colonisation could overflow those mountain barriers. At the middle of the eighteenth century her great project was fast advancing towards completion. The great lakes and streams, the thoroughfares of the wilderness, were seized and guarded by a series of posts distributed with admirable skill. A fort on the strait of Niagara commanded the great entrance to the whole interior country. Another at Detroit controlled the passage from Lake Erie to the north. Another at St. Mary's debarred all hostile access to Lake Superior. Another at Michilimackinac secured the mouth of Lake Michigan. A post at Green Bay, and one at St. Joseph, guarded the two routes to the Mississippi, by way of the rivers Wisconsin and Illinois; while two posts on the Wabash, and one on the Maumee, made France the mistress of the great trading highway from Lake Erie to the Ohio. At Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and elsewhere in the Illinois, little French settlements had sprung up; and as the canoe of the voyager descended the Mississippi, he saw, at rare intervals, along its swampy margin, a few small stockade forts, half buried amid the redundancy of forest vegetation, until, as he approached Natchez, the dwellings of the *habitans* of Louisiana began to appear.

The forest posts of France were not exclusively of a military character. Adjacent to most of them, one would have found a little cluster of Canadian dwellings, whose tenants lived under the protection of the garrison, and obeyed the arbitrary will of the commandant; an authority which, however, was seldom exerted in a despotic spirit. In these detached settlements there was no principle of increase. The character of the people and of the government which ruled them were alike unfavourable to it. Agriculture was neglected for the more congenial pursuits of the fur trade, and the restless, roving Canadians, scattered abroad on their wild vocation, allied themselves to Indian women, and filled the woods with a mongrel race of bushrangers.

Thus far secure in the West, France next essayed to gain foothold upon the sources of the Ohio; and about the year 1748 the sagacious Count de la Galissonnière proposed to bring over ten thousand peasants from France, and plant them in the valley of that beautiful river and on the borders of

[1748-1609 A.D.]

the lakes. But while at Quebec, in the castle of St. Louis, soldiers and statesmen were revolving schemes like this, the slowly moving power of England bore on with silent progress from the East. Already the British settlements were creeping along the valley of the Mohawk, and ascending the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies. Forests crashing to the axe, dark spires of smoke ascending from autumnal fires, were heralds of the advancing host; and while, on one side of the Alleghanies, Celeron de Bienville was burying plates of lead engraved with the arms of France, the ploughs and axes of Virginian woodsmen were enforcing a surer title on the other. The adverse powers were drawing near. The hour of collision was at hand.

The French colonists of Canada held, from the beginning, a peculiar intimacy of relation with the Indian tribes. With the English colonists it was far otherwise, and the difference sprang from several causes. The fur-trade was the life of Canada; agriculture and commerce were the chief sources of wealth to the British provinces. The Romish zealots of Canada burned for the conversion of the heathen; their heretic rivals were fired with no such ardour. And finally, while the ambition of France grasped at empire over the farthest deserts of the West, the steady industry of the English colonists was contented to cultivate and improve a narrow strip of seaboard. Thus it happened that the farmer of Massachusetts and the Virginian planter were conversant with only a few bordering tribes, while the priests and emissaries of France were roaming the prairies with the buffalo-hunting Pawnees, or lodging in the winter cabins of the Dakota; and swarms of savages, whose uncouth names were strange to English ears, descended yearly from the north, to bring their beaver and otter skins to the market of Montreal.

The position of Canada invited intercourse with the interior, and eminently favoured her schemes of commerce and policy. The river St. Lawrence and the chain of the great lakes opened a vast extent of inland navigation; while their tributary streams, interlocking with the branches of the Mississippi, afforded ready access to that mighty river, and gave the restless voyager free range over half the continent. But these advantages were well-nigh neutralised. Nature opened the way, but a watchful and terrible enemy guarded the portal. The forests south of Lake Ontario gave harbourage to the five tribes of the Iroquois, implacable foes of Canada. They waylaid her trading parties, routed her soldiers, murdered her missionaries, and spread havoc and woe through all her settlements.

It was an evil hour for Canada when, on the 28th of May, 1609,¹ Samuel de Champlain, impelled by his own adventurous spirit, departed from the hamlet of Quebec to follow a war-party of Algonquins against their hated enemy, the Iroquois. Ascending the Sorel, and passing the rapids at Chambly, he embarked on the lake which bears his name, and with two French attendants steered southward, with his savage associates, towards the rocky promontory of Ticonderoga. They moved with all the precaution of Indian warfare, when at length, as night was closing in, they descried a band of the Iroquois in their large canoes of elm bark approaching through the gloom.

[¹ Fiske emphasises the world-importance of the year 1609 as the year in which Spain's power fell with the practical confession of Dutch independence and the banishment of a million of the thriftiest inhabitants, the Moors. Fiske notes also that the defeat in July, 1609, of the Mohawks by Champlain at Ticonderoga made the Iroquois enemies of the French, and allies of the Dutch and later of the English; he calls this "one of the greatest central and cardinal facts in the history of the New World. Had the Iroquois been the allies of the French, it would in all probability have been Louis XIV, and not Charles II, who would have taken New Amsterdam from the Dutch. Had the Iroquois not been the deadly enemies of the French, Louis XIV would almost certainly have taken New York from the English."]]

Wild yells from either side announced the mutual discovery. Both parties hastened to the shore, and all night long the forest resounded with their discordant war-songs and fierce whoops of defiance. Day dawned, and the fight began. Bounding from tree to tree, the Iroquois pressed forward to the attack; but when Champlain advanced from amongst the Algonquins, and stood full in sight before them, with his strange attire, his shining breast-plate, and features unlike their own, when they saw the flash of his arquebuse and beheld two of their chiefs fall dead, they could not contain their terror, but fled for shelter into the depths of the wood. The Algonquins pursued, slaying many in the flight, and the victory was complete.

Such was the first collision between the white men and the Iroquois, and Champlain flattered himself that the latter had learned for the future to respect the arms of France. He was fatally deceived. The Iroquois recovered from their terrors, but they never forgave the injury; and yet it would be unjust to charge upon Champlain the origin of the desolating wars which were soon to scourge the colony. The Indians of Canada, friends and neighbours of the French, had long been harassed by inroads of the fierce confederates, and under any circumstances the French must soon have become parties to the quarrel.

Whatever may have been its origin, the war was fruitful of misery to the youthful colony. The passes were beset by ambushed war parties. The routes between Quebec and Montreal were watched with tiger-like vigilance. Bloodthirsty warriors prowled about the outskirts of the settlements. Again and again the miserable people, driven within the palisades of their forts, looked forth upon wasted harvests and blazing roofs. The island of Montreal was swept with fire and steel. The fur trade was interrupted, since for months together all communication was cut off with the friendly tribes of the West. Agriculture was checked; the fields lay fallow, and frequent famine was the necessary result. The name of the Iroquois became a by-word of horror through the colony, and to the suffering Canadians they seemed troops of incarnate fiends. Revolting rites and monstrous superstitions were imputed to them; and, amongst the rest, it was currently believed that they cherished the custom of immolating young children, burning them with fire, and drinking the ashes mixed with water to increase their bravery. Yet the wildest imaginations could scarcely exceed the truth. At the attack of Montreal, they placed infants over the embers, and forced the wretched mothers to turn the spit; and those who fell within their clutches endured torments too hideous for description. Their ferocity was equalled only by their courage and address.

Expedition of Frontenac (1696 A.D.)

At intervals the afflicted colony found respite from its sufferings, and through the efforts of the Jesuits fair hopes began to rise of propitiating the terrible foe. At one time the influence of the priests availed so far that under their auspices a French colony was formed in the very heart of the Iroquois country; but the settlers were soon forced to a precipitate flight, and the war broke out afresh (1654-1658). The French, on their part, were not idle; they faced their assailants with characteristic gallantry. Courcelles, Tracy, De la Barre, and De Nonville invaded by turns, with various success, the forest haunts of the confederates; and at length, in the year 1696, the veteran Count Frontenac marched upon their cantons with all the force of Canada. Stemming the surges of La Chine, sweeping through the

[1696-1738 A.D.]

romantic channels of the Thousand Islands and over the glimmering surface of Lake Ontario, and trailing in long array up the current of the Oswego, they disembarked on the margin of the lake of Onondaga; and, startling the woodland echoes with the unwonted clangour of their trumpets, urged their perilous march through the mazes of the forest. Never had those solitudes beheld so strange a pageantry. The Indian allies, naked to the waist and horribly painted, adorned with streaming scalp-locks and fluttering plumes, stole crouching amongst the thickets, or peered with lynx-eyed vision through the labyrinths of foliage. Scouts and forest-rangers scoured the woods in front and flank of the marching columns—men trained amongst the hardships of the fur trade, thin, sinewy, and strong, arrayed in wild costume of beaded moccasin, scarlet leggin, and frock of buckskin, fantastically garnished with many-coloured embroidery of porcupine. Then came the levies of the colony, in gray capotes and gaudy sashes, and the trained battalions from old France in burnished cuirass and headpiece, veterans of European wars. Plumed cavaliers were there, who had followed the standards of Condé or Turenne, and who, even in the depths of a wilderness, scorned to lay aside the martial foppery which bedecked the camp and court of Louis the Magnificent. The stern commander was borne along upon a litter in the midst, his locks bleached with years, but his eye kindling with the quenchless fire which, like a furnace, burned hottest when its fuel was almost spent. Thus, beneath the sepulchral arches of the forest, through tangled thickets and over prostrate trunks, the aged nobleman advanced to wreak his vengeance upon empty wigwams and deserted maize fields.

Even the fierce courage of the Iroquois began to quail before these repeated attacks, while the gradual growth of the colony, and the arrival of troops from France, at length convinced them that they could not destroy Canada. With the opening of the eighteenth century their rancour showed signs of abating; and in the year 1726, by dint of skilful intrigue, the French succeeded in establishing a permanent military post at the important pass of Niagara, within the limits of the confederacy. Meanwhile, in spite of every obstacle, the power of France had rapidly extended its boundaries in the West. French influence diffused itself through a thousand channels, amongst distant tribes, hostile, for the most part, to the domineering Iroquois. Forts, mission-houses, and armed trading stations secured the principal passes. Traders and *coureurs de bois* pushed their adventurous traffic into the wildest deserts; and French guns and hatchets, French beads and cloth, French tobacco and brandy, were known from where the stunted Esquimaux burrowed in their snow-caves, to where the Comanches scoured the plains of the south with their banditti cavalry. Still this far-extended commerce continued to advance westward. In 1738, La Verendrye essayed to reach those mysterious mountains which, as the Indians alleged, lay beyond the arid deserts of the Missouri and the Saskatchewan. Indian hostility defeated his enterprise, but not before he had struck far out into these unknown wilds, and formed a line of trading posts, one of which, Fort de la Reine, was planted on the Assiniboin, a hundred leagues beyond Lake Winnipeg. At that early period France left her footsteps upon the dreary wastes which even now have no other tenants than the Indian buffalo-hunter or the roving trapper.

The fur trade of the English colonists opposed but feeble rivalry to that of their hereditary foes. At an early period, favoured by the friendship of the Iroquois, they attempted to open a traffic with the Algonquin tribes of the Great Lakes; and in the year 1687 Major Gregory ascended with a boatload of goods to Lake Huron, where his appearance excited great

commotion, and where he was seized and imprisoned by the French. From this time forward the English fur-trade languished, until the year 1725, when Governor Burnet, of New York, established a post on Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the river Oswego; whither, lured by the cheapness and excellence of the English goods, crowds of savages soon congregated from every side, to the unspeakable annoyance of the French. Meanwhile, a considerable commerce was springing up with the Cherokees and other tribes of the south; and during the first half of the century the people of Pennsylvania began to cross the Alleghanies and carry on a lucrative traffic with the tribes of the Ohio.

These early efforts of the English, considerable as they were, can ill bear comparison with the vast extent of the French interior commerce. In respect also to missionary enterprise, and the political influence resulting from it, the French had every advantage over rivals whose zeal for conversion was neither kindled by fanaticism nor fostered by an ambitious government. Eliot laboured within call of Boston, while the heroic Brébeuf faced the ghastly perils of the western wilderness; and the wanderings of Brainerd sink into insignificance compared with those of the devoted Rasles.

In respect also to direct political influence, the advantage was wholly on the side of France. The English colonies, broken into separate governments, were incapable of exercising a vigorous and consistent Indian policy, and the measures of one government often clashed with those of another. Even in the separate provinces, the popular nature of the constitution and the quarrels of governors and assemblies were unfavourable to efficient action; and this was more especially the case in the province of New York, where the vicinity of the Iroquois rendered strenuous yet prudent measures of the utmost importance. The powerful confederates, hating the French with bitter enmity, naturally inclined to the English alliance, and a proper treatment would have secured their firm and lasting friendship. But at the early periods of her history the assembly of New York was made up in great measure of narrow-minded men, more eager to consult their own petty immediate interests than to pursue any far-sighted scheme of public welfare. Other causes conspired to injure the British interest in this quarter. The annual present sent from England to the Iroquois was often embezzled by corrupt governors or their favourites. The proud chiefs were disgusted by the cold and haughty bearing of the English officials, and a pernicious custom prevailed of conducting Indian negotiations through the medium of the fur-traders, a class of men held in contempt by the Iroquois, and known among them, says Colden,^x by the significant title of "rum carriers." In short, through all the counsels of the province Indian affairs were grossly and madly neglected.¹

With more or less emphasis, the same remark holds true of all the other English colonies.² With those of France it was far otherwise; and this difference between the rival powers was naturally incident to their different

¹ "We find the Indians, as far back as the very confused manuscript records in my possession, repeatedly upbraiding this province for their negligence, their avarice, and their want of assisting them at a time when it was certainly in their power to destroy the infant colony of Canada, although supported by many nations; and this is likewise confessed by the writings of the managers of these times."—*MS. Letter—Johnson y to the Board of Trade, May 24th, 1765.*

² "I apprehend it will clearly appear to you, that the colonies had all along neglected to cultivate a proper understanding with the Indians, and from a mistaken notion have greatly despised them, without considering that it is in their power to lay waste and destroy the frontiers. This opinion arose from our confidence in our scattered numbers, and the parsimony of our people, who, from an error in politics, would not expend five pounds to save twenty."—*MS. Letter—Johnson y to the Board of Trade, November 13th, 1763.*

[1750 A.D.]

forms of government and different conditions of development. France laboured with eager diligence to conciliate the Indians and win them to espouse her cause. Her agents were busy in every village, studying the language of the inmates, complying with their usages, flattering their prejudices, caressing them, cajoling them, and whispering friendly warnings in their ears against the wicked designs of the English. When a party of Indian chiefs visited a French fort, they were greeted with the firing of cannon and rolling of drums; they were regaled at the tables of the officers, and bribed with medals and decorations, scarlet uniforms and French flags.

Far wiser than their rivals, the French never ruffled the self-complacent dignity of their guests, never insulted their religious notions, nor ridiculed their ancient customs. They met the savage half-way, and showed an abundant readiness to mould their own features after his likeness. Count Frontenac himself, plumed and painted like an Indian chief, danced the war-dance and yelled the war-song at the camp-fires of his delighted allies. It would have been well had the French been less exact in their imitations, for at times they copied their model with infamous fidelity, and fell into excesses scarcely credible but for the concurrent testimony of their own writers. Frontenac caused an Iroquois prisoner to be burned alive to strike terror into his countrymen; and Louvigny, French commandant at Michilimackinac, in 1695, tortured an Iroquois ambassador to death, that he might break off a negotiation between that people and the Wyandots. Nor are these the only well-attested instances of such execrable inhumanity. But if the French were guilty of these cruelties against their Indian enemies, they were no less guilty of unworthy compliance with the demands of their Indian friends, in cases where Christianity and civilisation would have dictated a prompt refusal. Even the brave Montcalm stained his bright name by abandoning the hapless defenders of Oswego and William Henry to the tender mercies of an Indian mob.

In general, however, the Indian policy of the French cannot be charged with obsequiousness. Complaisance was tempered with dignity. At an early period they discerned the peculiarities of the native character, and clearly saw that, while on the one hand it was necessary to avoid giving offence, it was not less necessary on the other to assume a bold demeanour and a show of power; to caress with one hand, and grasp a drawn sword with the other. Every crime against a Frenchman was promptly chastised by the sharp agency of military law; while among the English the offender could only be reached through the medium of the civil courts, whose delays, uncertainties, and evasions excited the wonder and provoked the contempt of the Indians. It was by observance of the course indicated above that the French were enabled to maintain themselves in small detached posts, far aloof from the parent colony, and environed by barbarous tribes, where an English garrison would have been cut off in a twelvemonth.^b



CHAPTER III

ROGER WILLIAMS; AND NEW ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

[1630-1660 A.D.]

At a time when Germany was the battle-field for all Europe in the implacable wars of religion; when even Holland was bleeding with the anger of vengeful factions; when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry; when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance; almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary; and two years before Descartes founded modern philosophy on the method of free reflection—Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty. It became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions in characters so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and can never be erased without the total destruction of the work. He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law.—GEORGE BANCROFT.^b

THE founders of Massachusetts having fled from persecution on account of their religious opinions, were chiefly anxious to secure to themselves and their descendants the unmolested enjoyment of these opinions in the country where they had taken refuge. The Puritans had not learned to separate moral and religious from political questions, nor had the governors of any other state or sovereignty in the world, at that period, learned to make this distinction. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that what was considered heresy by the rulers of Massachusetts should be regarded as subversive of the very foundations of society, and that, in accordance with these views, it should receive from them precisely the same sort of treatment which at the same period dissent from the established religion of the state was receiving from the rulers of the most enlightened nations of Europe. But the impracticability of maintaining a uniformity of religious opinion even

[1630 A.D.]

in a small community, most favourably situated for the purpose, soon became apparent. Among, the emigrants of 1630 was Roger Williams, a Puritan minister who officiated for some time as a pastor in New Plymouth; but subsequently obtained leave to resign his functions at that place, and in 1633 was appointed minister of Salem. His unflinching assertion of the rights of conscience, and the new views which he developed of the nature of religious liberty, had early attracted the attention of the leading men of the colony, and excited the hostility of a great portion of the people. Indeed, there was much in his doctrine to awaken the prejudices and excite the alarm of those who had adopted the exclusive theory of Winthrop and his adherents.

"He maintained," says Grahame,^c "that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for Christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to reject; that King Charles had unjustly usurped the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the civil magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that anything short of unlimited toleration for all religious systems was detestable persecution."

These opinions, and others of a kindred nature, enforced with an uncompromising zeal, soon occasioned his separation from his pastoral charge. A few admirers clung to him in his retirement; and when he denounced the use of the cross on the British flag, the fiery and enthusiastic Endicott cut the "popish emblem," as he styled it, from the national standard; nor did the censure of this act by the provincial authorities convince the military trained bands of Williams' error. With them the leaders were obliged to compromise. While measures were in agitation for bringing Williams to a judicial reckoning, Cotton and other ministers proposed a conference with him, of the fruitlessness of which the far-sighted Winthrop warned them: "You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you." Subsequent events showed that these two men, the most distinguished in the colony, regarded each other with mutual respect throughout the whole controversy.^e

BANCROFT ON ROGER WILLIAMS AND THE FOUNDING OF RHODE ISLAND

Purity of religion and civil liberty were the objects nearest the wishes of the emigrants. The first court of assistants (August 23rd, 1630) had taken measures for the support of the ministers. As others followed, the form of the administration was considered; that the liberties of the people might be secured against the encroachments of the rulers: "For," say they, "the waves of the sea do not more certainly waste the shore than the minds of ambitious men are led to invade the liberties of their brethren."

The polity was a sort of theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the select band of religious votaries—the men whose names an immutable decree had registered from eternity as the objects of divine love, whose election had been manifested to the world by their conscious experience of religion in the heart, whose union was confirmed by the most solemn compact formed with heaven and one another, around the memorials of a crucified Redeemer—were, by the fundamental law of the colony, constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded, but not of wealth. The servant, the bondman, might be a member of the church, and therefore

a freeman of the company. Other states have limited the possession of political rights to the opulent, to freeholders, to the first-born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts, scrupulously refusing to the clergy the least shadow of political power, established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The dangers apprehended from England seemed to require a union consecrated by the holiest rites. The public mind of the colony was in other respects ripening for democratic liberty. Roger Williams was in 1631 but a little more than thirty years of age; but his mind had already matured a doctrine which secures him an immortality of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the American world. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution, but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding; in the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.

The doctrine contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute book the felony of nonconformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman or the altar of the fire-worshipper, against the Jewish synagogue or the Roman cathedral.

It is wonderful with what distinctness Roger Williams deduced these inferences from his great principle, the consistency with which, like Pascal and Edwards, those bold and profound reasoners on other subjects, he accepted every fair inference from his doctrines, and the circumspection with which he repelled every unjust imputation. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart. But it placed the young emigrant in direct opposition to the whole system on which Massachusetts was founded.

So soon, therefore, as Williams arrived in Boston, he found himself among the New England churches, but not of them. They had not yet renounced the use of force in religion, and he could not with his entire mind adhere to churches which retained the offensive features of English legislation. What, then, was the commotion in the colony when it was found that the people of Salem desired to receive him as their teacher! The court of Boston "marvelled" at the precipitate decision, and the people of Salem were required to forbear. Williams withdrew to the settlement of Plymouth, and remained there about two years. But his virtues had won the affections of the church of Salem, and the apostle of intellectual liberty was once more welcomed to their confidence. He remained the object of public jealousy. How mild was his conduct is evident from an example. He had written an essay on the nature of the tenure by which the colonists held their lands in America; and he had argued that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the native inhabitants. The opinion sounded, at first, like treason against the cherished charter of the colony; Williams desired only that the offensive

[1634 A.D.]

manuscript might be burned; and so effectually explained its purport that the court (January 24th, 1634) applauded his temper, and declared "that the matters were not so evil as at first they seemed."

But the principles of Roger Williams led him into perpetual collision with the clergy and the government of Massachusetts. The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church. To compel men to unite with those of a different creed he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights; to drag to public worship the irreligious and the unwilling seemed only like requiring hypocrisy. "An unbelieving soul is dead in sin"—such was his argument; and to force the indifferent from one worship to another "was like shifting a dead man into several changes of apparel." "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship, against his own consent."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church. It was objected to him that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams^d asserted, are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred; since conscience belongs to the individual, and is not the property of the body politic; and with admirable dialectics, clothing the great truth in its boldest and most general forms, he asserted that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy," "that his power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men." With corresponding distinctness he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression"—to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view—"as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."

The same magistrates who, on November 27th, 1634, punished Eliot, the apostle of the Indian race, for censuring their measures, could not brook the independence of Williams, and the circumstances of the times seemed to them to justify their apprehensions. An intense jealousy was excited in England against Massachusetts; "members of the general court received intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practises against the country"; and the magistrates on the one hand were scrupulously careful to avoid all unnecessary offence to the English government, on the other were sternly consolidating their own institutions, and even preparing for resistance. It was in this view that the Freeman's Oath was appointed, by which every freeman was obliged to pledge his allegiance, not to King Charles, but to Massachusetts. There was room for scruples on the subject, and an English lawyer would have questioned the legality of the measure. The liberty of conscience for which Williams contended denied the right of a compulsory imposition of an oath. When he was summoned before the court (March

30th, 1635), he could not renounce his belief; and his influence was such "that the government was forced to desist from that proceeding." To the magistrates he seemed the ally of a civil faction; to himself he appeared only to make a frank avowal of the truth. In all his intercourse with the tribunals he spoke with the distinctness of settled convictions. He was fond of discussion, but he was never betrayed into angry remonstrance. If he was charged with pride, it was only for the novelty of his opinions.

Perhaps Williams pursued his sublime principles with too scrupulous minuteness; it was at least natural for Bradford^m and his contemporaries, while they acknowledged his power as a preacher, to esteem him "unsettled in judgment." The court at Boston remained as yet undecided, when the church of Salem—those who were best acquainted with Williams—taking no notice of the recent investigations, elected him to the office of their teacher. Immediately the evils inseparable on a religious establishment began to be displayed. The ministers got together and declared anyone worthy of banishment who should obstinately assert that "the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy"; the magistrates delayed action (July 8th), only that a committee of divines might have time to repair to Salem and deal with him and with the church in a church way. Meantime, the people of Salem were blamed for their choice of a religious guide, and a tract of land, to which they had a claim, was withheld from them as a punishment.

As his townsmen had lost their lands in consequence of their attachment to him, it would have been cowardice on his part to have abandoned them, and the instinct of liberty led him again to the suggestion of a proper remedy. Williams, in modern language, appealed to the people, and invited them to instruct their representatives to do justice to the citizens of Salem. This last act seemed flagrant treason,¹ and at the next general court Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology for the letter should be made. The town acquiesced in its wrongs, and submitted; not an individual remained willing to justify the letter of remonstrance; the church of Williams would not avow his great principle of the sanctity of conscience; even his wife, under a delusive idea of duty, was for a season influenced to disturb the tranquillity of his home by her reproaches. Williams was left alone, absolutely alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. When summoned to appear before the general court, in October, he avowed his convictions in the presence of the representatives of the state, "maintained the rocky strength of his grounds," and declared himself "ready to be bound and banished and even to die in New England," rather than renounce the opinions which had dawned upon his mind in the clearness of light.

The principles which he first sustained amidst the bickerings of a colonial parish, next asserted in the general court of Massachusetts, and then introduced into the wilds on Narragansett Bay, he soon found occasion to publish to the world, in 1644, and to defend as the basis of the religious freedom of mankind. In its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor. For Taylor limited his toleration to a few Christian sects; the philanthropy of Williams compassed the earth. Taylor favoured partial reform, commended lenity, argued for forbearance, and entered a special plea in behalf of each tolerable sect; Williams would permit persecution of no opinion, of no religion, leaving heresy unharmed by law,

¹ Cotton^t calls it *crimen majestatis læsæ*, [with which we are more familiar to-day under the name of *lèse majesté*.]

[1636 A.D.]

and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes. Taylor still clung to the necessity of positive regulations enforcing religion and eradicating error; he resembled the poets, who, in their folly, first declare their hero to be invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armour. Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light, believing that if, in the ancient feud between Truth and Error, the employment of force could be entirely abrogated, Truth would have much the best of the bargain. It is the custom of mankind to award high honours to the successful inquirer into the laws of nature, to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge. We praise the man who first analysed the air, or resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds, even though the discoveries may have been as much the fruits of time as of genius. A moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace, and spreads tranquillity through every community and every bosom. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence because, on his death-bed, he published to the world that the sun is the centre of our system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence for his sagacity in detecting the laws of the planetary motion; if the genius of Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light, and weighing heavenly bodies as in a balance—let there be for the name of Roger Williams at least some humble place among those who have advanced moral science and made themselves the benefactors of mankind.

But if the opinion of posterity is no longer divided, the members of the general court of that day pronounced against him the sentence of exile, in 1635; yet not by a very numerous majority. Some, who consented to his banishment, would never have yielded but for the persuasions of Cotton; and the judgment was vindicated, not as a punishment for opinion, or as a restraint on freedom of conscience, but because the application of the new doctrine to the construction of the patent, to the discipline of the churches, and to the “oaths for making tryall of the fidelity of the people,” seemed about “to subvert the fundamental state and government of the country.”

Winter was at hand; Williams succeeded in obtaining permission to remain till spring, intending then to begin a plantation in Narragansett Bay. But the affections of the people of Salem revived, and could not be restrained; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; it began to be rumoured that he could not safely be allowed to found a new state in the vicinity; as Winthrop ^g says, “many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness”; his opinions were contagious; the infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. A warrant was accordingly sent to him (January, 1636) to come to Boston and embark. For the first time he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. In Williams’ ^d words: “For fourteen weeks he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean.” Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree.

But he was not without friends. The same scrupulous respect for the rights of others which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience had

made him also the champion of the Indians. He had already been zealous to acquire their language, and knew it so well that he could debate with them in their own dialect. During his residence at Plymouth he had often been the guest of the neighbouring sachems; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massasoit; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansets, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates with gratitude, "fed me in the wilderness." And in requital for their hospitality, he was ever through his long life their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, without weariness, and without impatience at their idolatry; the guardian of their rights; the pacificator, when their rude passions were inflamed; and their unflinching advocate and protector, whenever Europeans attempted an invasion of their rights.

He first pitched and began to build and plant at Seekonk. But Seekonk was found to be within the patent of Plymouth; on the other side of the water, the country opened in its unappropriated beauty, and there he might hope to establish a community as free as the other colonies. "That ever-honoured Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

It was in June, 1636, that the lawgiver of Rhode Island, with five companions, embarked on the stream; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring near which they landed; it is the parent spot, the first inhabited nook of Rhode Island. To express his unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, Williams called the place Providence. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."

In his new abode Williams could have less leisure for contemplation and study. "My time," he observes of himself—and it is a sufficient apology for the roughness of his style, as a writer on morals—"was not spent altogether in spiritual labours; but, day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread." In the course of two years he was joined by others, who fled to his asylum. The land which was now occupied by Williams was within the territory of the Narragansett Indians; it was not long before an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonomoh made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain.

Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams than the use which he made of his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his "own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back"; and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all." He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy; where the will of the majority should govern the state; yet "only in civil things"; God alone was respected as the ruler of conscience. To their more aristocratic neighbours it seemed as if these fugitives "would have no magistrates," for everything was as yet decided in convention of the people.

This first system has had its influence on the whole political history of Rhode Island; in no state in the world, not even in the agricultural state of Vermont, has the magistracy so little power, or the representatives of the freemen so much. The annals of Rhode Island, if written in the spirit of philosophy, would exhibit the forms of society under a peculiar aspect; had

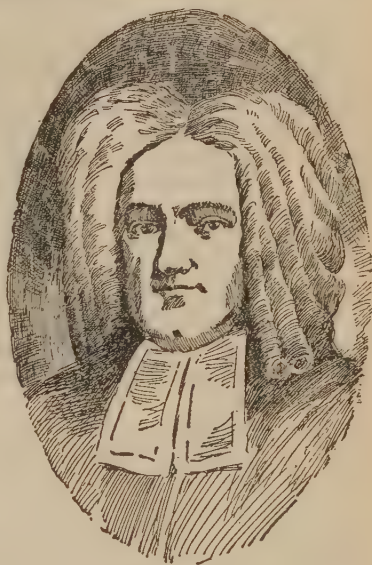
[1638 A.D.]

the territory of the state corresponded to the importance and singularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its history. The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct towards his persecutors. Though keenly sensitive to the hardships which he had endured, he was far from harbouring feelings of revenge towards those who banished him, and only regretted their delusion. "I did ever, from my soul, honour and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me." In all his writings on the subject, he attacked the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, and never his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts.^b

In contrast with Bancroft's eulogy we may quote the bitter estimate of the sharp-penned Cotton Mather, who was born a score of years before Roger Williams died.^a

COTTON MATHER'S ESTIMATE OF ROGER WILLIAMS

I tell my reader that there was a whole country in America like to be set on fire by the rapid motion of a windmill in the head of one particular man. Know, then, that about the year 1630, arrived here, one Mr. Roger Williams, who, being a preacher that had less light than fire in him, hath, by his own sad example, preached unto us the danger of that evil which the apostle mentions in Romans x, 2, "They have a zeal, but not according to knowledge." He violently urged that the civil magistrate might not punish breaches of the first table in the laws of the ten commandments; which assertion, besides the door which it opened unto a thousand profanities, by not being duly limited, it utterly took away from the authority all capacity to prevent the land, which they had purchased on purpose for their own recess from such things; its becoming such a sink of abominations, as would have been the reproach and ruin of Christianity in these parts of the world. The church taking the advice of their fathers in the state, on this occasion Mr. Williams removed unto Plymouth, where he was accepted as a preacher for the two years ensuing. These things were, indeed, very disturbant and offensive; but there were two other things in this quixotism, that made it no longer convenient for the civil authority to remain unconcerned about him; for, first, Whereas the king of England had granted a royal charter unto the governor and company of this colony, which patent was, indeed, the very life of the colony, this hot-headed man publicly and furiously preached against the patent, as an instrument of injustice, and pressed both rulers and people to be humbled for their sin in taking such a patent, and utterly throw it up, on an insignificant pretence of wrong thereby unto the Indians, which were the natives of the country, therein given to the subjects of the English crown. Secondly, an order of the court, upon some just occasion, had been made, that an oath of fidelity should be, though not imposed upon, yet offered unto



COTTON MATHER
(1663-1728)

the freemen, the better to distinguish those whose fidelity might render them capable of employment in the government; which order this man vehemently withstood, on a pernicious pretence that it was the prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his office established with an oath; and that an oath being the worship of God, carnal persons, whereof he supposed there were many in the land, might not be put upon it. These crimes at last procured a sentence of banishment upon him.ⁿ

ESTIMATES OF ROGER WILLIAMS

Justin Winsor is hardly more complimentary to Roger Williams. He says: "It was at Plymouth (1631-1633) that Roger Williams drew up his treatise attacking the validity of the titles acquired under the patents granted by the king, in accordance with the common-law principle as understood at the time. Acceptance of his views as to the sole validity of the Indian title would have disturbed the foundations of the colony's government; and it was not without satisfaction that the authorities saw Williams return to the bay, where his factious and impracticable views on civil policy, quite as much or even more than any views on theology, led to his subsequent banishment. The later history of Williams was Massachusetts' best vindication."^o

Charles Deane ^h also comments: "Williams was banished from Massachusetts principally for political reasons. His peculiar opinions relating to 'soul-liberty' were not fully developed until after he had taken up his residence in Rhode Island."

Edward Eggleston, however, who was aloof from the unconscious influences of the rivalry between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, eulogises Williams in highest terms: "Local jealousy and sectarian prejudice have done what they could to obscure the facts of the trial and banishment of Williams. It has been argued by more than one writer that it was not a case of religious persecution at all, but the exclusion of a man dangerous to the state. The case has even been pettifogged in our own time by the assertion that the banishment was only the action of a commercial company excluding an uncongenial person from its territory. But with what swift indignation would the Massachusetts rulers of the days of Dudley and Haynes have repudiated a plea which denied their magistracy! Not only did they punish for unorthodox expressions; they even assumed to inquire into private beliefs. Williams was only one of scores bidden to depart on account of opinion."

"The real and sufficient extenuation for the conduct of the Massachusetts leaders is found in the character and standards of the age. Williams was the child of his age, and sometimes more childish than his age. But there were regions of thought and sentiment in which he was wholly disentangled from the meshes of his time, and that not because of intellectual superiority—for he had no large philosophical views—but by reason of elevation of spirit. Even the authority of Moses could not prevent him from condemning the harsh severity of the New England capital laws. He had no sentimental delusions about the character of the savages—he styles them 'wolves endued with men's brains'; but he constantly pleads for a humane treatment of them."

"Individualist in thought, altruist in spirit, secularist in governmental theory, he was the herald of a time yet more modern than this laggard age of ours. If ever a soul saw a clear-shining inward light not to be dimmed by prejudices or obscured by the deft logic of a disputatious age, it was the soul of Williams. In the seventeenth century there was no place but the

[1638-1641 A.D.]

wilderness for such a John Baptist of the distant future as Roger Williams. He did not belong among the diplomatic builders of churches, like Cotton, or the politic founders of states, like Winthrop. He was but a babbler to his own time, but the prophetic voice rings clear and far, and ever clearer as the ages go on." *p*

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF HARRY VANE

Thus was Rhode Island the offspring of Massachusetts. The loss of the few emigrants who deserted to the new state was not sensibly felt in the parent colony. The stream of emigration now flowed with a full current.^b

During the summer of the same year twenty ships arrived in Massachusetts, bringing no less than three thousand new settlers. Among them was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Henry, commonly called Sir Harry Vane, son of a privy councillor at the English court. Peters, a zealous Puritan and a warm advocate of popular rights, became minister of Salem. He remained in New England till 1641, when at the request of the colonists he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England, by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to waive his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of patrician family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty that, relinquishing all his prospects in Britain, he chose to settle in an infant colony, which as yet afforded little more than a subsistence for its inhabitants, he was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. So much did his mind predominate over his senses that, though constitutionally timid, and keenly susceptible of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when, amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to him in the form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with a heroic and smiling intrepidity, and encountered it with tranquil and dignified resignation. The man who could so command himself was formed to acquire a powerful ascendancy over the minds of others. He was instantly admitted a freeman of Massachusetts; and extending his claims to respect by the address and ability which he displayed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by unanimous choice, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration.

In these expectations they were disappointed. Vane's ideas of civil and religious liberty were at least a century in advance of the people among whom he was settled; his character was not understood; his youth prevented him from commanding the deference to which his personal qualities entitled him; he became involved in a controversy, where he had nothing but reason and justice to oppose to violent party spirit; and a party in opposition to him, composed of some of the most noted men in the colony, was organised at the very outset of his career.

Meantime others of the English nobility were disposed to follow him to the Puritan colony. Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brooke signified their

willingness to become citizens of Massachusetts, if they could be permitted a hereditary seat in the senate, as at home. The colonial authorities were willing to make any reasonable concession to gain such powerful friends; and they offered appointments for life, but declined making any hereditary grants, assigning the most obvious reason for their refusal—the possible incapacity of some future scion of some noble house to discharge creditably the duties of a senator. Thus Massachusetts escaped the infliction of a hereditary nobility.

The structure of the government in Massachusetts gave political power to the clergy, since church membership was a necessary qualification for a voter,¹ and this could only be obtained by clerical approbation. The founders of the colony, Winthrop and his friends, of course approved of this state of things, since it had originated with them. A party, however, soon rose in the colony actuated by more liberal views, and opposed to every infringement of spiritual liberty. The leader of this party was a woman.^e

MRS. ANNE HUTCHINSON

No person in American annals has suffered more obloquy without cause than Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She came with her husband from Lincolnshire to Boston in 1636. Her husband was a man of note, being a representative of Boston, and in good repute. Mrs. Hutchinson was a well-educated woman. She was ambitious and active, and was delighted with metaphysical subtleties and nice distinctions. She had a ready pen and a fine memory, and from the habit of taking notes in church she possessed herself of all the points in Mr. Cotton's sermons, which she was fond of communicating to others of less retentive faculties.

She held conference meetings at her own house, and commented on the great doctrines of salvation. She entertained several speculative opinions that, in the present state of intelligence, would be considered as harmless as a poet's dream, but which at that time "threw the whole colony into a flame." Every household was fevered by religious discussions upon covenants of faith and covenants of works, always the most bitter of all disputes. In all probability the vanity of Mrs. Hutchinson was raised, to see that she could so easily disturb the religious and metaphysical world about her; and no doubt but that the persecutions she suffered made her more obstinate than she otherwise would have been. If they had let her alone, her doctrines would have passed away with a thousand other vagaries; but the clergy would not suffer this to be, notwithstanding they risked something in calling this popular woman to an account. She was considered wiser and more learned in the Scriptures than all her opponents. She had powerful friends. Sir Henry Vane, the governor, was her friend, and Cotton and Wheelwright, the ministers, were her warm supporters, and had a profound respect for her talents and virtues; but still the majority of the clergy was against her.

In 1637 a synod was called, the first in American history, which was held in conclave at Cambridge. It was composed of the governor, the deputy governor, the council of assistants, and the teachers and elders of churches. They sat in conclave for fear of the people, particularly Mrs. Hutchinson's followers. Her friend, Sir Henry Vane, was no longer in the chair of state. In this body she was charged with heresy, and called upon to defend herself

[¹ Indeed, Strausⁱ says that Massachusetts was under a government of congregations rather than of towns, since only church members could vote.]

[1636 A. D.]

before these inquisitors. The charges and specifications were numerous, as is proved by the judgment of the court. Before the tribunal she stood for three weeks, defending herself against a body of inquisitors, who were at once the prosecutors, the witnesses, and the judges. The report of the trial is said to be from the minutes of Governor Winthrop, certainly not from her own brief. The charges from the governor, who presided, were vituperative and vague, consisting of general matters rather than of special allegations; to all of which she returned the most acute and pregnant answers, evincing a mind of the first order. One after another of her judges questioned and harangued, but she never lost her self-possession. The only circumstance in the whole case that shows the sincerity of her judges is the report they have made of her trial. Her judges were the first in the land, comprising everyone in the colony who had not fallen under the suspicion of having been her friend. That intolerant old Dudley, the lieutenant-governor, was the most inveterate of her enemies. Cotton, who was called as a witness, behaved well, and grave and holy as he was, was treated with great severity as a witness. On the whole, they proved nothing against her but that she had expressed her own opinions freely, and supported them manfully by unanswerable texts of Scripture.

They found her guilty of more than eighty heretical opinions; but, fortunately for themselves, they did not venture to specify them in her sentence, but ordered her to recant and renounce them under the penalty of excommunication and banishment. Mrs. Hutchinson was firm; she made a fair explanation, but would not renounce what she conscientiously believed to be right.ⁱ

POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY; VANE'S FALL, 1636

Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents—they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favour of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions.

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. They came fresh from the study of the tenets of Geneva, and their pride consisted in following the principles of the Reformation with logical precision to all their consequences. Their eyes were not primarily directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to the doctrines of their religious system. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion, and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution," "popish factors," who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform. Every political opinion, every philosophical tenet, assumed in those days a theological form: with the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion, and sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

Anne Hutchinson was encouraged by John Wheelwright, her brother, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston sustained her in her rebellion against the clergy. Scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy, and the general court adopted her opinions. The public mind seemed hastening towards an insurrection against spiritual authority, and she was denounced by Winthrop^g as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers," as being "like Roger Williams or worse."

The subject possessed the highest political importance. Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate, clustered together in defence of their influence and in opposition to Vane; and Wheelwright, who in a fast-day's sermon (March, 1637) had strenuously maintained the truth of his opinions, and had never been confuted, in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition. At the ensuing choice of magistrates the religious divisions controlled the elections. The friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England; but in the colony, says Burdett,^k "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king." The contest appeared, therefore, to the people, not as the struggle for intellectual freedom against the authority of the clergy, but as a contest for the liberties of Massachusetts against the power of the English government. Could it be doubted who would obtain the confidence of the people?

In the midst of such high excitement that even the pious Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered the entire management of the government. But the dispute infused its spirit into everything; it interfered with the levy of the troops for the Pequot war; it influenced the respect shown to the magistrates; the distribution of town lots; the assessment of rates; and at last the continued existence of the two opposing parties was considered inconsistent with the public peace. To prevent the increase of a faction esteemed to be so dangerous, a law somewhat analogous to the alien law in England and to the European policy of passports, was enacted by the party in power; none should be received within the jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. The dangers which were simultaneously menaced from the Episcopal party in the mother country gave to the measure an air of magnanimous defiance; it was almost a proclamation of independence. As an act of intolerance, it found in Vane^l an inflexible opponent, and, using the language of the times, he left a memorial of his dissent. "Scribes and Pharisees, and such as are confirmed in any way of error"—these are the remarkable words of the man who soon embarked for England, where he afterwards pleaded in parliament for the liberties of Catholics and dissenters—"all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren."

Now that Vane had returned to England, it was hardly possible to find any grounds of difference between the flexible Cotton and his equally orthodox opponents. The general peace of the colony being thus assured, the triumph of the clergy was complete, and the civil magistrates proceeded to

^l Milton, whose intercourse with Vane afforded him ample opportunities of understanding his character, pronounces a noble eulogy on him in the sonnet which commences,

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsels old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

[1637-1638 A.D.]

pass sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens.

So ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts. The principles of Anne Hutchinson were a natural consequence of the progress of the Reformation. She had imbibed them in Europe; and it is a singular fact, though easy of explanation, that in the very year in which she was arraigned at Boston, Descartes, like herself a refugee from his country, like herself a prophetic harbinger of the spirit of the coming age, established philosophic liberty on the method of free reflection. Both asserted that the conscious judgment of the mind is the highest authority to itself. Descartes did but promulgate, under the philosophic form of free reflection, the same truth which Anne Hutchinson, with the fanaticism of impassioned conviction, avowed under the form of inward revelations.

Wheelwright and his immediate friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua, and at the head of tide-waters on that stream they founded the town of Exeter; one more little republic in the wilderness, organised on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.

The larger number of the friends of Anne Hutchinson, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island, or near Delaware Bay. But Roger Williams welcomed them to his vicinity (March 24th, 1638), and his own influence, and the powerful name of Henry Vane, prevailed with Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansets, to obtain for them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. The spirit of the institutions established by this band of voluntary exiles, on the soil which they owed to the benevolence of the natives, was derived from natural justice; a social compact, signed after the manner of the precedent at New Plymouth, so often imitated in America, founded the government upon the basis of the universal consent of every inhabitant; the forms of the administration were borrowed from the examples of the Jews. Coddington was elected judge in the new Israel, and three elders were soon chosen as his assistants. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty; philosophy itself could not have placed the right on a broader basis. The settlement prospered, and it became necessary to establish a constitution. It was therefore ordered by the whole body of freemen, and "unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island, and the jurisdiction thereof, in favour of our prince, is a Democracie, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just Lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man. It was further ordered that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine"; the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion; benevolence was their rule; they trusted in the power of love to win the victory; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto *Amor vincet omnia*." A patent from England seemed necessary for their protection; and to whom could they direct their letters but to the now powerful Henry Vane?

Such were the institutions which sprung from the party of Anne Hutchinson. But she did not long enjoy their protection. Recovering from a transient dejection of mind, she had gloried in her sufferings, as her great-

est happiness; and, making her way through the forest, she travelled by land to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island, sharing with them the hardships of early emigrants. Her powerful mind still continued its activity; young men from the colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft." She was in a few years left a widow, but was blessed with affectionate children. A tinge of fanaticism pervaded her family: one of her sons and Collins, her son-in-law, had ventured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. But would the Puritan magistrates of that day tolerate an attack on their government? Severe imprisonments for many months was the punishment inflicted on the young men for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe place of refuge, and the whole family removed beyond New Haven into the territory of the Dutch. The violent Kieft had provoked an insurrection among the Indians; the house of Anne Hutchinson was attacked and set on fire (1643); herself, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of the savages, or were consumed by the flames.^b

THE COLONISATION OF CONNECTICUT

When Lord Brooke and lords Say and Seal proposed to emigrate to New England, they obtained from the earl of Warwick an assignment of a grant which he had received from the Plymouth council for lands on the Connecticut river, and they had proceeded so far in their design as to send out an agent to take possession of the territory and build a fort. "Happily for America," says Grahame,^c "the sentiments and habits that rendered them unfit members of a society where complete civil liberty and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America, and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardour for emigration subsided, and nearer and more interesting projects opened to their view in England."

In 1633 certain emigrants from the New Plymouth colony built a trading-house at Windsor, and others from Massachusetts were preparing to follow them; but they had all been preceded by the subjects of another European power. The first settlements on the Connecticut river were effected by the Dutch; and the imputation of the English settlers that the former were intruders seems to be quite unfounded in justice or truth. The patent obtained from their own government for all lands they should discover included the lands on the Connecticut river, which was as yet unknown to the English. They traded with the Indians for several years, and purchased from them a tract of land, on which they erected a fort and trading-house at Hartford before the English had taken possession of the country. Those who came from Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, and attempted to drive the Dutch from their settlements, were not possessed of the smallest title from the Plymouth Company. The prior claim of the Dutch will appear from the account of this transaction given by Governor Bradford,^m in which he relates how they eluded the vigilance of the Dutch by craft and deceit, and, on the pretence of trading with the natives, succeeded in passing their settlement,

[1634-1636 A.D.]

and sailed to about a mile above them, on the Connecticut, where they made a clearing, erected a house, and fortified the place by palisades. The writer continues: "The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos of what was done; and in process of time they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and that it would cost blood, they come to a parley, and return in peace. And this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong, for we took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us, and our friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do."

In 1634 a number of the inhabitants of Cambridge, with the reverend Mr. Hooker at their head, applied to the general court of Massachusetts for permission to remove to the banks of the Connecticut, on the plea that the number of emigrants did not allow them such a choice of lands as they desired. The court was divided on the subject, and its consideration was postponed for a time. Several of the most active of those engaged in the enterprise had proceeded so far in their preparations for removing that they would not wait the court's consent; and, accordingly, five of them set out and proceeded to a beautiful spot on the Connecticut, a few miles below Hartford, where they built huts and passed the winter. The general court again assembled in May, 1636, and granted permission to Hooker and his company to remove to Connecticut, as they desired; stipulating, however, that they should remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Active preparations for removal were immediately commenced, and small parties were sent out in advance, not only from Cambridge, but also from Dorchester and Watertown.

While preparing for their departure from Massachusetts, the colonists were apprised that the lands they had intended to occupy had been granted to a London company by royal charter. They finally determined to go, having agreed with the Plymouth Company that in case they were obliged to abandon the lands the company should indemnify them, or provide another place of settlement. They commenced their journey about the middle of October, accompanied by their cattle, swine, and other property, and numbering about sixty persons, men, women, and children. They were occupied several weeks on the march, having numberless difficulties to encounter in the fording of streams, crossing hills and swamps, and cutting pathways through dense forests. When near the place of their destination the company divided, and different parties occupied the several towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield.

Unfortunately for the settlers, the winter began much earlier than usual; the weather was stormy and severe, and by the 15th of November Connecticut river was frozen over, and the snow lay to a considerable depth. Several vessels were wrecked on the New England coast, and from one three men escaped to New Plymouth, famished and benumbed with wandering for ten days in deep snow. A general scarcity of provisions ensued by the beginning of December. A party of thirteen set out for Boston, and on their way one of the number fell through the ice in crossing a stream, and the remainder must have perished but for the kindness of the Indians. Another party of sixty persons proceeded down the river to meet their provisions; but being disappointed in this, they went on board the *Rebecca*, a vessel of sixty tons, which was shut up by the ice, twenty miles up the river. By the partial melting of the ice she was enabled to return to open water, but running on a bar in the sound, she was obliged to unload in order to get off.

The cargo was replaced, and in five days they reached Boston. Those who remained on the Connecticut suffered intensely during the winter, and though they were kindly assisted by the Indians, yet they were forced to subsist on malt, grains, and acorns.

Those who had left Connecticut in the winter, returned thither in the spring, accompanied by many others who had determined to take up their abode in the new colony.

DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUOTS (1637 A.D.)

The Indians about the Connecticut had shown a hostile disposition from the first settlement. The Pequots were the most formidable tribe of New England, numbering from seven hundred to a thousand warriors, long accustomed to victory. Their principal forts were at Groton, where their great prince Sassacus resided, and at Stonington, on the Mystic river. The Pequots were endeavouring to form a league with the Narragansets and Mohegans for the utter extirpation of the whites. Information of this design had been given to the governor of Massachusetts by Roger Williams; but not content with this measure of precaution, the intrepid founder of Rhode Island embarked himself alone in a small canoe and proceeded directly to the house of the sachem of the Narragansets. Here he met the emissaries of the Pequots, and it was not without days and nights of earnest solicitation, and at the imminent peril of his life, that he finally succeeded in detaching the Narragansets from the league. Their example was followed by the Mohegans, and thus the Pequots were left to contend single-handed with their civilised adversaries.

Meanwhile the repeated injuries inflicted by the Pequots, and the actual murder of about thirty of the settlers, determined the general court of Connecticut to proceed to active hostilities; and on the 1st of May, 1637, they resolved to raise ninety men, who were placed under the command of Captain Mason. This force, accompanied by sixty friendly Indians under Uncas, a Mohegan sachem, sailed on the 19th for Narragansett Bay. On the 22nd they repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch of the tribe, and were received with Indian solemnity by the younger and more fiery sachem Miantonomoh, who offered to join them. They here heard of the arrival of the Massachusetts troops at Providence; but it was determined not to wait for them, and on the next day the allies marched to Nihantick, bordering on the country of the Pequots. Here a large body of friendly Indians joined them, and, pushing on the Mystic river, the army encamped about two miles from the enemy's fort, just at nightfall. The Pequots, who had seen the vessels pass the harbour some days before, and believed that the English wanted courage to attack them, were passing the night in rejoicing, singing, and dancing, till weary with these exertions they at last sought repose. A bright moon favoured the English, who surprised the fort just before day. The barking of a watch-dog and cry of an Indian sentinel roused the slumbering savages, who rushed from their wigwams to meet a determined foe. The Pequots fought bravely, and would probably have made their escape, had not Mason set fire to their dwellings, and thus forced them from their lurking-places into open light, to be a mark for the English muskets. The victory was complete, but the conquerors were in a dangerous situation. Several of their numbers were killed, and one-fourth wounded. The remainder, exhausted with fatigue, destitute of provisions, and ill-provided with ammunition, were exposed to the rage of a fresh body of savages, but a few miles distant, who

[1637-1639 A.D.]

would be exasperated on hearing of the destruction of their brethren. Fortunately, at the time of this perplexity their vessels were seen steering into the harbour; and being received on board, the troops reached their homes in less than a month from the day that the court had resolved on war.

The troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut arrived in time to hunt out a number of the fugitives, burn their remaining villages, and lay waste their corn-fields. Sassacus fled towards the Hudson, with a party of his chief sachems; but he was surprised by the Mohawks, and with his warriors put to death. Mononotto alone escaped.^e

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY (1637 A.D.)

The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansets. There remained not a sannup nor squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequot name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man. The vigour and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, struck terror into the savages, and secured a long succession of years of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the labourer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades.^b

THE "FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS"; THE FIRST WRITTEN CONSTITUTION (1639 A.D.)

Under the benignant auspices of peace, the citizens resolved to perfect its political institutions, and to form a body politic by a voluntary association. The constitution which was thus framed (January 14th, 1639) was of unexampled liberality. [It was known as "The Fundamental Orders," and adopted by a general convention of the planters of the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.] The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and legislature were chosen annually by ballot; and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population. Centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most various experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed; and so many constitutions have been framed or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. No jurisdiction of the English monarch was recognised; the laws of honest justice were the basis of the commonwealth, and therefore its foundations were lasting. These humble emigrants invented an admirable system. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. They who judge of men by their services to the human race, will never cease to honour the memory of Hooker and of Haynes.^b

Alexander Johnston⁹ speaks even more glowingly of the Fundamental Orders. He speaks of the first constitution of Connecticut as being "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation on governmental power, known in history," and it is not strange that he becomes enthusiastic in characterising so memorable a document. Possibly there is something of local partisanship in his plea, yet we shall not

be far wrong in accepting his point of view for the moment and inspecting the constitution through his eyes. He notes that there is a popular opinion to the effect that democracy had its origin on the western continent in a compact that was really made in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, but he declares that the instrument in question had no sound political basis, and was indeed the exponent of no new or progressive idea. It even began, quite after the manner of European documents of the time, with formal acknowledgment of the authority of the king; and this was natural enough, considering that the authors of the document were themselves subjects of the king, who had no thought of breaking away from the traditions of their country, nor any feeling that they were entering an alien territory.

Possibly Johnston goes too far, however, in declaring that the Plymouth system was only accidentally democratic, unless indeed the word accidental be used in a very liberal interpretation; for, after all, the Pilgrim Fathers, notwithstanding their recognition of the king's authority and their loyalty to that form of government under which they had been reared, had nevertheless an idea of reaching out for greater freedom of personal action — though that idea came to be interpreted as meaning that your neighbour's manner of life must be established in accordance with your own conceptions of propriety.

THE TRUE IMPORT OF THE ORDERS.

But such limitations of the altruistic spirit are little to be wondered at. It is not easy to vault from one form of government or one manner of life to another. Progress in politics, as in other affairs, must be by evolution if new goals are to be securely reached, rather than by sudden saltations. Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that the Plymouth colony could not accomplish all that was brought to pass at a later period on the banks of the Connecticut, and under the leadership of such a reformer as Thomas Hooker. There is little doubt that here at Hartford a distinct step towards a broader interpretation of the spirit of democracy was made; perhaps even the step was so important as to justify Johnston's characterising of it as a new birth. But be that as it may, the essential feature of the idea which finds embodiment in the Fundamental Orders was one that was to play an important part in the future history, not only of New England, but of all other portions of the American commonwealth. It was the idea that the town is the unit of government; that the smallest community is a microcosm in which the principles of government that control the commonwealth as a whole are to be embodied.

Speaking more specifically, Johnston regards the really new principle introduced by the Orders as being the provision that certain chief inhabitants of each town, not exceeding seven, were to be chosen to act as magistrates. This was the foundation of that system of local executive boards or "selectment" who from that time forward were to exercise the responsibility of deciding all minor matters, and even matters of considerable moment, for their respective commonwealths in the intervals between the town meetings. Numerous details as to the right of suffrage, the power of selling lands, of passing local laws, and of matters of assessment and taxation, were naturally included in the constitution, though some of these required to be interpreted by the courts at a later day. All in all, these proceedings in Connecticut in 1639 have been held singularly to forecast, on a small scale, the great developments that were to mark the national growth of the succeeding century.^a

[1638-1649 A.D.]

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of the excellent Theophilus Eaton, who was annually elected its governor for twenty years, till his death. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism, but the spirit of humanity had sheltered itself under the rough exterior. The colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak (April 18th, 1638). It was a season of gloom. Under the leafless tree the little flock were taught by Davenport that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." A title to lands was obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year, the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, they held their constituent assembly in a barn (June 4th, 1639). There, by the influence of Davenport, it was solemnly resolved that the Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation work of organising the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others were "the seven pillars" for the new house of wisdom in the wilderness. August 23rd, 1639, the seven pillars assembled, possessing for the time absolute power. Having abrogated every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles"; and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor, to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you"—such was part of the minister's text—"bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered; and thus New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen. As neighbouring towns were planted, each was likewise a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the eternal light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime their pleasant villages spread along the Sound, and on the opposite shore of Long Island, and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."

MASSACHUSETTS PREPARES TO RESIST CHARLES I

The English government was not indifferent to the progress of the colonies of New England. The fate of the first emigrants had been watched by all parties with benevolent curiosity; nor was there any inducement to oppress the few sufferers, whom the hardships of their condition were so fast wasting away. The adventurers were encouraged by a proclamation on November 24th, 1630, which, with a view to their safety, prohibited the sale of firearms to the savages.

The stern discipline exercised by the government at Salem produced an early harvest of enemies; resentment long rankled in the minds of some, whom Endicott had perhaps too passionately punished; and when they

returned to England, Mason and Gorges, the rivals of the Massachusetts Company, willingly echoed their vindictive complaints. Massachusetts was ably defended by Saltonstall, Humphrey, and Cradock, its friends in England.

Revenge did not slumber because it had been once defeated; and the triumphant success of the Puritans in America disposed the leaders of the high-church party to listen to the clamours of the malignant. Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of the system of colonial church discipline—proceedings which were wholly at variance with the laws of England. "The departure of so many of the best," such "numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians," began to be regarded by the archbishops as an affair of state; and ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council. Burdett ^k had also written from New England to Laud that "the colonists aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty"; and the greatest apprehensions were raised by a requisition which commanded the letters patent of the company to be produced in England. To this requisition the emigrants returned no reply.

Still more menacing was the appointment of an arbitrary special commission for the colonies. The archbishop of Canterbury and those who were associated with him, on April 10th, 1634, received full power over the American plantations, to establish the government and dictate the laws; to regulate the church; to inflict even the heaviest punishments; and to revoke any charter which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

The news of this commission reached Boston (September 18th), and it was at the same time rumoured that a general governor was on his way. The intelligence awakened the most lively interest in the whole colony, and led to the boldest measures. Poor as the new settlements were, six hundred pounds were raised towards fortifications; "the assistants and the deputies discovered their minds to one another," and the fortifications were hastened. All the ministers assembled at Boston on January 19th, 1635; it marks the age, that their opinions were consulted; it marks the age still more, that they unanimously declared against the reception of a general governor.

Restraints were therefore placed upon emigration (December, 1634); no one above the rank of a serving-man might remove to the colony without the special leave of the commissioners; and persons of inferior order were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. Willingly as these acts were performed by religious bigotry, they were prompted by another cause. The members of the grand council of Plymouth, long reduced to a state of inactivity, prevented by the spirit of the English merchants from oppressing the people, and having already made grants of all the lands from Penobscot to Long Island, determined to resign their charter, which was no longer possessed of any value. Several of the company desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonour of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. The hope of acquiring principalities subverted the sense of justice. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots. Whole provinces gained an owner by the drawing of a lottery.

Thus far all went smoothly; it was a more difficult matter to gain possession of the prizes; the independent and inflexible colony of Massachusetts formed too serious an obstacle. The grant for Massachusetts, it was argued, was

[1635-1638 A.D.]

surreptitiously obtained; the lands belonged to Robert Gorges by a prior deed; the intruders had "made themselves a free people." The general patent for New England was surrendered to the king in June. To obtain of him a confirmation of their respective grants, and to invoke the whole force of English power against the charter of Massachusetts, were at the same time the objects of the members of the Plymouth Company, distinctly avowed in their public acts.

Now was the season of greatest peril to the rising liberties of New England. The king and council already feared the consequences that might come from the unbridled spirits of the Americans; his dislike was notorious; and at the Trinity term in the court of king's bench a *quo warranto* was brought against the company of the Massachusetts Bay. At the ensuing Michaelmas several of its members who resided in England made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered up against them. The unexpected death (in December) of Mason, who, as the proprietary of New Hampshire, had been the chief mover of all the aggressions on the rights of the adjoining colony, suspended the hostile movements, which Gorges had too much honesty and too little intrigue to renew.

The severe censures in the star chamber, the greatness of the fines, which avarice rivalled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, still continued; and men were, says John Miller, "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops." The pillory had become the bloody scene of human agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment, and the friends of Laud jested on the sufferings which were to cure the obduracy of fanatics. They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses were slit; their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash and the shears and the glowing iron could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. Not even America could long be safe against the designs of despotism. A proclamation was issued to prevent the emigration of Puritans; the king refused his dissenting subjects the security of the wilderness.

The privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England (May 1st, 1638). It has been said that Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet. The English ministry of that day might willingly have exiled Hampden; no original authors, except royalists writing on hearsay, allude to the design imputed to him. There are no circumstances in the lives of Hampden and Cromwell corroborating the story, but many to establish its improbability; there came over, during this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons; and had Hampden designed to emigrate, he whose maxim in life forbade retreat, and whose resolution was as fixed as it was calm, possessed energy enough to have accomplished his purpose. Nor did he ever embark for America; the fleet in which he is said to have taken his passage was delayed but a few days; on petition of the owners and passengers King Charles removed the restraint; the ships proceeded on their intended voyage; and the whole company, as it seems without diminution, arrived safely in the bay of Massachusetts. Had Hampden and Cromwell been of the party, they too would have reached New England.

MASSACHUSETTS REFUSES TO SURRENDER ITS CHARTER

A few weeks before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the former proceedings by a *quo warranto*, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal, it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation. But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." The colonists, without desponding, demanded a trial before condemnation. They urged (September 6th) that the recall of the patent would be a manifest breach of faith; pregnant with evils to themselves and their neighbours; that it would strengthen the plantations of the French and the Dutch; that it would discourage all future attempts at colonial enterprise; and, finally, "if the patent be taken from us"—such was their cautious but energetic remonstrance—"the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his majesty's displeasure." They therefore beg of the royal clemency the favour of neglect.

But before their supplication could find its way to the throne, the monarch was himself already involved in disasters. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters; there is no need to forbid emigration; England is at once become the theatre of wonderful events, and many fiery spirits, who had fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle for liberty. In the following years, 1640 to 1642, few passengers came over; the reformation of church and state, the attainder of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, the great enemy of Massachusetts, caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was matured; the contests in which the unfortunate Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for the space of twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of the benefits of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness was the admiration of their times—the wonder of the world. Plenty prevailed throughout the settlements. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first found shelter were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament is estimated to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred. One hundred and ninety-eight ships had borne them across the Atlantic; and the whole cost of the plantations had been almost a million of dollars—a great expenditure and a great emigration for that age.

Affluence was already beginning to follow in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish also was a staple. The business of shipbuilding was early introduced. Vessels of four hundred tons were constructed before 1643. So long as the ports were filled with newcomers, the domestic consumption had required nearly all the produce of the colony. But now, says Winthrop⁹ (and in the history of American industry the fact is worth preserving), "our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from

[1642-1643 A.D.]

Barbadoes." In view of the exigency, "the general court" had already "made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."

The Long Parliament contained among its members many sincere favourers of the Puritan plantations. Yet the English in America, with wise circumspection, did not for a moment forget the dangers of a foreign jurisdiction. As Winthrop says, "Upon the great liberty which the king had left the parliament in England, some of our friends there wrote to us advice to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much. But consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us. It might prove very prejudicial to us." The love of political independence declined even benefits. When letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send their deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, in 1642, the same sagacity led them to neglect the invitation.

Still more important for New England were the benefits of a secure domestic legislation. Among the first-fruits may be esteemed the general declaration of the principles of liberty—the promulgation of a bill of rights. The colony, moreover, in 1641 offered a free welcome and aid, at the public cost, to Christians of every nation who might fly beyond the Atlantic "to escape from wars or famine, or the tyranny and oppression of their persecutors." The nation, by a special statute, made the fugitive and the persecuted the guests of the commonwealth. Its hospitality was as wide as misfortune.

The same liberality dictated the terms on which the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended over New Hampshire, and the strict interpretation of the charter offered an excuse for claiming the territory. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans, and the system of Massachusetts could not properly be applied to the new acquisitions. The general court adopted on September 8th, 1642, the measure which justice recommended; neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was established, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.

The attempt to gain possession of the territory on Narragansett Bay was less deserving of success. Massachusetts proceeded with the decision of an independent state. Samuel Gorton had created disturbances in the district of Warwick. A minority of the inhabitants, wearied with harassing disputes, requested the interference of the magistrates of Massachusetts, and two sachems, near Providence, surrendered the soil to the jurisdiction of the state. Gorton and his partisans did not disguise their scorn for the colonial clergy; they were advocates for liberty of conscience; they denied the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts, not only on the soil of Warwick, but everywhere, inasmuch as it was tainted by a want of true allegiance. Such opinions, if carried into effect, would have destroyed the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts and subverted its liberties, and were therefore thought worthy of death; but the public opinion of the time, as expressed by a small majority of the deputies, was more merciful, and Gorton and his associates were imprisoned (1643). It is the nature of a popular state to cherish peace; the people murmured at the severity of their rulers, and the imprisoned men were soon set at liberty; but the claim to the territory was not immediately abandoned.

• THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

The enlargement of the territory of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The establishment of a union among the Puritan states of New England was a still more important measure. Immediately after the victories over the Pequots in 1637, at a time when the earliest synod had gathered in Boston the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, the design of a confederacy was proposed. The next year it came again into discussion; but Connecticut, offended "because some pre-eminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused.

The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbour, whose claims Connecticut could not, single-handed, defeat, led the colonists on the west to renew the negotiation; and with such success that, in 1643, the United Colonies of New England were, says Winthrop,^g "made all as one." Protection against the encroachments of the Dutch and the French; security against the tribes of savages; the liberties of the gospel in purity and in peace—these were the motives to the confederacy, which did, itself, continue nearly half a century, and which, even after it was cut down, left a hope that a new and a better union would spring from its root.

Neither was the measure accomplished without a progress in political science. If the delegates from three of the states were empowered to frame and definitively conclude a union, the colony of Plymouth now set the example of requiring that the act of their constituent representatives should have no force till confirmed by a majority of the people.

The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for the office. The commissioners, who were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded, might deliberate on all things which are "the proper concomitants or consequents of a confederation." The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them; they were authorised to make internal improvements at the common charge; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice assured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.

Thus remarkable for unmixed simplicity was the form of the first confederated government in America. It was a directory, apparently without any check. There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings; and the larger state, Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commissioners were, in reality, little more than a deliberative body; they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the states to carry their votes into effect.

Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the provision was wholly without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union; and the request of the island of Rhode Island was equally rejected

[1643-1652 A.D.]

because it would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Yet this early confederacy survived the jealousies of the Long Parliament, met with favour from the protector, and remained safe from censure on the restoration of the Stuarts.^b

RHODE ISLAND SECURES A CHARTER

Thus excluded from the benefit of the federal union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavoured to provide for their separate security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians, and the humane and courteous policy which they pursued proved remarkably successful.

The main object of the confederacy was security against their still powerful neighbours, the Indians. They, however, were becoming weaker by contentions among themselves. In 1643 the Narragansets, under the direction of their chief, Miantonomoh, assembling to the number of a thousand warriors, fell suddenly upon the Mohegans, the allies of the English; but they were defeated, and the chief was taken prisoner. His captor, Uncas, conducted him to Hartford, where he was formally tried by "the elders," to whom his case had been referred, and sentenced to die. His English judges might have spared their pains, on this occasion, as it was a common practice among the Indians to kill captives taken in war. Uncas, having received the sanction of his allies, conducted his prisoner beyond the jurisdiction of Connecticut and put him to death. Miantonomoh deserved a better fate. His hospitable treatment of Roger Williams should have insured him the protection of every white man in New England.

In 1644 an act of the Long Parliament gave to Rhode Island, at the instance of Roger Williams, who visited England for the purpose of obtaining it, "a free and absolute charter of civil government." Williams' ancient friendship with Vane was the principal means of his success in this important affair. But the colony was still menaced with dismemberment, by a grant of the council of state, in England, made in 1651 to Coddington, to govern the islands. This difficulty was removed, however, by a second visit of Williams to England, and the integrity of the state was preserved. The active friendship of Vane was still, says Backus,¹ "the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island."

About the same time Maine was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The death of Gorges (March 1st, 1642) in the civil war of England, and the neglect of his heirs to claim their proprietary rights, threw the inhabitants upon their own resources. [In July, 1649, Piscataqua, Georgeana, and Wells formed themselves into a body politic.] Massachusetts offered its protection (May 30th, 1652). Commissioners were sent to settle the government; and notwithstanding the opposition of the governor, Edward Godfrey, the towns severally yielded submission [some only after threats and the appearance of troops] to the powerful state which claimed their allegiance.

NEW ENGLAND DURING THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE PROTECTORATE

During the domination of the Long Parliament and the protector, New England, notwithstanding the Puritan opinions of the inhabitants, maintained a neutral position with respect to the contending parties in the mother country, and even declined offering any hostile demonstration towards the Dutch colonies in New York (then called New Netherlands) while war was raging

between Great Britain and Holland. Massachusetts declared itself a "perfect republic," determined to resist any aggression which might be attempted on behalf either of the king or his opponents. Their agent in England denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colony unless it was represented in the legislature, and was supported in that opinion by Vane and his distinguished friends.

A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted, a few years after (1652), when the increasing trade of the colonists with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the provincial authorities to erect a mint for the coinage of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on one side, of Massachusetts as the principal settlement on the other, and with a tree as the symbol of national vigour and increase. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin money, and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered," says one of the New England historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England, it might well be judged unsafe to send bullion there to be coined; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which would finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament of Cromwell, and even of Charles II during twenty years of his reign.

In 1646 the dissenters from Congregationalism, the established religion of Massachusetts, petitioned the general court for leave to impeach Governor Winthrop before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, on a charge of having punished some of their number for interfering at an election. He was tried and acquitted; and this proceeding was so far from impairing his popularity that he was chosen governor every year after so long as he lived. The petitioners, being reprimanded for their alleged attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony, appealed to the government of England, but without success.

After the abolishment of royalty in England, the Long Parliament sent a mandate to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, requiring the surrender of their charter and the acceptance of a new charter from the existing government. This demand was evaded. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to parliament against the obnoxious mandate, setting forth that "these things not being done in the late king's time, or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." The intercession of Cromwell in their behalf was also solicited, and his favour, which was uniformly extended to New England, was not found wanting on this occasion.

Cromwell had been desirous in 1651 to present the colonists of Massachusetts with a district in Ireland, which was to be evacuated for their reception; and he also offered them a new home in the fertile island of Jamaica; but both these propositions were respectfully declined. His favour, however, was by no means forfeited by this refusal. His ascendancy in England was highly beneficial to the northern colonies. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; Connecticut and New Haven were afforded the means of defence against the Dutch colonists of New York; all the New England states were exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade

[1652-1654 A.D.]

with foreign nations; and both their commerce and their security were promoted in 1654 by the conquest which the protector's arms achieved of the province of Acadia from the French.

PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS

The religious dissensions of Massachusetts had not entirely terminated with the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends. The desire of the government to preserve a certain degree of uniformity of opinion was constantly exposing them to new troubles. In 1651 seven or eight persons, under the direction of Obadiah Holmes, professed the Baptist tenets, and seceded from the congregation to which they had been attached. The excesses of Boccold and his followers at Münster, in the previous century, were not yet forgotten; and the sudden appearance of a body of persons professing similar opinions, in the very midst of the Puritans, excited horror and alarm. Admonition and whipping were resorted to as a corrective, and a new law was passed having direct reference to the teachers of Anabaptist doctrines. This severity appears to have occasioned the retirement of many of the Baptists from the colony for a season. Some of them repaired to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the provincial authorities.

The treatment which the Quakers experienced was much more severe. The peculiar doctrines of the Quakers appear to have been particularly offensive to the Puritans, and the extravagances into which an imperfect understanding of them led some weak-minded persons of the sect may have rendered them proper subjects of confinement or restraint, but certainly did not make them amenable to capital punishment. In July, 1656, two male and six female Quakers arrived in Boston, where the reproach which their sect had incurred by the extravagances of some of its members in England had preceded them, and they were regarded with terror and dislike by the great bulk of the people. They were instantly arrested by the magistrates and examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. No such indications being found, they were sent out of the jurisdiction and forbidden to return. A law was passed at the same time imposing penalties on every shipmaster who should bring Quakers or their writings into the colony; forbidding Quakers to come, under penalty of stripes and labour in the house of correction, and adjudging all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment, or exile. The four associated states of New England adopted this law and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of Quaker opinions; but the assembly of that colony replied that "they could not punish any man for declaring his opinion."

The penal enactments of the other colonies only inflamed the zeal of those against whom they were directed. The banished persons all returned, except Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople and delivered her testimony to the grand vizir, without molestation, being probably regarded by the Turks as entitled to that reverence which they always accord to insane people. Again the authorities of Massachusetts resorted to imprisonment, flogging, and banishment; and a new law, inflicting mutilation of the ears, was enacted and executed on three individuals. These severities, far from effecting the object of the authorities, brought multitudes of Quakers into the country, whose violent language and extravagant acts were certainly calculated to

exasperate any quiet and well-ordered community. One of them, named Faubord, conceiving that he experienced a celestial encouragement to rival the faith and imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, was proceeding with his own hands to shed the blood of his son, when his neighbours, alarmed by the cries of the lad, broke into the house and prevented the consummation of this atrocity. Others interrupted religious services in the churches by loudly protesting that these were not the services that God would accept; and one of them illustrated this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were blind beasts and liars who denied it.¹

"Exasperated," says Grahame,^c "by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of their radical principle was spreading in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts at length, in the close of the year 1658, introduced into the assembly a law denouncing the punishment of death upon all Quakers returning from banishment." This legislative proposition was opposed by a considerable party of the colonists; and various individuals, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the Quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty and iniquity of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the assembly, and finally adopted by the narrow majority of a single voice.

In the course of the two following years this barbarous law was carried into execution on three separate occasions—when four Quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any one of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of their brethren in general had associated with the profession of Quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the Quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning forever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields and in their dwellings, distinctly syllabing their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise. When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most elevated and affecting piety.

These executions excited much clamour against the government; many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony, and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the Quakers, that effaced all recollection of the strong disgust which the principles of these sectaries had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons and load the unfortunate Quakers with demonstrations of kindness and pity. The magistrates at first attempted to combat the censure they had provoked, and published a vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and justice overpowered all opposition.

[¹ Apologists for the Puritans make much of the fact that Quaker women appeared in public naked. The guilty persons were poor creatures half-crazed by persecution. Every one of the few instances occurred after, not before, the law imposing the death penalty was passed.—HALLOWELL.]

[1660 A.D.]

On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another Quaker, named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished with the assurance of capital punishment in case of his return, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates with shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after brought to trial. Summoned to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law the court was authorised to put him on the defence of his life. When the last enactment against the Quakers was cited to him, he asked who empowered the provincial authorities to make that law, and whether it was not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositely answered that an existing law in England appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a Quaker, and that there was no law in England that made Quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the Quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment."

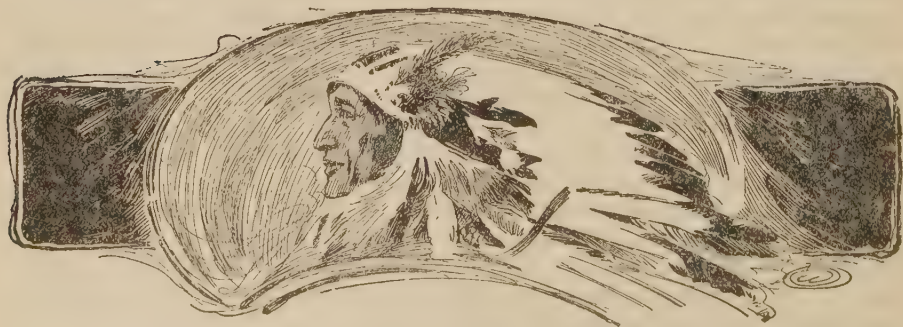
The magnanimous demeanour of this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in understanding to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison and all the other Quakers who were in custody were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed in proportion as the demeanour of the Quakers became more quiet and orderly; and in the year after the restoration of Charles II, the infliction of flogging was suspended by a letter from the king to Governor Endicott and the other magistrates of the New England settlements, requiring that no Quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America; but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such severity, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the provincial government was more steady and durable than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the Quakers in the course of the following year. But the Quakers no longer needed the protection of the king. The attitude of the provincial government now guaranteed their security.

The persecution which was thus happily closed had not been equally severe in all the New England states; the Quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and New Haven. It was only in Massachusetts that the inhuman law inflicting capital punishment upon them was ever carried into effect. At a subsequent period, the laws relating to "vagabond Quakers" were so far revived that Quakers disturbing religious assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of executing these severities, the wild excursions of the Quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the Quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the clergy; in their scruples as to which, the provincial legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.

RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS

During the long period that had now elapsed since the commencement of the civil war in Britain, the New England provinces continued to evince a steady and vigorous growth, in respect both to the numbers of their inhabitants and the extent of their territorial occupation. The colonists were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical estate which was the object of their supreme desire, and of civil and political freedom. They were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free from all the duties which other importers were obliged to pay. By the favour of Cromwell, too, the ordinances by which the Long Parliament had restricted their commerce were not put in force, and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. Almost all the peculiar circumstances which had thus combined to promote the prosperity of New England during the suspension of monarchy contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects awakened by the restoration.

There were the strongest reasons to expect an abridgment of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political freedom. Other circumstances combined to retard the recognition of the royal authority in New England. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been successively urged to recognise first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its ascendancy, and subsequently the committee of safety, as the sovereign authority in England. But they prudently declined to commit themselves by positive declaration.^c





CHAPTER IV

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION

[1660-1710 A.D.]

For seventy years or more before the Declaration of Independence the matters of general public concern, about which stump speeches were made on Virginia court-days, were very similar to those that were discussed in Massachusetts town meetings when representatives were to be chosen for the legislature. This perpetual antagonism to the governor, who represented British imperial interference with American local self-government, was an excellent schooling in political liberty alike for Virginia and for Massachusetts. When the stress of the Revolution came, these two leading colonies cordially supported each other, and their political characteristics were reflected in the kind of achievements for which each was especially distinguished. The Virginia system, concentrating the administration of local affairs in the hands of a few county families, was eminently favourable for developing skilful and vigorous leadership. And while in the history of Massachusetts during the Revolution we are chiefly impressed with the remarkable degree in which the mass of the people exhibited the kind of political training that nothing in the world except the habit of parliamentary discussion can impart, on the other hand, Virginia at that time gave us—in Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Mason, Madison, and Marshall, to mention no others—such a group of leaders as has seldom been equalled.—JOHN FISKE.^b

DURING the continuance of the English commonwealth Virginia had enjoyed a very popular form of government. All tax-payers had the right to vote for burgesses. The assembly, subject to frequent renewals, had assumed the right of electing the governor, councillors, and other principal officers; and local affairs appear to have been managed with very little of external control. Great changes in these respects were now to happen. During

the quarter of a century which followed the restoration, a considerable part of the freemen of Virginia were deprived of the elective franchise—an invaluable privilege, not recovered till the middle of the current century. The assembly's authority was also greatly curtailed, while a corresponding increase took place in the power and prerogatives of the governor and the councillors.

The founders of Virginia, like those of New England, had brought with them from the mother country strong aristocratic prejudices and a marked distinction of ranks. Both in Virginia and New England the difference between "gentlemen" and "those of the common sort" was very palpable. Indented servants formed a still inferior class; not to mention negro and Indian slaves, of whom, however, for a long period after the planting of Virginia, the number was almost as inconsiderable in that colony as it always remained in New England.

But though starting, in these respects, from a common basis, the operation of different causes early produced different effects, resulting in a marked difference of local character. The want in New England of any staple product upon which hired or purchased labour could be profitably employed discouraged immigration and the importation of indented servants or slaves. Hence the population soon became, in a great measure, home-born and home-bred.

The lands were granted by townships to companies who intended to settle together. The settlements were required to be made in villages, and every village had its meeting-house, its schools, its military company, its municipal organisation.¹ In Virginia, on the other hand, plantations were isolated; each man settled where he found a convenient unoccupied spot. The parish churches, the county courts, the election of burgesses, brought the people together, and kept up something of adult education. But the parishes were very extensive; there were no schools, and parochial and political rights were soon greatly curtailed.

Even the theocratic form of government prevailing in New England tended to diminish the influence of wealth by introducing a different basis of distinction; and still more so that activity of mind, the consequence of strong religious excitement, developing constantly new views of religion and politics, which an arrogant and supercilious theocracy strove in vain to suppress. Hence, in New England, a constant tendency towards social equality. In Virginia and Maryland, on the other hand, the management of provincial and local affairs fell more and more under the control of a few wealthy men possessed of large tracts of land, which they cultivated by the labour partly of slaves, but principally of indented white servants.

The cultivation of tobacco, at the low prices to which it had sunk, afforded only a scanty resource to that great body of free planters obliged to rely on their own labour. Yet all schemes for the introduction of other staples had failed. The maritime character of New England was already well established. The fisheries and foreign trade formed an important part of her industry. Her ships might be seen on the Grand Bank, in the West Indies, in the ports of Britain, Spain, and Portugal, on the coast of Africa, in the Chesapeake itself; while hardly one or two small vessels were owned in Vir-

[¹ Even though Virginia had not the town meeting, it had its court-day, which, says Edward Ingle, "was a holiday for all the country-side, especially in the fall and spring. From all directions came in the people on horseback, in wagons, and afoot. On the court-house green assembled, in indiscriminate confusion, people of all classes—the hunter from the backwoods, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the grinning, heedless negro. Old debts were settled and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and, if election times were near, stump-speaking." i]

[1660-1663 A.D.]

ginia, and that notwithstanding the efforts of the assembly to encourage shipbuilding and navigation, for which the province afforded such abundant facilities.

Competition between Dutch and English trading vessels had assisted hitherto to keep up the price of tobacco, and to secure a supply of imported goods at reasonable rates. But that competition was now to cease. The English commercial interest had obtained from the Convention Parliament, which welcomed back Charles II to the English throne, the famous Navigation Act of 1660.^d

THWAITES ON THE NAVIGATION ACTS¹

All manner of trade was more or less hampered by the parliamentary acts of Navigation and Trade. In the time of Richard II (1377-1399) it had been enacted that "none of the king's liege people should ship any merchandise out of or into the realm except in the ships of the king's ligeance, on pain of forfeiture." Under Henry VII (1485-1509) only English-built ships manned by English sailors were permitted to import certain commodities; and in the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) only such vessels could engage in the English coasting trade and fisheries. The earliest English colonies were exempted by their charters from these restrictions, but under James I (1603-1625) the colonies were included. For many years the colonists did not heed the Navigation acts; in consequence, the Dutch, then the chief carriers on the ocean, obtained control of the colonial trade, and thereby amassed great wealth. Jealous of their supremacy, the statesmen of the commonwealth sought to upbuild England by forcing English trade into English channels, and this policy succeeded. Holland soon fell from her high position as a maritime power, and England, with her far-spreading colonies, succeeded her. The Act of 1645 declared that certain articles should be brought into England only by ships fitted out from England, by English subjects, and manned by Englishmen; this was amended the following year so as to include the colonies. In exchange for the privilege of importing English goods free of duty, the colonists were not to suffer foreign ships to be loaded with colonial goods. In 1651 a stringent Navigation Act was passed by the Long Parliament, the beginning of a series of coercive ordinances extending down to the time of the American Revolution. It provided that the rule as to the importation of goods into England or its territories, in English-built vessels, English manned, should extend to all products "of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, or of any part thereof, as well of the English plantations as others"; but the term "English-built ships" included colonial vessels, in this and all subsequent acts.

Under the restoration the commonwealth law was confirmed and extended (1660). Such enumerated colonial products as the English merchants desired to purchase were to be shipped to no other country than England; but those products which they did not wish might be sent to other markets, provided they did not there interfere in any way with English trade. In all transactions, however, "English-built ships," manned by "English subjects" only, were to be patronised. Three years later (1663) another step was taken. By an act of that year such duties were levied as amounted to prohibition of the importation of goods into the colonies except such as had been actually shipped from an English port; thus the colonists were forced to go to England

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for their supplies—the mother country making herself the factor between her colonies and foreign markets.

A considerable traffic had now sprung up between the colonies. New England merchants were competing with Englishmen in the southern markets. At the behest of commercial interests in the parent isle, an act was passed in 1673 seriously crippling this intercolonial trade; all commodities that could have been supplied from England were now subjected to a duty equivalent to that imposed on their consumption in England. From 1651 to 1764 upwards of twenty-five acts of parliament were passed for the regulation of traffic between England and her colonies. Each succeeding ministry felt it necessary to adopt some new scheme for monopolising colonial trade in order to purchase popularity at home. It was 1731 before the home government began to repress the manufacture in the colonies of goods that could be made in England; thereafter numerous acts were passed by parliament having this end in view.

In brief, the mother country regarded her American colonies merely as feeders to her trade, consumers of her manufactures, and factories for the distribution of her capital. Parliament never succeeded in satisfying the greed of English merchants, while in America it was thought to be doing too much. The constant irritation felt in the colonies over the gradual application of commercial thumb-screws—turned at last beyond the point of endurance—was one of the chief causes of the Revolution. Had it not been that colonial ingenuity found frequent opportunities for evading these acts of Navigation and Trade, the final collision would doubtless have occurred at a much earlier period.^e

THE NEW CODE AND ITS TREATMENT OF SLAVES

The Virginians, alarmed at the Navigation Act of 1660 which threatened to place them at the mercy of the English traders, sent Governor Berkeley to England, in March, 1661, at an expense to the colony of two hundred thousand pounds of tobacco, to remonstrate on their behalf. Berkeley failed in this public mission; but he improved the opportunity to secure for himself a share in the new province of Carolina, now erected by charter, and of which he became one of the eight proprietors.

Under the administration of Colonel Francis Moryson [or Morrison], captain of the fort at Point Comfort, a royalist immigrant of 1649, appointed by the council to act as governor during Berkeley's mission to England, a third revision was made of the Virginia statutes. The Church of England is re-established by this code, with the canons, the liturgy, and the church catechism. The anniversary of the execution of Charles I is made a fast, and of the restoration of Charles II a holiday. Nonconformist preachers are to be silenced and sent out of the country. Shipmasters bringing Quakers into the colony were subjected to a penalty of £100. The Quakers themselves were to be imprisoned without trial till they gave security to leave the colony and not to return. The management of county as well as of parish affairs was taken from the body of the inhabitants and vested in a few wealthy planters, who held their appointments for life, or at the pleasure of the governor. Trial by jury was established in all cases, and grand juries are now first introduced. There were to be provided by each county a prison, pillory, pair of stocks, whipping-post, and ducking-stool.

The provisions of this code respecting the Indians are conceived in a more humane and candid spirit than any previous enactments on the same

[1667-1671 A.D.]

subject. Several persons, apparently of wealth and consideration, were heavily fined by the assembly for wrongs done to the Indians and intrusions upon them. An act was passed, the first statute of Virginia which attempts to give a legislative basis to the system of hereditary servitude. The Virginia assembly saw fit to adopt the rule of the civil law, so much more convenient for slaveholders, by enacting that children should be held bond or free, "according to the condition of the mother."

The lawfulness of holding Africans as slaves was supposed to rest, in part at least, on the fact that they were heathen. But of the negroes brought to Virginia some had been converted and baptised, and this was the case to a still greater extent with those born in the colony. By what right were these Christians held as slaves? This question having been raised in Virginia, the assembly in 1667 came to the relief of the masters by enacting that negroes, though converted and baptised, should not thereby become free. At the same session, in remarkable deviation from the English law, it was also enacted that killing slaves by extremity of correction should not be esteemed felony, "since it cannot be presumed that prepense malice should induce any man to destroy his own estate." The prohibition against holding Indians as slaves was also relaxed as to those brought in by water, a new law having enacted "that all servants, not being Christians, imported by shipping, shall be slaves for life." About this period, and afterwards, a considerable number of Indian slaves seem to have been imported into Virginia and New England from the West Indies and the Spanish Main. While the slave code was thus extended, the privileges and political power of the poorer whites underwent a corresponding diminution. During the period of the commonwealth the Virginia assemblies had been chosen for only two years; but this privilege of frequent elections was no longer enjoyed. The assembly¹ of 1661 was still in existence, such vacancies as occurred being filled from time to time by special elections. Even this small privilege was begrudged to the poorer freemen; and, on the usual pretexts of tumultuous elections and want of sufficient discretion in the poorer voters, it was now enacted that none but householders and freeholders should have a voice in the election of burgesses.

Some replies of Berkeley to a series of questions submitted to him by the plantation committee of the privy council (1671) give quite a distinct picture of the colony as it then was. The population is estimated at forty thousand, including two thousand "black slaves," and six thousand "Christian servants," of whom about fifteen hundred were imported yearly, principally English. Since the exclusion of Dutch vessels by the Acts of Navigation, the importation of negroes had been very limited; not above two or three ship-loads had arrived in seven years. "We have forty-eight parishes," adds the governor, "and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we have few that we can boast of since the persecution, in Cromwell's tyranny, drove divers worthy men hither. But I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both!"

[¹ It was hence known as the "Long Assembly." As Fiske^b says, "Berkeley having secured a legislature that was quite to his mind, kept it alive for fifteen years, until 1676, simply by the ingenious expedient of adjourning it from year to year, and refusing to issue writs for a new election. The effect of this was to carry more than one staunch cavalier over into what was by no means a Puritan, but none the less a strong opposition party."]

VIRGINIA GIVEN TO CULPEPER AND ARLINGTON (1672 A.D.)

Public attention was soon much engrossed by some proceedings on the part of the king which might lead the Virginians to question whether even the "tyranny of Cromwell" were not quite as tolerable, on the whole, as the rule of "his sacred majesty" Charles II. The whole "northern neck," that is, the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, had been granted to the earl of St. Albans, Lord Culpeper, and others, without even excepting the plantations already settled there. Finally (February 25th, 1673), the entire colony was assigned, for thirty-one years, to lords Culpeper and Arlington, including all quit-rents, escheats, the power to grant lands and to erect new counties, the presentation to all churches, and the nomination of sheriffs, escheators, and surveyors. These noblemen had a very bad character for rapacity. Arlington was one of the king's ministers, and a member of the famous "Cabal." They could have no object in obtaining this grant except to enrich themselves out of the colony. Perhaps they might question existing land-titles, of which some, it is probable, would hardly bear examination. The assembly was alarmed, and three agents were despatched to England to solicit a modification of this extraordinary grant, or to purchase it up for the benefit of the colony. The commissioners were also instructed to solicit a royal charter for the colony. It encountered, however, some unexplained delays in passing the seals. Its progress was finally cut short by news from Virginia of a nature to show that the absence of free schools was by no means so absolute a guarantee against discontent and rebellion as Berkeley had supposed.

BACON'S REBELLION (1676 A.D.)

Discontents in Virginia had reached, in fact, a high pitch. The colony, county, and parish levies were all raised by poll-taxes. Those who paid these taxes had little or no voice in imposing them. There had been no general election since the restoration, and even in local elections to fill vacancies in the assembly a considerable part of the freemen had lost their right to vote. The taxes imposed to keep up the forts, and the late levy to buy out Culpeper and Arlington, caused great discontents, aggravated by the declining price of tobacco. In the selection of vestrymen and county commissioners the people had no voice at all. These local dignitaries, by long continuance in office, had grown supercilious and arbitrary. The compensation to the members of assembly had been lately fixed at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco per day, besides near as much more for horses, servants, and boatmen. This amount was deemed excessive by the tax-payers, who accused the members of protracting their sessions for the mere sake of increasing their pay. The public dissatisfaction had already shown itself in popular disturbances, "suppressed by proclamation and the advice of some discreet persons." Nothing, however, was wanting, except an occasion and a leader, to throw the whole community into a flame. An occasion was soon found in an Indian war; a leader presented himself in Nathaniel Bacon.¹ Bacon was a young man, not yet thirty, lately arrived from London, where he had studied law in the Temple. He had estates and influential connections in Virginia. His uncle, of the same name, of whom he was presumptive

[¹ His great-great-great-grandfather was the grandfather of Francis Bacon.]

[1676 A.D.]

heir, held a seat in the council—an honour to which the young Bacon was also soon admitted.

The Indian war seems to have originated in the movements of the Senecas, one of the clans of the Five Nations, who improved the interval of a short peace with Canada to attack their southern neighbours, the Susquehannas. The Susquehannas were precipitated on the settlements of Maryland. War followed, and aid was asked and given by the Virginia planters of the northern neck. Among these planters was one John Washington, an emigrant from the north of England, for some eighteen years past a resident in Virginia; founder of a family which produced, a century afterwards, the commander-in-chief of the American armies. A fort of the Susquehannas, on the north side of the Potomac, was besieged by a party of Virginians under his leadership, and that of Brent and Mason. Some chiefs, sent out by the Indians to treat of peace, were seized and treacherously slain. The besieged party made a desperate resistance, and, having presently escaped, revenged the outrage on their envoys by many barbarities on the Virginia planters. The whole frontier was soon in alarm.

The furious and destructive Indian war, headed by King Philip, raging at this very time in New England, no doubt tended to increase the terror of the Virginians. By suggesting the idea of a general conspiracy for the destruction of the whites, it exposed even the most friendly tribes to be suspected as enemies. The Virginia Indians, or some of them, became hostile, or were thought so. The peace which had lasted for thirty years was broken. The Indian traders, accused of having supplied the Indians with guns and ammunition, became objects of great popular detestation. The governor, who enjoyed a certain percentage on the Indian traffic, for which he had the sole right of granting licenses, shared also a part of this unpopularity, increased, there is reason to believe, by his energetic condemnation¹ of the treachery practised on the Susquehannas, and his disposition to shield the peaceful Indians from the indiscriminating rage of the colonists.

In the present excited state of the public mind the scheme of defense was not satisfactory. The governor was accused of leaning towards the Indians, and offensive operations were loudly demanded. Bacon, to whom the governor had refused a commission to beat up for volunteers against the Indians, was particularly forward. He gave out that, on news of any further depredations, he should march against the Indians, commission or no commission. An attack upon his own plantation, near the falls of James river, afforded him speedy occasion to carry his threats into effect.

Provoked at this disregard of his authority, the governor put forth a proclamation depriving Bacon of his seat in the council, and denouncing as rebels all his company who should not return within a limited day. "Those of estates" obeyed, but Bacon and fifty-seven others proceeded onward. Approaching a fort of friendly Indians, they asked provisions, offering payment. The Indians put them off. Finding themselves in danger of starvation, and suspecting that the Indians had been instigated to their procrastinations by private messages from the governor, Bacon's men waded shoulder deep through a stream that covered the fort, entreating victuals, and tendering pay. A shot from the bank they had left presently killed one of their number.

[¹ Governor Berkeley reasonably enough maintained, "If they had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father and mother, and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace, they ought to have gone in peace." But when in January on a single day the Indians killed thirty-six people, he said that "nothing could be done until the assembly's regular meeting in March."]

Apprehending an attack in the rear, "they fired the palisadoes, stormed and burned the fort and cabins, and, with the loss of three English, slew one hundred and fifty Indians." Such was Bacon's own account of this exploit.

The governor had marched in pursuit of Bacon, but was soon stopped short by disturbances in the lower counties, instigated by Drummond and Lawrence, residents at Jamestown. "The people drew together by beat of drum, declaring against forts as an intolerable pressure, and of no use"; nor was it found possible to appease these tumults except by dissolving the old assembly and calling a new one. Bacon was elected a burgess for the county of Henrico; but as he approached Jamestown in a sloop with thirty armed followers, he was intercepted by an armed ship. He was presently arrested and carried prisoner before the governor, with some twenty of his followers.

In consideration of a pardon which the governor had promised, Bacon, placed at the bar, confessed; on his knees, "his late unlawful, mutinous, and rebellious practices"; begged pardon therefor; desired the council and burgesses to mediate for him, and proffered his whole estate in Virginia as security for his good behaviour.

Though all Bacon's company were pardoned, and himself restored to his seat in the council, he soon secretly left Jamestown. A few days after, he reappeared at the head of three or four hundred armed men from the upper counties. Anticipating the York train-bands, for which the governor had sent, Bacon's men occupied all the avenues, disarmed the townspeople, "surround the state house (sitting the assembly), rage thereat, storm for a commission for Bacon, which, upon the earnest importunity of the council and assembly, was at length obtained, as also an act of indemnity to Bacon and his men for this force, and a high applausive letter to the king in favour of Bacon's designs and proceedings, signed by the governor, council, and assembly." So says the report of the royal commissioners appointed to investigate the origin and causes of Bacon's insurrection, and this account agrees sufficiently well with that given by one T. M./ [probably Thomas Matthews, son of ex-Governor Samuel Matthews], who sat in the assembly as a burgess for Stafford county, and who has left us a graphic history of the session.

"Upon news," says T. M., "that Mr. Bacon was thirty miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the governor sent to the post adjacent on both sides James river for the militia and all that could be gotten to come and defend the town. Expresses came almost hourly of the army's approaches, who, in less than four days after the first accounts of them, at two of the clock, entered the town without being withstood, and formed in a body, horse and foot, upon a green, not a flight-shot from the end of the state house, as orderly as regular veteran troops. In half an hour after, the drum beat for the house to meet; and in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came, with a file of fusileers on either hand, near the corner of the state house, where the governor and council went forth to meet him. Mr. Bacon, and after him a detachment of fusileers (muskets not being there in use), with their locks bent, presented their fusils at a window of the assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating, with menacing voices, 'We'll have it! We'll have it!' Whereupon one of our house, a person known to many of them, shook his handkercher out at the window, saying, 'You shall have it! You shall have it!'

"In this hubbub, a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the governor's words, and also followed Mr. Bacon and heard what he said, who told me that the governor opened his breast, and said, 'Here, shoot me! 'Fore God!

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fair mark! Shoot!' often rehearsing the same, without any other words. Whereto Mr. Bacon answered, 'No, may it please your honour, we'll not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's. We are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we'll have it before we go!'

"Next day there was a rumour the governor and council had agreed Mr. Bacon should have a commission to go general of the forces we were then raising."

The assembly passed an act appointing Bacon general of a thousand men, one-eighth part horsemen or dragoons, destined for active operations. The superior officers were to be appointed by the governor; but Bacon took care to supply himself with a stock of blank commissions, signed with the governor's name.

The vigorous prosecution of the Indian war provided for, the assembly turned its attention to internal reforms. Fees and public offices were regulated, and provision made against abuses of official authority. The right of voting for burgesses, and the election of the parish vestries, were restored to the freemen. The exemption from taxes hitherto enjoyed by the families of ministers and councillors was taken away. The legislation¹ of this remarkable assembly, known collectively as Bacon's laws, concludes with an act of general and total pardon and oblivion.

The assembly adjourned, the general appointed by it undertook an expedition against the Pamunkeys, whom, according to the governor's partisans, he frightened from their lands, and made hostile, if they were so. While Bacon was thus employed, Berkeley was encouraged by Philip to issue a new proclamation, again denouncing Bacon as a rebel. But the projects of the governor were counter-worked by the activity of Drummond and Lawrence. Bacon, in reply, put forth a declaration, in which he arraigned the governor, and justified himself.^d

Bacon's declaration begins as follows:

"If virtue be a sin, if piety be guilt, if all the principles of morality and goodness and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are called rebels may be in danger of those high imputations, those loud and severe bulls, which would affright innocence, and render the defence of our brethren and the inquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions treason. But if there be (as sure there is) a just God to appeal to; if religion and justice be a sanctuary here; if to plead the cause of the oppress'd; if sincerely to aim at the publick good, without any reservation or by-interest; if to stand in the Gap, after so much blood of our dear brethren bought and sold; if after the loss of a great part of his majesty's colony, deserted and dispeopl'd, and freely to part with our lives and estates to endeavour to save the remainder, be treason—let God and the world judge, and the guilty die. But since we cannot find in our hearts one single spot of rebellion and treason, or that we have in any manner aimed at the Subversion of the settl'd government, or attempting the person of any, either magistrate or private man—notwithstanding the several reproaches and threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us, and censure our just and honest designs—let truth be bold and all the world know the real foundation of our pretended guilt."

He then goes on to complain of the authorities, "these juggling parasites whose tottering fortunes have been repaired at the public charge." He accuses Berkeley of "having raised unjust taxes for the advancement of private favourites"; of "having abused the majesty of justice, of advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favourites," of "having bartered and sold his majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous

[¹ "The better legislation was completed, according to the new style of computation, on the 4th of July, 1676, just one hundred years to a day before the congress of the United States, adopting the declaration which had been framed by a statesman of Virginia, who, like Bacon, was 'popularly inclined,' began a new era in the history of man."—BANCROFT.^g]

heathen," etc. He then demanded the arrest of the governor and nineteen of his accomplices.^a

Bacon now called a convention of delegates from the several counties to meet at Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg), August 3rd. This convention, attended by many of the principal men of the colony, agreed upon an oath to be imposed on the inhabitants, and an "engagement" to be signed by them, promising to support Bacon even against troops from England till the matters in dispute could be referred to the king.

As even the loyal inhabitants of Gloucester seemed cold to his cause, Berkeley presently retired to Accomac, on the eastern shore, accompanied by Beverley, Ludwell, and a few others. This withdrawal was treated as an abdication of office, and Bacon, with four members of the council, issued writs for electing a new assembly.

Bacon's party had been joined by Giles Bland, the collector of the customs, "a gentleman newly arrived from England to possess the estate of his deceased uncle, late of the council." Bland seized the ship of one Lorimore, increased her armament to sixteen guns, and sailed with a force of two hundred and fifty men to attack Berkeley, in company with Captain Barlow, "one of Cromwell's soldiers," and Carver, "a good seaman, and a stout, resolute fellow," who commanded a bark of four guns. But by the contrivance of Lorimore, supported by the courage of Ludwell, the large ship was betrayed into the governor's hands. The other vessel was also taken. Bland was put in irons; Carver and Barlow were hanged—a rash act, it was thought, since Bacon had Sir Henry Chicheley [the deputy governor] and other councillors in his power, and might perhaps retaliate. Most of the men, on the offer of pardon, were induced to enter the governor's service.

Berkeley collected a force of near a thousand Accomacians. With two ships and some sixteen sloops, he presently entered James river, and proceeded to occupy Jamestown (September 7th).

Bacon, far inferior in numbers to the governor, laid close siege to Jamestown. The besieged made a sally, but were repulsed with loss. Finding himself in an awkward predicament, and his troops not to be depended upon, the governor made a hasty retreat by night, taking with him the townspeople and their goods.^d

The next morning Bacon entered; it was reported that the governor had only fled to join a party of royalists who were advancing from the north. He determined therefore to burn the town, to prevent its becoming a harbour to the enemy; and Drummond and Lawrence, who were with Bacon, not only counselled this desperate measure, but themselves set fire to their own houses, which were the best in the town after the governor's. The number of houses, however, was small, amounting to about eighteen; but the church, the oldest in America, and the newly erected state house, were consumed likewise, the ruins of the church-tower and the memorials in the adjoining graveyard being all that now remain to point out to the stranger where once Jamestown stood.

Great numbers deserted the royalist cause, and Bacon, advancing to Gloucester, called a convention and administered an oath to the people, swearing them to the cause of popular liberty. The whole of Virginia, with the exception of the eastern shore, was now revolutionised. Berkeley had again fled to Accomac.

At this important moment, Bacon, who had inhaled disease on the marshes of Jamestown, suddenly fell sick, and on the 1st of October died, leaving the great cause of the people without a leader. His death wrung the popular

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heart; despair fell on all, for there was no one to finish his work. The place of his interment was never known; it was concealed even from the body of his partisans, lest his remains should be insulted by the vindictive Berkeley [who proposed to hang them on a gibbet]. According to one tradition his friend Lawrence secretly buried him, laying stones upon his coffin; others maintain that his body was sunk in the deep waters of the majestic York river; and this is by no means improbable.

BERKELEY'S LAST TYRANNIES

The tide now set in against the insurgents; Beverley immediately captured Thomas Hansford, an insurgent leader. Brought before Berkeley, the choleric old cavalier ordered him to be hanged. He heard his sentence unmoved, but asked as "a favour that he might be shot like a soldier and not hanged like a dog." "You die as a rebel, not as a soldier!" was the reply. Reviewing his life, he professed repentance of his sins, but would not admit that his so-called rebellion was a sin; and his last words were, "I die a loyal subject and a lover of my country."

Hansford was the first Virginian who died on the gallows, the first American martyr to the popular cause. He was executed on the 13th of November, 1676. Other insurgent leaders were taken, among the rest, Edmund Cheesman and Thomas Wilford; the latter the second son of a royalist knight who had died fighting for Charles I, and now a successful Virginian emigrant. He, too, was hanged. Cheesman was brought up before the governor. "Why did you engage in Bacon's designs?" demanded the latter. At that instant a young woman rushed forward, the wife of the prisoner, and replying before he had time to utter a word, exclaimed, "My provocations made my husband join in Bacon's cause. But for me he would never have done it!" And then falling on her knees, she added, "And seeing what has been done was through my means, I am most guilty; let me be hanged and my husband be pardoned!" The governor ordered her off, adding the grossest insult to his words. Her husband died in prison of ill-usage.

With the success of his party the vindictive passions of the governor increased. Mercy was an unknown sentiment to his heart, and his avarice gratified itself by fines and confiscations. Fearing the result of trial by jury, he resorted to courts-martial, where the verdicts were certain and severe. Four persons were thus hanged on one occasion. Drummond was seized, in the depth of winter, in Chickahominy swamp, half famished, and, being stripped and put in irons, was conveyed to Berkeley. Berkeley, seeing him approach, hastened out to meet him, and with a bow of derision saluted him: "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour!" "What your honour pleases," replied the patriot, calmly. He was tried by court-martial, and though he had never held any military command, he was immediately condemned; and his wife's ring being forcibly torn from his finger, he was executed within three hours. The fate of Lawrence was never known; but report said that he and four others, in the depth of winter, when the snow was ankle-deep, threw themselves into a river rather than perish like Drummond. The conduct of Berkeley had been that of a dastard in the struggle, and now his cruelty was that of a fiend. A royal proclamation arrived from England, promising pardon to all but Bacon. But this was utterly disregarded; Berkeley, indeed, altered it to suit his own temper, and

excepted from mercy about fifty persons, among whom was Sarah Grindon, the wife of the late attorney. Twenty-two were hanged; three died from hard usage in prison; three fled before trial, and two after conviction.

In the course of two months, trials before the governor and council, by "juries of life and death," were substituted instead of courts-martial; but the result was little different. The land groaned with the excess of punishment. The very assembly itself besought of the governor "to desist from sanguinary punishments, for none could tell when or where they would cease." And when executions ceased, other modes of punishment began.

When the news of these bloody doings reached London, Charles, who, with all his faults, was not cruel, exclaimed with indignation, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I have for the murder of my father!"

As regarded the causes of this insurrection and the true character of its leaders, every possible means were taken to veil them in obscurity, or to throw disrepute and infamy upon them. No printing-press was allowed in Virginia. It was a crime punishable by fine and whipping¹ to speak ill of Berkeley and his friends, or to write anything favourable to the rebels or the rebellion. Every accurate account remained in manuscript for more than a hundred years; so that the struggles and sufferings of these unfortunate patriots were long misunderstood and cruelly maligned.

It was on the occasion of this rebellion that English troops were first introduced into America. In three years, however, they were disbanded, and became amalgamated with the people. Sir William Berkeley returned to England with the squadron which brought out these forces, it being necessary to justify his conduct there. Arrived in England, he found the public sentiments so violent against him that he died, it was said, of a broken heart, and before he had had an opportunity of justifying himself with the monarch.

Colonel Herbert Jeffreys was left by Berkeley as deputy in his absence, and on his death he assumed the office of governor. The results of Bacon's rebellion were disastrous to Virginia. This insurrection was made a plea against granting a more liberal charter, and the restrictions and oppressions under which Virginia had groaned became only more stringent and heavy. All those liberal measures which were introduced by Bacon's assembly, and which were known under the name of "Bacon's Acts," were annulled, and the former abuses returned. In vain were commissioners sent over by the monarch to redress their grievances; reports of tyranny and rapine were received, but no amelioration of the system which permitted them was introduced; as Bancroft^g says, "every measure of effectual reform was considered void, and every aristocratic feature which had been introduced into the legislature was perpetuated."

CULPEPER'S ADMINISTRATION AS PROPRIETARY

When Virginia was granted to the lords Culpeper and Arlington, the former was appointed governor for life on the demise of Berkeley; he embarked in 1680 for Virginia, where he arrived in May. The principal of his acts was that

[¹ The third offence to be punished as treason. If the culprit were a married woman, and no one volunteered to pay her fine, she was "to be whipped on the bare back with twenty lashes for the first offence," and thirty for the second. Similar penalties were imposed for speaking disrespectfully of any in authority.^d]

[1682-1684 A.D.]

the impost of two shillings on every hogshhead of tobacco should be perpetual, and instead of being accounted for to the assembly as hitherto, should be applied as a royal revenue for the support of government. His own salary—as governor—of £1,000 he doubled, on the plea that, being a nobleman, such increase was necessary; besides house-rent and perquisites, amounting to nearly another thousand. Not satisfied with this, he altered the currency, and then disbanding the soldiers, paid their arrears in the new coin, greatly to his own advantage. But shortly afterwards, finding that, by the same rule, his own perquisites would be deteriorated, he restored it to its former value.

Virginia was now quiet, but her miseries were not at an end. Large crops of tobacco were raised, and the price sank far below a remunerative scale, and again the scheme of the “stint,” or the cessation of planting, was entertained. During two sessions the assembly endeavoured to legislate for these difficult circumstances; but in May, 1682, the malcontents commenced to cut up the tobacco-plants, especially the sweet-scented, which was produced nowhere else, and to this futile procedure, Culpeper, who had now returned, put a stop by measures of great severity—hanging the ringleaders and enacting plant-cutting high treason.

A printing-press was at this time brought over into Virginia, by John Buckner, who printed the enactments of the session in 1682; but such publicity was dreaded. He was called to account by Culpeper, and forbidden to print anything until his majesty’s pleasure should be known; and the following year any printing-press was forbidden in Virginia, under the royal authority. The slave-code received some alterations during Culpeper’s government, which were worthy of the remorseless spirit of the man. Slaves were forbidden the use of arms, or to leave their masters’ plantations without a written pass, or to lift a hand against a Christian, even in self-defence. Runaways, who refused to give themselves up, might be lawfully killed.

“All accounts,” says Bancroft,^g “agree in describing the condition of Virginia at this time as one of extreme distress. Culpeper had no compassion for poverty, no sympathy for a province impoverished by perverse legislation; and the residence in Virginia was so irksome, that in a few months he again returned to England. The council reported the griefs and restlessness of the country, and renewed the request that the grant to Culpeper might be recalled. The poverty of the province rendered negotiation easy, and in the following year Virginia was once more a royal province.”

VIRGINIA AGAIN A ROYAL PROVINCE UNDER EFFINGHAM

Lord Howard of Effingham¹ succeeded Culpeper as governor in 1684, but the change was hardly beneficial to the unhappy province. It is said that with an eye to the fees, he established a court of chancery, claiming, by virtue

[¹ “Like master, like man: Charles debauched and debased England, and Culpeper and Effingham degraded their governments and almost ruined Virginia. In the whole range of American colonial history there are to be found no administrations at once so contemptible, so sordid, and so injurious as those inflicted upon Virginia by the noble governors appointed by Charles II. One event but little noticed at the time rises above the sorry details of this period. In 1684 Virginia sent delegates to Albany to meet the agents of Massachusetts and the governor of New York, in order to discuss the Indian troubles. Thus another uncertain step was taken on the road to confederation. Every event of his nature, no matter how trifling, acquires importance in marking the slow stages by which the principle of union rose by external pressure from the jarring interests of separate colonies.”—LODGE.^h]

of his office, to be sole judge. The accession of James II produced no change in the state of Virginia, but the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion sent over to her a number of truly noble, though involuntary exiles. These were the men who, by sentence of the infamous Judge Jeffreys, were condemned to transportation, and sent over for sale to the labour-market of the American colonies. These political convicts were, many of them, men of family and superior education, accustomed to the conveniences and elegancies of life; and, as regarded them, the government of Virginia received injunctions, under the signature of the monarch; "take care," said they, "that these convicted persons continue to serve for ten years at least, and that they be not permitted, in any manner, to redeem themselves by money or otherwise until that time be fully expired." But Virginia had suffered too much not to sympathise with her noble transports. In December, 1689, the exiles were pardoned. America, in every one of her colonies, was benefited by the tolerance and the oppressions of Europe. Hence she derived her best population; hence her clear instinct of liberty, and the courage and energy which bore her through the struggle for its attainment.

The state of Virginia did not improve under James II; and so oppressive was the government found to be, that the first assembly convened after his accession called in question the monarch's right to negative such of their proceedings as did not meet with his approbation; the king was displeased, and censured "the disaffected and unjust disposition of the members, and their irregular and tumultuous proceedings." The assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation, and James Collins loaded with irons and imprisoned for treasonable expressions. But the council stood firm to their principles of obedience and conformity, and pledged themselves to bring the state to submission. Beverley, a royalist and former adherent of Berkeley's, and for a long time clerk of the assembly, in whose soul the despotism of the time seems to have called forth a germ of liberty, fell under the strong resentment of the king; and being disfranchised, and a prosecution commenced against him, he died soon afterwards, a martyr to those very principles for which Bacon had struggled, and which he then had opposed.

The principles of Bacon indeed were, under the severity of the present rule, becoming the principles of the whole of Virginia, as the noblest essences are only brought out by extreme pressure. The spirit of the colony was shown by the new assembly, which was now, in 1688, convened, and for the turbulent and unmanageable disposition of which it was very soon dissolved by the council. Discussion, so long fettered, once more asserted its liberty; the scattered dwellers along the river banks passed from house to house the kindling cry of liberty. The whole colony was about to rise once more; and Effingham, alarmed at the position of affairs, hastened to England, followed by Philip Ludwell, as his accuser in the name of the people. During his absence, Nathaniel Bacon, the elder, president of the council, assumed the temporary administration. But before either the accused or the accuser reached the English shores, James had abdicated, and that revolution had taken place which for the moment cast the affairs of Virginia into the shade.

VIRGINIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

For Virginia, the revolution of 1688 gave to her liberties the regularity of law; in other respects, the character of her people and the forms of her government were not changed. The first person who, in the reign of King Will-

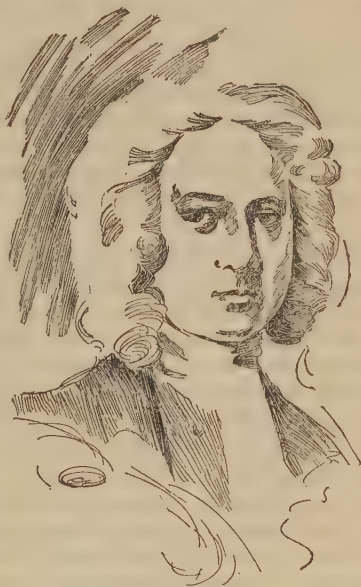
[1692 A.D.]

iam, entered the ancient dominion as lieutenant-governor, was the same Francis Nicholson who in the days of King James had been the deputy of Andros for the consolidated provinces of the north, and had been expelled from New York by the insurgent people; and his successor was Andros himself, fresh from imprisonment in Massachusetts in 1692. The earlier administration of the ardent but narrow-minded Nicholson was signalled by the establishment of the college of William and Mary, the first-fruits of the revolution, in age second only to Harvard.

The powers of the governor were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant-general and admiral, lord-treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop, or ordinary: so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church—all were under his control or guardianship.

Yet the people of Virginia still found methods of nourishing the spirit of independence. When additional supplies became necessary, the burgesses, as in Jamaica and in other colonies, claimed the right of nominating a treasurer of their own, subject to their orders, without further warrant from the governor. The statutes of Virginia show that the first assembly after the revolution set this example in 1691, which was often imitated. The denial of this system by the crown increased the aversion to raising money; so that Virginia refused to contribute its quota to the defence of the colonies against France, and not only disregarded the special orders for assisting Albany, but with entire unanimity, and even with the assent of the council, justified its disobedience. While other provinces were exhausted by taxation, in eleven years, eighty-three pounds of tobacco for each poll was the total sum levied by all the special acts of the assembly of Virginia.

From the days of the insurrection of Bacon, for a period of three-quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. The political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit, which, in the wantonness of independence, loved to tease the governor; and, again, if the burgesses expressed loyalty, they were loyal only because loyalty was their humour. Hence the reports forwarded to England were often contradictory. "This government," wrote Spotswood, the governor from 1710-1722, in 1711, "is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority, and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England"; and the letter had hardly left the Chesapeake before he found himself thwarted by the impracticable burgesses, dissolving the assembly, and fearing to convene another till opinion should change. But Spotswood, the best in the line of Virginia governors, was soon restored to colonial favour. Like schoolboys of old at a barring out, the Virginians resisted their government, not as ready for independence, but as resolved on a holiday.⁹



JAMES BLAIR

(1656-1743)

(First President of William and Mary College)

MARYLAND AND DELAWARE AFTER THE RESTORATION

Five years after the restoration of 1660 the population of Maryland had increased to sixteen thousand, and so much had their commerce increased, that the number of ships engaged in carrying on their trade with various parts of the British dominions was at least one hundred. Its internal regulations at this time were such as well deserve our notice. Every young person was trained to useful labour; pauperism and beggary were unknown; and even the introduction of slavery had not been sufficient to degrade honest labour in public esteem. A mint was established by law of assembly, in 1661, and the act which established it was confirmed and declared to be perpetual in 1676.

The address of Calvert saved the colony from an evil which seemed inevitable. The encroachments upon the western bank of the Delaware, and the hostilities of a distant tribe of Indians, now threatened the tranquillity of the colony; but the governor's remonstrances obliged the former to desert the whole country around Cape Henlopen; while his prudence, seconded by the friendly demonstrations of the Indians in alliance with the province, restored peace with the hostile tribe. On the Dutch removing from Henlopen, many of these united themselves to Maryland, where they were received with the utmost kindness; and in 1666 the assembly passed in their favour the first act which occurs in any colonial legislature for the naturalisation of aliens. In 1671 provision was made for self-defence by imposing a duty of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco exported, and applying one-half of this revenue to the support of a magazine and the supply of firearms. The other half was settled upon the proprietary, as a mark of gratitude. This illustrious nobleman died in 1676, having lived to reap the fruits of this plantation, which he had ordered with so much wisdom and virtue; and was succeeded by his son Charles, who for fourteen years had governed the province with a high reputation for virtue and ability.

By the assembly convened this year an attempt was made to stem the progress of an evil which had for some time existed in the colony: namely, the transportation thither of felons from England. A law was passed forbidding the importation of convicts into the colony; in spite of which, however, the evil increased, and shortly previous to the revolution three hundred and fifty were landed annually in the province. About the year 1681 many attempts were made to introduce domestic manufactures; but the undertaking was premature, and although domestic industry supplied some articles for domestic use, yet even many years after it was found impossible to render Maryland a manufacturing country.

In the following year William Penn arrived in America, when an interview took place between him and Lord Baltimore, in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territories. But so inconsistent were the claims, and so little was either party inclined to yield to the other, that it was found impossible to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both; and by Penn's interest at court, he caused it to be adjudged that the disputed district should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. The part thus dismembered from Maryland constitutes the territory included within the limits of the present state of Delaware.

Meanwhile the late proceedings against Fendal were made the foundation of fresh complaints against Lord Baltimore; and in spite of his explanation

[1681 A.D.]

of the affair, which was quite satisfactory, the ministers of the king, anxious to shift the imputation of popery from themselves, commanded that all offices of government should, in future, be committed exclusively to the hands of Protestants. Another and a still more serious charge was now preferred against him. He was accused of obstructing the custom-house officers in the collection of the parliamentary duties; and though, when the affair was investigated thoroughly, it appeared that the opposition was not so great as was at first represented, yet Charles threatened him with a writ of *quo warranto*; a threat which, however, was never executed.

The news of the accession of James II to the throne of his brother was speedily published in the colonies, and there received with lively and unaffected demonstrations of joy; but they were sadly disappointed in their expectations of the treatment they should receive at his hands, for, disregarding alike the feelings of the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Catholics of Maryland, he involved both in the same project of oppression. No less was the joy excited throughout the province on receiving news of the birth of a son to James II; but the flames of revolt and revolution, which raged so fiercely in England, were soon communicated to Maryland, and the latent dissensions, inflamed by fresh incentives, burst forth in a blaze of insurrectionary violence.

The rumour, suddenly and rapidly disseminated, that the deputy governors and the Catholics had formed a league with the Indians for the massacre of all the Protestants in the province—together with several unlucky circumstances which combined to corroborate this unfounded statement—so operated upon the minds of the people, producing confusion, dismay, and indignation, that a Protestant Association was formed by John Coode, the former associate of Fendal, the members of which, being strengthened by the accession of new adherents, took up arms in defence of the Protestant faith, and the assertion of the royal title of William and Mary. William expressed his approbation of these proceedings, and authorised the insurgents to exercise in his name the power they had acquired by injustice and violence. Armed with this commission, for three years they continued to administer the government, with that severity and oppression which power is prone to arrogate when it has been acquired by corrupt or violent means.

The associates having entered a complaint against Lord Baltimore, he was summoned to answer before the privy council the charges preferred against him. This produced a tedious investigation, which involved him in a heavy expense; and it being impossible to convict him of any other crime than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully traduced, he was suffered to retain the patrimonial interest attached by his charter to the office of proprietary. But, by an act of council, he was deprived of the political administration of the province, and Sir Edmund Andros was appointed its governor by the king. Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an existence of fifty-six years, during which time it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberties and welfare of the people that merited a better requital than that which it has been our task to record.

Though Andros is said to have approved himself a good governor in Virginia, yet he appears to have exercised no little severity and rapacity in Maryland. He protected Coode against the complaints he had provoked; but that profligate hypocrite, finding himself neglected by Colonel Nicholson, the successor of Andros, began to practise his treacherous intrigues against the proprietary administration. This occasioned his downfall. Being indicted

for treason and blasphemy in 1695, he declined to stand a trial, and fled forever from the province which he had contributed so signally to dishonour.

The suspension of the proprietary government was accompanied by an entire subversion of the principles on which its administration had been founded. The church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the state; and an act passed in 1692 having divided the several counties into parishes, provision was made for the support of a minister of this communion in every one of these provinces; the appointment of the ministers vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the Protestant inhabitants; free schools and public libraries were established by law in all the parishes, and an ample collection of books presented to the libraries as a commencement of their literary stock by the bishop of London.

But with all this seeming liberality, a strong prejudice was entertained against the Catholics, and a bitter persecution practised towards them; and while the ecclesiastical rulers, with the most unchristian cruelty, enacted toleration to themselves, and granted the same to all Protestant dissenters, they denied it to the men by whose toleration they themselves had been permitted to gain an establishment in the province. Not only were these unfortunate victims of religious persecution excluded from all participation in political privileges, but by an act passed in 1704 they were debarred also from the exercise of their peculiar form of worship.

Thus, for twenty-seven years, the crown retained the absolute control of the province; when, in 1716, the proprietary was restored to his rights, which he and his successors continued to enjoy until the commencement of the American Revolution. In 1699 Annapolis was substituted for St. Mary's as the capital of the province; but it was not till many years after that the towns of Maryland assumed any considerable size—the same cause that prevented their growth in Virginia retarding their increase in Maryland. Most merchants and shopkeepers were also planters; and it being the custom for every man to keep on his own plantation a store, so as to supply his family, servants, and slaves with the usual accommodations of a shop, there was little to induce any large congregation of citizens, so as to form considerable towns. At a later period, however, the towns and cities seem to have acquired a sudden principle of increase; and Baltimore has grown with a rapidity equalled only by that with which the new western cities have since sprung up, and continue to advance in wealth and population.ⁱ

Benedict, the fourth Lord Baltimore, renounced Catholicism to secure the colony, but died almost immediately. The last Baron Baltimore, Frederick, received the colony in 1751. Under his governor, Sharpe, the colony took little or no share in the wars with the French.^a



CHAPTER V

THE NORTHERN COLONIES AFTER THE RESTORATION

[1660-1744 A.D.]

THE struggle against Andros in Massachusetts bore no little likeness to the proceedings of the revolutionists eighty years later. In each case the colonists were not so much resisting actual oppression as warring against a system under which gross oppression would become possible. In each case the administrators were tactless and blundering, and by their half-hearted tyranny at once excited opposition and failed to crush it. The parallel is incomplete in that, in the first instance, happily for both countries, the drama was cut short by external intervention, instead of working itself out to its natural climax; while the encroachments planned by James II and intrusted to Andros were more far-reaching and more destructive to liberty than anything devised by George III and his advisers.—JOHN A. DOYLE.^b

MASSACHUSETTS AND CHARLES II; THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1661

THE return of the Stuarts to the English throne in 1660 was not altogether unexpected in the colonies. The incompetency of Richard Cromwell, who was never proclaimed protector in America, awakened apprehensions of restoration. Yet if dreaded, it was principally because it was feared there would be a change in the government, and the Puritans would be compelled to abate their exclusiveness.

The proclamation in England of Charles II took place May 26th, 1660, and July 27th the tidings were received in Massachusetts by the ships which brought the regicides Goffe and Whalley; but no notice was publicly taken of the event. At the October court a motion for an address to the king was negatived. Rumour represented England as still in an unsettled state, and until different intelligence was received delay was deemed prudent. At length (November 30th) the government was certified of the proceedings of parliament, and was informed that its enemies had revived, and that his

majesty's council was besieged with their complaints. A court was convened (December 19th), and addresses were prepared for the king and the parliament. The style of these addresses has been censured as fulsome.¹ The agency of the clergy in their preparation is apparent; but, with the exception of hyperboles drawn from the Old Testament, and metaphors according with the customary adulation of princes in the East, they are straightforward, consistent, and manly productions. With these addresses, letters were forwarded to several gentlemen of note, and instructions were sent to Mr. Leverett, their agent, a large portion of whose life was spent in the service of the colony, to interest as many as possible to favour the cause of the colonies, and to obtain speedy information of his majesty's sense of their petition.^e

The fugitive regicides had already retired to New Haven, thus escaping a royal order for their arrest which arrived at Boston in February, 1661, by the hands of some zealous young royalists, to whom the general court of Massachusetts intrusted its execution. But, with all show of zeal, there was no intention to give them up, if it could be avoided. By great privacy and the aid of faithful friends, they remained undiscovered, and were presently joined by Colonel John Dixwell, another of the late king's judges. In spite of diligent efforts for their arrest, all three finished their days in New England. Dixwell lived openly at New Haven under a feigned name; the other two remained in concealment, sometimes in Connecticut, sometimes in Massachusetts.

Alarmed by repeated rumours from England of changes intended to be made in their government, the general court, at their meeting in June, judged it proper to set forth, with the assistance of the elders, a distinct declaration of what they deemed their rights under the charter. This declaration claimed for the freemen power to choose their own governor, deputy governor, magistrates, and representatives; to prescribe terms for the admission of additional freemen; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, with such powers and duties as they might appoint; to exercise, by their annually elected magistrates and deputies, all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial; to defend themselves by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject any and every imposition which they might judge prejudicial to the colony. This statement of rights² might seem to leave hardly any perceptible power either to parliament or the king. It accorded, however, sufficiently well with the practice of the colony ever since its foundation—a practice maintained with equal zeal against both royal and parliamentary interference.

At length, after more than a year's delay, Charles II was formally proclaimed at Boston in August, 1661. But all disorderly demonstrations of joy on the occasion were strictly prohibited. None were to presume to drink the king's health, which, the magistrates did not scruple to add, "he hath in an especial manner forbidden"; meaning, we must suppose, that the king spake in their laws. As if to make up in words what was wanting in substance, a second loyal address, in the extremest style of oriental hyperbole, designated the king as one "of the gods among men."

With the late leaders of the independents it had gone hard in England. Several of them had been already executed for their concern in the late king's death. Sir Henry Vane, formerly governor of Massachusetts, and always

[¹ Ebeling^c accuses them of "oriental adulation"; he is, says Bancroft,^d "rarely so uncharitable."]

[² Elson^f calls this Declaration of Rights of 1661, "one of the memorable documents of the colonial era. It was aimed, for the most part, at the Navigation Acts. It has the true American ring." Doyle,^g the British historian of the colonies, says that it seems to take us forward a hundred years, and that "the men of 1776 had nothing to add to or take away from the words of their ancestors."]

[1661-1662 A.D.]

a firm friend of New England, presently suffered a similar fate. Others were concealed or in exile. These changes in the mother country occasioned some emigration to New England, but not to any great extent.

The Massachusetts agents, Bradstreet and Norton, returned in September, 1662, bearers of a royal letter, in which the king recognised the charter, and promised oblivion of all past offences. But he demanded the repeal of all laws inconsistent with his due authority; an oath of allegiance to the royal person, as formerly in use, but dropped since the commencement of the late civil war; the administration of justice in his name; complete toleration for the Church of England; the repeal of the law which restricted the privilege of voting and tenure of office to church members, and the substitution of a property qualification instead; finally, the admission of all persons of honest lives to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Little favour was shown for the Quakers; indeed, liberty was expressly given to make a "sharp law" against them—a permission eagerly availed of to revive the act by which vagabond Quakers were ordered to be whipped from town to town out of the jurisdiction. The claimants for toleration, formerly suppressed with such prompt severity, were now encouraged, by the king's demands in their favour, again to raise their heads. They advocated, also, the supremacy of the crown, sole means in that day of curbing the theocracy and compelling it to yield its monopoly of power.

The vigour of the theocratic system, by the operation of internal causes, was already somewhat relaxed. A synod met to take this subject into consideration. The majority of the ministers, alarmed at the aspect of things in England, and always better informed and more liberal than the majority of the church members, were willing to enlarge somewhat the basis of their polity. Under the influence of Mitchell—successor of Shepard as minister of Cambridge—the synod came to a result the same with that agreed upon by a select council of Massachusetts ministers five years before, authorising what was called the "half-way covenant"; the admission to baptism, that is, of the children of persons of acceptable character, who approved the confession of faith, and had themselves been baptised in infancy, though not church members in full communion. This result was approved by the Massachusetts general court.

CONNECTICUT AND RHODE ISLAND OBTAIN CHARTERS

Connecticut and Rhode Island, having favours to ask, had been more prompt than Massachusetts to acknowledge the authority of Charles II. Winthrop for Connecticut, of which colony he was governor, and Clarke for Rhode Island presented themselves at Charles' court in quest of charters. The season was propitious. The restoration, at least for the moment, was a sort of era of good feeling. Winthrop might be subject to suspicion as the son-in-law of Hugh Peters; but his talents, his scientific acquirements—he was one of the founders of the Royal Society—and his suavity of address, secured him many friends. He seems to have encountered little difficulty in obtaining the charter which he sought. That instrument, dated April 23rd, 1662, following the terms of the old alleged grant to the earl of Warwick, established for the boundaries of Connecticut the Narragansett river, the south line of Massachusetts, the shore of the Sound, and the Atlantic Ocean. It thus not only embraced a large part of the continental portion of Rhode Island, but the whole of New Haven also—an absorption about which the inhabitants of that colony had not been consulted, and with which, at first, they were not very well satisfied. Clarke

was obliged to expend a considerable sum of money, for which he mortgaged his own house in Newport, and which the colony was a long time in paying back. An agreement, presently entered into between Clarke and Winthrop, fixed for the limit between the two colonies the Pawcatuck, declared to be the Narragansett river mentioned in the Connecticut charter; and this agreement was specially set forth (July 8th, 1663) in the charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The charters thus granted vested in the proprietary freemen of Connecticut and Rhode Island the right of admitting new associates, and of choosing annually from among themselves a governor, magistrates, and representatives, with powers of legislation and judicial authority. No appellate jurisdiction and no negative on the laws were reserved to the crown any more than in the charters of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Carolina.

Historians have expressed surprise that, under the reign of Charles II, charters so democratic should have been granted. But, in a legal point of view, in the grant by the crown of independent jurisdiction, they did not differ from the other charters hitherto granted for plantations in America. The inconveniences of such independent governments had not yet attracted attention. Twenty years after, when Penn obtained the grant of Pennsylvania, intervening experience caused the insertion into his charter of several additional safeguards for metropolitan authority.

The privileges of freemen were restricted in Rhode Island, by act of the colonial assembly, to freeholders and their eldest sons. For the long period that Rhode Island remained chiefly an agricultural community, this limitation was hardly felt as a grievance. Later, amidst a manufacturing population, it excited serious discontents, occasioning almost a civil war, only appeased by the adoption of a more liberal provision. The New Haven people appealed to the commissioners for the United Colonies of New England against the invasion of their independence on the part of Connecticut. But the alarm occasioned, the next year, by the grant of New York, which extended as far east as Connecticut river, and threatened thus to absorb New Haven under a far less congenial jurisdiction; more than all, Winthrop's prudent and conciliatory measures, at length consolidated the new colony in 1664, of which for the next twelve years he was annually chosen governor. The office of deputy governor, at first bestowed on Mason, for several years before deputy governor of Connecticut and acting governor in Winthrop's absence, was afterwards given, in 1667, to William Leet, of New Haven, one of the original planters of that colony, its last governor, and after Winthrop's death, his successor as governor of the united colony. The peculiar usages of New Haven being abandoned, the laws of Connecticut were extended to the whole province. The theocratic system of New Haven thus lost its legal establishment, but the administration of the entire colony was long greatly influenced by theocratic ideas. The ministers and churches, upheld by taxes levied on the whole population, retained for many years a predominating and almost unlimited authority.

DECLINE OF THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION (1663 A.D.)

New Haven thus absorbed into Connecticut, the new province sent henceforward but two representatives to the meeting of commissioners for the United Colonies of New England. The political consequence of that board was, however, terminated. The superintendence of the Indian missions, and the disbursement of the funds remitted from England for that purpose, became

[1664 A.D.]

henceforth its chief business. The meetings became triennial, and soon entirely ceased.

While Connecticut and Rhode Island were rejoicing in their charters, Massachusetts remained uneasy and suspicious. An evasive answer had been returned to the royal letter. The only concession actually made was the administration of justice in the king's name. Meanwhile, complaints against the colony were multiplying. Gorges and Mason, grandsons of the grantees of Maine and New Hampshire, alleged that Massachusetts had occupied their provinces. Wrongs and encroachments were also alleged by the chiefs of the Narragansetts, who prayed the king's interference and protection. Controversies had arisen as to the boundaries of Connecticut and Rhode Island on the one side, and of Rhode Island and Plymouth colony on the other, and as to the title to lands in that vicinity under purchases from the Indians. The king presently signified his intention to send out commissioners for hearing and determining all these matters—a piece of information which occasioned no little alarm in Massachusetts, aggravated by the appearance of a large comet. A fast was proclaimed. The charter was intrusted to a select committee of the general court for safe-keeping.

The commissioners selected by the king were sent with a small armament to take possession of New Netherlands. On the arrival of the commissioners at Boston, in August, 1664, and their first intercourse with the magistrates, the magistrates declared themselves unauthorised to raise troops for the expedition thither without the consent of the general court. The commissioners declined to await the meeting of that body, and departed, advising the magistrates against their return to take the king's letter into serious consideration. The court, which presently met, voted two hundred soldiers; but they were not needed, New Netherlands having already submitted.

The people of Connecticut, well satisfied at the subjection of the Dutch, with whom they had been in such constant collision, and having boundary questions to settle both on the east and west, received the king's commissioners with all respect. Governor Winthrop, as we have seen in a former chapter, accompanied them to the conquest of New Netherlands. After settling the boundaries of Connecticut and New York, and leaving Nichols at New York as governor, Carr and Cartwright proceeded to Massachusetts to meet Maverick. The hopes of the sectaries in that colony had been so far raised that Thomas Gould, with eight others, after meeting for some time in secret, had formally organised a Baptist church in Boston (May 28th, 1664). Prosecutions were commenced against its prominent members, who were first admonished, then fined for absence from public worship, then disfranchised, imprisoned, and presently banished. But still the organisation contrived to survive, the first Baptist church of Massachusetts. Still another inroad, not less alarming, was now made upon ecclesiastical uniformity. The commissioners, on their arrival, caused the English church service to be celebrated at Boston—the first performance of that hated ceremonial in that Puritan town. Out of respect to the inveterate prejudices of the people, the surplice was not used. But the liturgy alone was sufficiently distasteful.

MASSACHUSETTS IN CONFLICT WITH THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS

The remonstrances of Massachusetts against the powers and appointment of the commissioners were esteemed in England unreasonable and groundless. The magistrates were sturdy and unbending; the commissioners were haughty,

overbearing, and consequential. Both parties disliked and suspected each other, and the correspondence between them soon degenerated into a bitter altercation.

The commissioners proposed, at length, to sit in form, for the purpose of hearing complaints against the colony, of which no less than thirty had been exhibited. The general court, by public proclamation (May 24th, 1665), at the sound of the trumpet, prohibited any such procedure, as contrary to their charter, and invasive of their exclusive jurisdiction within the limits of Massachusetts. Thus met, and without a military force, or any means to support their authority, the commissioners were obliged to forego their intentions. They presently left Boston, and proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, where they decided in favour of the claims of Mason and Gorges. But the New Hampshire towns, satisfied with the rule of Massachusetts, and afraid of Mason's pretensions to quit-rents, did not favour the plans of the commissioners. More successful in Maine, where they were supported by the old Episcopal party, they issued commissions for a new government, which was accordingly organised in June. On their return to Boston, the magistrates complained that they had disturbed the peace of Maine, and requested an interview. The commissioners refused with much asperity, accusing the magistrates of treason, and threatening them with the king's vengeance.

The commissioners were accustomed to hold of Saturday nights a social party at a tavern in Ann street kept by one Robert Vyal, vintner. This was contrary to the law, which required the strict observance of Saturday night as a part of the Lord's Day. A constable went to break them up (January 18th, 1666), but was beaten and driven off by Sir Robert Carr and his servant. Mason, another constable, bolder and more zealous, immediately proceeded to Vyal's tavern; but, meanwhile, the party had adjourned to the house of a merchant over the way. Mason went in, staff in hand, and reproached them, king's officers as they were, who ought to set a better example, for being so uncivil as to beat a constable; telling them it was well they had changed their quarters, as otherwise he should have arrested them all. "What," said Carr, "arrest the king's commissioners!" "Yes," answered Mason, "the king himself, had he been there." "Treason! treason!" shouted Maverick; "knave, thou shalt presently hang for this!" And he called on the company to take notice of the words. The matter finally came before the general court, where Mason was acquitted of the more serious charge, but was fined for insolence and indiscretion, principally, no doubt, through apprehension lest some handle might be made of the matter by the commissioners.

Having transmitted to England the results of their labours, the commissioners presently received letters of recall, approving their conduct, and that of all the colonies except Massachusetts. That province was ordered by the king to appoint "five able and meet persons to make answer for refusing the jurisdiction of his commissioners." This demand, transmitted through Maverick, who sent a copy of the royal letter to the magistrates, occasioned no little alarm. The general court was called together in special session in September. From sending over agents, as that paper required, they excused themselves on the ground that no agents they could send could make their case any plainer. "Prostrate before his majesty," they beseech him "to be graciously pleased to rest assured of their loyalty according to their former professions." At the same time they sent a present of masts for the royal navy, and a contribution of provisions for the English fleet in the West Indies—seasonable supplies, which were graciously acknowledged. This bold step

[1666-1672 A.D.]

of disobeying the king's special orders was not taken, however, without great opposition. Circumstances at the moment favoured the theocracy. Charles at this time was very hard pressed. The Dutch war gave the king's ministers full employment. A Dutch fleet presently sailed up the Thames, and threatened London, already ravaged by the plague and the great fire.

As yet the acts of trade were hardly a subject of controversy. The parliament, which had welcomed back the king, had indeed in 1660 re-enacted, with additional clauses, the ordinance of 1651; an act which, by restricting exportations from America to English, Irish, and colonial vessels, substantially excluded foreign ships from all Anglo-American harbours. To this, which might be regarded as a benefit by the New England shipowners, a provision was added intended still further to isolate the colonies, the more valuable colonial staples, mentioned by name and hence known as "enumerated articles," being required to be shipped exclusively to England, or some English colony. The exportation to the colonies was also prohibited of any product of Europe, unless in English vessels and from England, except horses, servants, and provisions from Ireland and Scotland. But of the "enumerated articles," none were produced in New England.

Shortly after the departure of the royal commissioners, Leverett, now major-general of the colony, was sent to Maine, with three other magistrates and a body of horse, to re-establish the authority of Massachusetts. In spite of the remonstrances of Nichols at New York, the new government lately set up was obliged to yield (July, 1668). Several persons were punished for speaking irreverently of the re-established authority of Massachusetts.

The Quakers, as yet, had abated nothing of their enthusiastic zeal, of which the colonists had a new specimen, that greatly tried their patience, in two young married women, who walked naked through the streets of Newbury and Salem, in emulation of the prophet Ezekiel, as a sign of the nakedness of the land. They were whipped from town to town out of the colony, under the law against vagabond Quakers; the young husband of one of them following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner.¹

Meanwhile the growing commerce of Boston began to attract the notice and envy of the jealous English merchants. Though the houses were generally wooden, and the streets narrow and crooked, "with little decency and no uniformity," that town, by far the largest and most commercial in the colonies, already had a population of seven or eight thousand; among them, some merchants of considerable capital and active enterprise. New England trading vessels frequented the Southern colonies, which they supplied to a great extent with European goods, taking in return tobacco, sugar, rum, and other tropical products, which they sold in Spain, Italy, and Holland, along with their own staples of fish and staves, thus evading the Navigation Acts, and interfering with that monopoly of colonial trade which the English merchants aimed to secure. Hence a new act of parliament in 1672, imposing on the transit of "enumerated articles" from colony to colony the same duties payable on the introduction of those articles into England. For the collection of these duties, the same act authorised the establishment of custom-houses in the colonies, under the superintendence of the English commissioners of the customs. Such was the origin of royal custom-houses in America, and of commercial duties levied there by authority of parliament and in the name of the king.^h

[¹ It is such intolerance that led Doyle ^b to characterise as "a grotesque delusion" the theory "that New England was, or wished to be thought, a home of spiritual freedom."]

KING PHILIP'S WAR

The attempts to Christianise the Indians of New England have already been noticed. Many of them, by the efforts of John Eliot and the Mayhews, had been won from heathenism and the customs of savage life to a knowledge and love of the Christian religion, and a preference for some of the habits of civilisation. Still the great mass of the aboriginal population remained heathens. Bancroft^d estimates the Indian population in New England, west of the St. Croix, at about forty-five or fifty thousand. Of these, ten thousand were in Maine, four thousand in New Hampshire, twelve thousand in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and fifteen hundred in Connecticut. He supposes the white population west of the Piscataqua to have been fifty thousand—double that of the Indians. Among the so-called “praying Indians,” some were educated, and one took a bachelor’s degree, in 1665, at Harvard College.

The treaty made by the Pilgrim Fathers with Massasoit had been observed for more than fifty years. That powerful chieftain, dying, had left the government in the hands of his son, Alexander, whose ill-treatment at the hands of the whites, which had probably occasioned his death, may in part have led to the implacable hostility of his brother and successor, Philip of Pokanoket. This chief, as well as most of those who were in alliance with him, had sternly rejected all persuasions to Christianity; and if he nursed in his bosom a strong vindictive feeling towards the colonists, it is certain that there were many reasons for it. The broad territory which had once been the possession of his fathers had dwindled away, till a narrow region round Mount Hope Bay was all that had been spared by the gradual but irresistible encroachments of the colonists. Personal insults had been offered to himself and his family, and he had been compelled to surrender his arms and pay tribute. Finally, his secretary, Seusoman or Sassamon, an Indian who, after professing Christianity, had apostatised and entered his service, had played the spy upon him, giving information of his intended movements. It was through his treacherous letters that the colonists learned that Philip and his countrymen had at length resolved to adopt measures for their destruction. Fearing the consequences of what he had done, the renegade returned to the protection of the settlers, and was soon after slain by two of the Indian leaders. The perpetrators of this deed were arrested, tried, and executed by the colonists.

Philip was alarmed by the condemnation of his counsellors; and finding that the war would inevitably be forced upon him, he resolved to be the first in the field. His tribe, the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, having sent their wives and children to the Narragansets for security, commenced hostilities at Swansea. They menaced and insulted the inhabitants, and, after killing some of the cattle in the fields, they broke open and rifled the houses. One of the Indians being shot by the English, who were highly exasperated at such proceedings, the former, in revenge, killed eight of the settlers. This was the beginning of King Philip’s War, June 24th, 1675.

It is said that Philip was hurried into the war by the ardour of his men some months before he had intended to commence hostilities. He had many serious disadvantages to contend with. He had not succeeded in uniting all his countrymen in opposition to the colonists. A large portion of them were the allies of his enemies. The praying Indians would gladly have remained neutral, and such was the wish of Eliot; but Philip attacked them and drove them into hostility, although they were still distrusted by the whites. The Indians were poorly supplied with provisions, and had no strongholds

[1675 A.D.]

or fortified places to which they could retreat; while the English had the advantages of union, plentiful supplies of arms and provisions, garrisoned towns, and a superior knowledge of the art of war.

The superstitious among the English declared that "strange sights and sounds foreboded, in many parts of the colonies, the woes that were near; the singing of bullets, and the awful passing away of drums in the air; invisible troops of horses were heard riding to and fro; and in a clear, still, sunshiny morning, the phantoms of men fearfully flitting by!" These and other terrible omens did not, however, prevent the people from making vigorous efforts to resist the enemy.ⁱ

The war was regarded as a special judgment in punishment of prevailing sins. Among these sins, the general court of Massachusetts, on October 19th, after consultation with the elders, enumerated neglect in the training of the children of church members; pride, in men's wearing long and curled hair; excess in apparel; naked breasts and arms, and superfluous ribbons; the toleration of Quakers; hurry to leave meeting before blessing asked; profane cursing and swearing; tippling houses; want of respect for parents; idleness; extortion in shopkeepers and mechanics; and the riding from town to town of unmarried men and women, under pretence of attending lectures—"a sinful custom, tending to lewdness." Penalties were denounced against all these offences, and the persecution of the Quakers was again renewed. A Quaker woman had recently frightened the Old South congregation in Boston by entering that meeting-house clothed in sackcloth, with ashes on her head, her feet bare, and her face blackened, intending to personify the small-pox, with which she threatened the colony in punishment for its sins.^h

Their usual modes of warfare were practised by the Indians. Expedition after expedition was sent against them, but they retreated into the remote swamps and were safe. When the soldiers returned to the colony, they would again emerge from their hiding-places, and have recourse to their system of surprise, massacre, and retreat. Parties on their way to church, or around the family fireside, were suddenly attacked and slaughtered in cold blood. The towns of Taunton, Nantasket, and Dartmouth were visited with fire and destruction. In July a party of English attacked Philip at Pocasset, and drove him into a swamp, which they surrounded. But the wily savage escaped into the western part of Massachusetts, the country of the Nipmucs, whom he incited to take up arms against the colonists. This tribe soon after set fire to the town of Quaboag, and massacred many of the inhabitants.

The little army of the colonists marched into the country of the Narragansets, who, although professedly neutral, were known to give shelter to the enemy. They were forced into a treaty, accompanied by a promise to deliver up the hostile Indians who should retreat to their territory. This treaty was concluded on the 15th of July. There was now a prospect of a speedy termination to the war. But it was only just begun. A sort of frenzy seemed to have seized all the Indians of New England. The eastern tribes took up the hatchet, and those on Connecticut river also joined in the war on the side of Philip. The towns of Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield, Northfield, and Sugar Loaf Hill bore witness to their treachery and cruelty. In October the Springfield Indians deserted the alliance of the English, and, after burning three quarters of that town, joined King Philip. The treaty with the Narragansets was of short continuance; for on the 9th of September, 1675, the commissioners of the three colonies, convinced of their treachery, declared war against them, and ordered a body of one thousand men to be sent into their territory.

The time chosen for the operations of this force was the depth of winter, and their commander was Josiah Winslow. The abode of the Indians was on an island of about five or six acres, situated in an impassable swamp, the only entrance being upon a long tree lying over the water, "so that but one man could pass at a time; but the water was frozen; the trees and thickets were white with their burden of snow, as was the surface of the earth, so that the smallest movement of the Indians could be seen. Within the isle were gathered the powers of the Narraganset tribe, with their wives, families, and valuable things; the want of leaves and thick foliage allowed no ambush, and the savage must fight openly beside his own hearthstone. It was the close of day when the colonists came up to the place; a fort, a blockhouse, and a wall that passed round the isle proved the skill as well as resolution of the assailed; the frozen shores and water were quickly covered with the slain, and then the Indians fought at their doors and around their children till all was lost, and a thousand of them fell."

In this engagement the English loss was about two hundred and thirty ¹ [December 19th, 1675]. It ended the offensive operations of the Narragansets, who soon after removed to the Nipmuc country. Many battles were subsequently fought in quick succession, and the Indians were hunted from place to place, until but a shadow of their former greatness remained.²

No longer sheltered by the River Indians, who now began to make their peace, and even attacked by bands of the Mohawks, Philip returned to his own country, about Mount Hope, where he was still faithfully supported by his female confederate and relative, Witamo, squaw-sachem of Pocasset. Philip was watched and followed by Church, who surprised his camp (August 1st), killed upwards of a hundred of his people, and took prisoners his wife and boy. The disposal of this child was a subject of much deliberation. Several of the elders were urgent for putting him to death. It was finally resolved to send him to Bermuda, to be sold into slavery—a fate to which many other of the Indian captives were subjected. Witamo shared the disasters of Philip. Most of her people were killed or taken. She herself was drowned while crossing a river in her flight; but her body was recovered, and the head, cut off, was stuck upon a pole at Taunton amid the jeers and scoffs of the colonial soldiers and the tears and lamentations of the Indian prisoners.

Philip still lurked in the swamps, but was now reduced to extremity. Again attacked by Church, he was killed by one of his own people, a deserter to the colonists. His dead body was beheaded and quartered, the sentence of the English law upon traitors. One of his hands was given to the Indian who had shot him, and on the day appointed for a public thanksgiving (August 17th) his head was carried in triumph to Plymouth.

The popular rage against the Indians was excessive. Death or slavery was the penalty for all known or suspected to have been concerned in shedding English blood. The other captives who fell into the hands of the colonists were distributed among them as ten-year servants. Roger Williams received a boy for his share. A large body of Indians, assembled at Dover to treat of peace, were treacherously made prisoners by Major Waldron, who commanded there. Some two hundred of these Indians, claimed as fugitives from Massachusetts, were sent by water to Boston, where some were hanged, and the rest shipped off to be sold as slaves. Some fishermen of Marblehead having been killed by the Indians at the eastward, the women of that town, as they

¹ Thwaites ^k puts the Indian loss at "about one thousand," and says "the contest was one of the most desperate of its kind ever fought in America." It was fought in what is now South Kingston, and is known as the Great Swamp Fight.]

[1675-1678 A.D.]

came out of meeting on a Sunday, fell upon two Indian prisoners who had just been brought in and murdered them on the spot. The same ferocious spirit of revenge which governed the contemporaneous conduct of Berkeley in Virginia towards those concerned in Bacon's rebellion, swayed the authorities of New England in their treatment of the conquered Indians. By the end of the year the contest was over in the south, upwards of two thousand Indians having been killed or taken. But some time elapsed before a peace could be arranged with the eastern tribes, whose haunts it was not so easy to reach.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE INDIANS AND ON THE COLONIES

In this short war of hardly a year's duration the Wampanoags and Narragansets had suffered the fate of the Pequots. The work of conversion was now again renewed, and, after such overwhelming proofs of Christian superiority, with somewhat greater success. A second edition of the *Indian Old Testament*, which seems to have been more in demand than the *New*, was published in 1683, revised by Eliot, with the assistance of John Cotton, son of the "great Cotton," and minister of Plymouth. The fragments of the subject tribes, broken in spirit, lost the savage freedom and rude virtues of their fathers, without acquiring the laborious industry of the whites. Many perished by enlisting in the military expeditions undertaken in future years against Acadia and the West Indies. The Indians intermarried with the blacks, and thus confirmed their degradation by associating themselves with another oppressed and unfortunate race. Gradually they dwindled away.

On the side of the colonists the contest had also been very disastrous. Twelve or thirteen towns had been entirely ruined, and many others partially destroyed. Six hundred houses had been burned, near a tenth part of all in New England. Twelve captains and more than six hundred men in the prime of life had fallen in battle. There was hardly a family not in mourning. The pecuniary losses and expenses of the war were estimated at near a million of dollars. Massachusetts was burdened with a heavy debt. No aid nor relief seems to have come from abroad, except a contribution from Ireland of £500 for the benefit of the sufferers by the war.^h

Thus was the race of Massasoit requited for his long-continued friendship to the whites. The Mohegans had remained faithful to the English during the war. Rhode Island had participated in the sufferings of Massachusetts. The advance of the colonies in wealth and population was retarded a full half century. The eastern Indians, supplied with arms and encouraged by the French, continued in arms nearly two years longer, peace not being restored till April, 1678.

NEW HAMPSHIRE RECEIVES A ROYAL GOVERNOR

The expense of this war had been borne by the colonies, without recourse to the mother country; and this was made a subject of reproach by the king's ministers, as implying pride and insubordination. The project claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine were revived, and Edward Randolph, the agent of Mason, and an emissary from the privy council, was sent out to demand from Massachusetts the relinquishment of her jurisdiction over those colonies. He arrived in the summer of 1676, before Philip's War was terminated; and the colonists thus found themselves compelled at the same time to defend themselves against the sovereign in

England and the savages at their firesides. Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as agents to England to support the interests of Massachusetts. The result of the legal proceedings in England was that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had offered to purchase Maine, in order to unite it with New Hampshire, and bestow both on his son, the duke of Monmouth; but before he had completed the bargain the agents of Massachusetts purchased the Gorges title for twelve hundred and fifty pounds; and they continued to hold it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king.

The inhabitants of New Hampshire were desirous to remain attached to Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit and receive a royal governor, the first that ever exercised power in New England. The office was conferred on Edward Cranfield, who, like Randolph, was a rapacious adventurer, intent on making a fortune, by urging the claims of Mason to the soil, which the people had purchased from others, and improved by their own labour. After involving himself in controversies and altercations with the settlers and their legislative assembly, in which he was continually foiled, he finally solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire resumed her connection with Massachusetts, and retained it until the British revolution of 1688.

MASSACHUSETTS ROBBED OF HER CHARTER (1683 A.D.)

The enforcement of the Navigation Acts became now a source of controversy between Massachusetts and the crown. In order to compel obedience to these laws, a forfeiture of the charter was threatened; and the general court, after declaring that the Acts of Navigation were an invasion of their rights, so long as they were not represented in parliament, gave them legal force by an act of their own. This preserved their consistency, and saved the charter for the time; but it was not long before the corrupt court of Charles II commenced the work of depriving the cities and corporate towns of England of their charters, and Massachusetts could no longer hope to be spared. New agents were despatched to England, however, to avert the danger; but in 1683 a *quo warranto* was issued.²

Thus tyranny triumphed, and the charter fell. This was the last effective act of Charles II relative to Massachusetts; for before any new government could be settled, the monarch was dead. His death and that of the charter were nearly contemporary. The accession of James II to the English throne took place in February, 1685. The condition of the colony had long awakened the gloomiest apprehensions. The worst fears seemed confirmed, therefore, when, before the death of Charles, it was reported that Kirke, the ferocious and detestable governor of Tangier, and infamous at a later date as the associate of Jeffreys, had been appointed their governor. There were all the symptoms in the country of an expiring constitution. Several of the towns had refused to send deputies to the general court, and little was transacted by that once active body. Resentment was shown towards those magistrates who had favoured the surrender of the charter. It was a relief to the people to find that Joseph Dudley was appointed president by the king, instead of Kirke. It was the substitution of a lesser evil for one infinitely greater. The general court was then in session; a copy of his commission was presented and read; and a reply was returned, complaining of its arbitrariness, and that the people were abridged of their liberties as Englishmen.

Randolph served his writs of *quo warranto* against Rhode Island and Connecticut; and the New England colonies, having lost the freedom which they had so long enjoyed, were destined to experience the rigours of a despotism the more galling from its contrast with their former liberties.

At length the dreaded change came; and in the depth of winter his majesty's frigate *Kingfisher* arrived on the coast, and Sir Edmund Andros, a "poor knight of Guernsey," glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston as "captain-general and governor-in-chief" of all New England, with "companies of soldiers brought from Europe to support what was to be imposed" upon the colony, and "repeated menaces that some hundreds more were intended." His commission, "more illegal and arbitrary than that of Dudley and Empson, granted by Henry VII," has been preserved, and its powers were sufficiently full and despotic.^e But as this is not the first appearance of Andros in American history, we must go back and bring forward the story of New York and the other settlements wherein he first won notoriety.^a

THE CAREER OF ANDROS IN NEW YORK

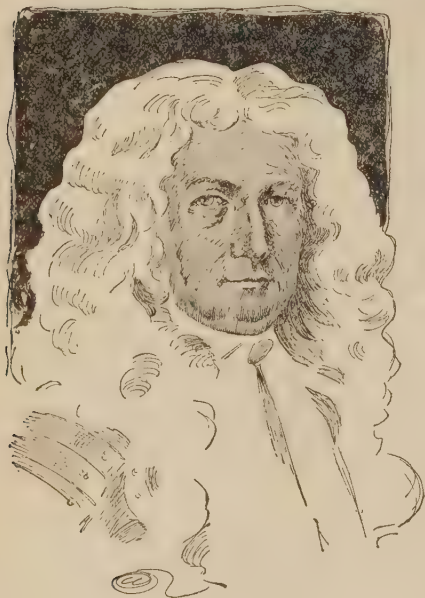
By the Treaty of Westminster in 1674 New York was restored to the English, as we have seen, and all other conquests made during the war returned to their former possessors. The validity of his former charter being questioned, the duke of York took out a second this year. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice according to the laws of England, allowing an appeal to the king in person. It prohibited trade without his permission, and imposed the usual duty on exports and imports. It is singular that in neither of his charters was the brother of the king granted such extraordinary rights and privileges as were conferred on Lord Baltimore. The duke of York retained the government of the colony, under this charter, until he ascended the throne of England as James II.

Sir Edmund Andros was the first governor under the new charter, and he thus commenced a career which has given him a conspicuous place in the annals of nearly every colony for the twenty years following. The duke had instructed Andros to exercise humanity and gentleness, to administer justice according to the forms observed by his predecessors, and to respect private rights and possessions in receiving the surrender of the province from the Dutch. But his choice of a governor was a most unhappy one. The same tyranny which afterwards characterised his administration in the New England colonies also marked his course here.ⁱ

The country which, after the reconquest of the New Netherlands, was again conveyed to the duke of York included the New England frontier from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, extended continuously to Connecticut river, and was bounded on the south by Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware. The inhabitants of the eastern part of Long Island resolved, in town meetings, to adhere to Connecticut. The charter certainly did not countenance their decision; and, unwilling to be declared rebels, they submitted to New York.

Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut (July 9th, 1675) to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy governor, one of the first seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly (July 10th, 1675). A proclamation

was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the captain of the company on whose firmness the independence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoisting the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook port. Immediately the English colours were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and in the king's name ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name, he was commanded to desist, and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and farmers who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he called a slender affair, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island, and Connecticut, resenting the aggression, made a declaration of its wrongs, sealed it with its seal, and transmitted it to the neighbouring plantations.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS
(1637-1714)

In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, who was personally free from vicious dispositions, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

James put his whole character into his reply to Andros (January 1st, 1677), which is as follows:

I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges, which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed.

Neither do I see any use for them. Things that need redress may be sure of finding it at the quarter sessions, or by the legal and ordinary ways, or, lastly, by appeals to myself. However, I shall be ready to consider of any proposal you shall send.

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahoc, that is, Maine beyond the Kennebec, had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros hastened to England; but he could not give wisdom to the duke; and on his return (November, 1678) he was ordered to continue the duties which, at the surrender, had been established for three years. In the next year the revenue was a little increased. Yet it should be added that the taxes were hardly three per cent. on imports, and really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony; while the claim to exercise prerogative in the church was abandoned. What was wanting to the happiness of the people? Prompted by an exalted instinct, they demanded power to govern themselves. Discontent created a popular convention in 1681; and if the two Platts, Titus, Wood, and Wicks of Huntington, arbitrarily summoned

[1682-1683 A.D.]

to New York, were still more arbitrarily thrown into prison, the fixed purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till they were granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

PROGRESS OF EAST NEW JERSEY; SCOTCH EMIGRATIONS

In east New Jersey, Philip Carteret had, as the deputy of Sir George, resumed the government in 1675, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quit-rents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the duke of York, Andros claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long altercations, and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros again entered New Jersey (June 2nd, 1680), to intimidate its assembly by the royal patent to the duke.

The firmness of the legislature preserved the independence of New Jersey; the decision of Sir William Jones protected its people against arbitrary taxation; its prosperity sprang from the miseries of Scotland. The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. Possession was soon taken by Thomas Rudyard in 1682, as governor or agent for the purchasers. Meantime the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay, a new and latest patent of east New Jersey was granted by the duke of York (March 14th, 1683). From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and to its people an argument was addressed in favour of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his neighbour.

This is the era at which east New Jersey, till now chiefly colonised from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to plant Episcopacy in Scotland, on the ruins of Calvinism, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? Just after the grant of east New Jersey, a proclamation, unparalleled since the days when Alva drove the Netherlands into independence, proscribed all who had ever communed with rebels, and put twenty thousand lives at the mercy of informers. After the insurrection of Monmouth in 1684, the sanguinary excesses of despotic revenge were revived, gibbets erected in villages to intimidate the people, and soldiers intrusted with the execution of the laws. Scarce a Presbyterian family in Scotland but was involved in proscriptions or penalties; the jails overflowed, and their tenants were sold as slaves to the plantations.

The indemnity proclaimed on the accession of James II was an act of delusive clemency. Every day wretched fugitives were tried by a jury of soldiers, and executed in clusters on the highways; women, fastened to stakes beneath the sea-mark, were drowned by the rising tide; the dungeons were

crowded with men perishing for want of water and air. The inhumanity of the government was barbarous; of the shoals transported to America, the women were often burned in the cheek, the men marked by lopping off their ears. Is it strange that many Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came to east New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a permanent character? The country had for its governor the gentle Robert Barclay, whose merits as chief proprietary are attested by his wise selection of deputies, and by the peace and happiness of his colony. Thus the mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers met on her soil.

Everything breathed hope except the cupidity of the duke of York and his commissioners. They still struggled to levy a tax on the commerce of New Jersey, and at last to overthrow its independence. The decision of Jones, which had for a season protected the commerce of New Jersey, roused the merchants of New York. The legality of customs arbitrarily assessed was denied by the grand jury; and Dyer, the collector, was indicted as a traitor against the king, for having encroached on the English liberties of New York. Without regard to the danger of the precedent, Dyer was sent for trial to England, where no accuser followed him. Meantime ships that entered Manhattan harbour visited no custom-house, and for a few short months the vision of free trade was realised.

NEW YORK RECEIVES A CHARTER OF LIBERTIES; DONGAN GOVERNOR, (1683 A.D.)

Thus was New York left without a revenue, just as Andros returned to England; and the grand jury, the sheriff of Yorkshire, the provisional governor, the council, the corporation of New York, all joined to entreat for the people a share in legislation. The duke of York was at the same time solicited by those about him to sell the territory. He demanded the advice of one who always advised honestly; and no sooner had the father of Pennsylvania, after a visit at New York, transmitted an account of the reforms which the province required, than, without delay, Colonel Thomas Dongan, a papist, came over as governor, with instructions to convoke a free legislature. At last, after long effort, on the 17th of October, 1683, about seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the representatives of the people met in assembly, and their self-established "charter of liberties" gave New York a place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts.

Supreme legislative power [such was its declaration] shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers, and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion.

Thus did the collision of different elements eliminate the intolerance and superstition of the early codes of Puritanism.^d

The Dutch and English of the colony were from this time firmly compacted into one national body, and their union strengthened by frequent inter-

[1667-1672 A.D.]

marriage. The next year, the long-disputed subject of the boundary between New York and Connecticut was amicably settled by a treaty with the provincial authorities.

TREATY WITH THE FIVE NATIONS

The administration of Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed upon Indian affairs, and especially his treaty with the Five Nations. This Indian confederacy has been so famous in the annals of our country that it will be well here to consider its organization and early history. It had long existed in the neighbourhood of the colony, and indeed claimed an origin derived from the remotest antiquity. Its members reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind, and a system of wise and politic measures had acquired them a degree of power and importance never attained by any other of the North American tribes. They had adopted the Roman principle of incorporating the people of conquered nations with themselves, so that some of their wisest sachems and hardiest warriors were derived from defeated foes. Each nation had its separate republican constitution, in which official power and dignity were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and retained only during the continuance of public esteem.

They possessed to an unusual degree the Indian virtues of fortitude in the endurance of pain and strong attachment to liberty. All the neighbouring tribes paid tribute to them, and none could make war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. In 1677 the confederacy possessed two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men; and it is easily to be seen that a nation of this strength, with the boldness and hardihood of character which is always attributed to them, could hardly fail to render themselves formidable to the white settlers.

The Five Nations were engaged in a war with the powerful tribe of the Adirondacks at the time the French first settled in Canada, and had driven their enemies before them; when Champlain, who conducted the French colony, joined the Adirondacks, and by superior conduct, and the use of fire-arms, defeated the Five Nations in several combats and greatly reduced their numbers. The settlements of the Dutch on the Hudson river at this critical juncture furnished the Five Nations with a supply of arms and ammunition, and thus enabled them to renew the war with so much spirit and determination that they succeeded in completely annihilating the tribe of the Adirondacks. Hence originated the hatred entertained by the confederacy against the French, and their grateful attachment to the people of New York.

In the winter of 1665 a party of French despatched against the Five Nations by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, lost their way amidst wastes of snow, and, after enduring extreme misery, arrived in the greatest distress at Schenectady, where Corlear, a Dutchman of some consideration, touched with compassion at their misfortunes, received them kindly, supplied them with provisions, and by employing influence and artifice with the Indians induced them to save their unfortunate enemies. Courcelles expressed much gratitude for Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem. Peace was concluded between the French and Indians in 1667, and continued with little interruption until Colonel Dongan's administration.

The French, meantime, had advanced their settlements along the St. Lawrence, and in 1672 built Fort Frontenac, on the northwest bank, near Lake Ontario. The Jesuit priests were actively engaged among the Indians, giving them religious instruction, and acquiring an influence by which many

of them were led to remain neutral, while the larger number became the auxiliaries of the French in time of war. Colonel Dongan sought to establish peace with his powerful neighbours, and in July, 1684, he, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a definite treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements and all tribes in alliance with them. In accordance with their customs, hatchets, corresponding to the number of the English colonies, were solemnly buried in the earth by the Indians. This treaty was long and inviolably adhered to. De la Barre, the governor of Canada, invaded the country of the Five Nations the same year; but famine and disease reduced his army, and he was compelled to sue for peace and return in disgrace. His successor, De Nouville, led a larger army into the territory, but with no better success, being defeated with heavy loss.

On the death of Charles II, in 1685, the duke of York ascended the throne of England, with the title of James II. The people of New York now solicited a new constitution, which had been promised them by the newly created king when he was as yet only duke of York; but, not ashamed to violate his former promises, he returned a calm refusal, having already determined to establish in New York the same arbitrary system which he designed for New England. The next year additional taxes were imposed, and the existence of a printing-press in the province was forbidden. The French ministers had the address to conclude with the king a treaty of neutrality for America, which proved highly disadvantageous for the colony, providing that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes at war with the other. This did not prevent the French from exciting hostilities between their Indian adherents and the Five Nations; but it compelled the English to refrain from assisting these, their ancient allies. Such a change of treatment on the part of the proprietary produced a corresponding change in the sentiments of the colonists, who now became turbulent and discontented.ⁱ

CONSOLIDATION OF THE NORTHERN COLONIES UNDER ANDROS

With all his faults, James II had a strong sentiment of English nationality; and in consolidating the northern colonies, he hoped to engage the energies of New England in defence of the whole English frontier.

At last, as we have seen, Sir Edmund Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston as governor of all New England (December 20th, 1686). How unlike Penn at New Castle! He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York came West as secretary; and in the council four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man, alone commanded his attention. The other members of the council formed a fruitless but united opposition.

A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed: "The wicked walked on every side, and the vilest men were exalted," said Cotton Mather.^m As agents of James II, they established an arbitrary government; as men in office, they coveted large emoluments. The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. A town-meeting was allowed only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a com-

[1687 A.D.]

mittee from Lynn, Andros said plainly, "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town-meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot. None might leave the country without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twenty-fold. To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely-disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts Bay, except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1665. Its day of liberty was come. Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans as they answered, "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman



WHIPPLE HOUSE, IPSWICH

(Built in 1633 A.D.)

Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the appointed hour the bell rang, March 25th, 1687, and in a Boston meeting-house the common prayer was read in a surplice.

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II, a tax of a penny in the pound, and a poll-tax of twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council (March 3rd, 1687). The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of Ipswich, in town-meeting, John Wise, the minister who used to assert, "Democracy is Christ's government in church and state," advised resistance. "We have," said he, "a good God and a good king; we shall do well to stand to our privileges." "You have no privilege," answered one of the council, after the arraignment of Wise and the selectmen, "you have no privilege left you but not to be sold as slaves." "Do you believe," demanded Andros, "Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" The writ of *habeas corpus* was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of

England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his charge to the packed jury, Dudley spoke plainly, "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin; and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise, "It is not for his majesty's interests you should thrive." Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held, not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take possession," it was answered, "for the king." The lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favourites; writs of intrusion were multiplied; and fees, amounting in some cases to one-fourth the value of an estate, were exacted for granting a patent to its owner. A selected jury offered no relief. "Our condition," said Danforth, "is little inferior to absolute slavery"; and the people of Lynn afterwards gave thanks to God for their escape from the worst of bondage. "The governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say anything was his own."

RHODE ISLAND, PROVIDENCE, AND CONNECTICUT LOSE THEIR LIBERTY (1687 A.D.)

The jurisdiction of Andros had, from the first, comprehended all New England. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of *quo warranto* had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from the courts, submissive to the royal will; and the Quakers, acting under instructions from the towns, resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II, of blessed memory." The colony of Rhode Island had cause to bless the memory of Charles II. Soon after the arrival of Andros, he demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode Island, Andros dissolved its government and broke its seal (January 12th, 1687); five of its citizens were appointed members of his council; and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom.

In the autumn of the same year, Andros, attended by some of his council, and by an armed guard, set forth for Connecticut (October 26th, 1687), to assume the government of that place. On the third writ of *quo warranto*, the colony, in a petition to the king, asserted its chartered rights, yet desired, in any event, rather to share the fortunes of Massachusetts than to be annexed to New York. Andros found the assembly in session (October 31st), and demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave Governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd of farmers had gathered to witness the debate. The charter lay on the table. Of a sudden, the lights are extinguished; and, as they were rekindled, the charter had disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly through the opening crowd, concealed the precious parchment in the hollow of an oak,

[1688 A.D.]

which was older than the colony, and was long standing to confirm the tale.¹ Meantime, Andros assumed the government, selected counsellors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word "Finis."

If Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition against the French establishments, which have left a name to Castin, roused the passions of the neighbouring Indians in 1688; and Andros, after a short deference to the example of Penn, made a vain pursuit of a retreating enemy, who had for their powerful allies the savage forests and the inclement winter. Not long after the first excursion to the east, in July, 1688, the whole seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one extensive despotism. The entire dominion, of which Boston, the largest English town in the New World, was the capital, was abandoned to Andros, its governor-general, and to Randolph, its secretary, with his needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed avarice. The eastern part of Maine had already been pillaged by agents, who had been—it is Randolph's own statement—"as arbitrary as the Grand Turk"; and in New York also there was, as Randolph expressed it, "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But on the arrival of the new commission, Andros hastened to the south to supersede his hated rival, and assumed the government of New York and New Jersey.

The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance.

Desperate measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, was already embarked on the dangerous mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence was to pervade the European world.



INCREASE MATHER

(1639-1723)

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 IN NEW ENGLAND; ANDROS IMPRISONED

The great news of the invasion of England, the flight of James II, and the declaration of Prince William of Orange reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution. For the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble, but a long-contrived piece of wickedness." "There is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their

[¹ The tradition of the "Charter Oak" has caused historians some uneasiness. It seems to appear first in Trumbull's history in 1797. That work is very reliable as a rule, but the incident lacks all contemporary confirmation. While neither improbable nor controvertible the tradition must be branded "not proved."]

old charter, or they know not what"; such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholt, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the 18th, just as George, the commander of the *Rose* frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston shipcarpenters gathered about him and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff hastened to quiet the multitude, and the multitude secured him as their prisoner. The governor, with his creatures, resisted in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the whole town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people"; and a declaration, read from the balcony, defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country.

The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by submission; through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied. How should a new government be instituted? Town-meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more, voted to reassume the old charter. Representatives were chosen, and once more Massachusetts assembled in general court (May 22nd). It is but a short ride from Boston to Plymouth. Already, on the 22nd of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the Pilgrims renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the *Mayflower*. But not one of the fathers of the old colony remained alive. The days of the Pilgrims were over, and a new generation possessed the soil.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May Day, their usual election day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the whole "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God." "We take it to be our duty"—thus they continue—"to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And by a unanimous vote the officers whom Andros had displaced were confirmed. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. Did no one dare to assume responsibility? All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organised; its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, "Hope."

The people of Connecticut spurned the government which Andros had appointed and which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter, discoloured, but not effaced, was taken from its hiding-place May 9th, 1690; an assembly was convened; and in spite of the "Finis" of Andros, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

New York also shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. But the common people among the Dutch, led by Leisler and his son-in-law Milbourn, insisted on proclaiming William the stadtholder king of England. As we shall see later, the peaceful inhabitants of New Jersey were left in a state of nature;

[1688-1689 A.D.]

their old governments were dissolved; and, in the simplicity and freedom of their wilderness, they were secure in their own innocence. Maryland had also perfected a revolution, in which Protestant intolerance, as well as popular liberty, had acted its part.

Thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake and to the wilderness. This New England revolution "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; and William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England. Could it be that America was deceived in her confidence—that she had but substituted the absolute sovereignty of parliament, which to her would prove the sovereignty of a commercial aristocracy, for the despotism of the Stuarts? Boston was the centre of the revolution which now spread to the Chesapeake; in less than a century it would commence a revolution for humanity.^d

LEISLER'S REBELLION

In 1687 Andros had been reappointed governor of New York, as we have seen; and having a year before been appointed to the supreme command of New England, he remained at Boston, as the metropolis of his jurisdiction, and committed the domestic government of New York to Nicholson, as lieutenant-governor. The appointment of this tyrant, and the annexation of the colony to the neighbouring one, were measures particularly odious to the people.

In July, 1688, the Five Nations being at war with the French, a party of twelve hundred warriors made a sudden descent on Montreal, burned and sacked the town, killed one thousand of the inhabitants, carried away a number of prisoners, whom they burned alive, and then returned to their own country, with the loss of only three of their number. Had the English followed up this success of their allies, all Canada might have been easily conquered; a single vigorous act on the part of the English colonies would have sufficed to terminate forever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

Meantime, the discontent of the people of New York had greatly increased, and the news of the accession of William and Mary, and the successful insurrection at Boston, served to heighten it. Still it might have subsided without any violent outbreak of popular violence, had not the local authorities of New York indicated a hesitation to comply with the general revolution of feeling in the colony. The lieutenant-governor and his council refrained from proclaiming William and Mary, and sent a haughty letter to General Bradstreet, at Boston, demanding the immediate release of Andros. The more prudent citizens of New York were disposed calmly to await the issue, which must inevitably have been in favour of the new sovereigns; but the more numerous body of the people apprehended some craft from Nicholson and his associates in office, and, forming a party, they placed at its head Jacob Leisler, a man of headstrong temper, restless disposition, and very narrow capacity. He had already resisted the payment of customs on some goods which he had imported, and alleged that there was no legitimate government in the colony.

Nicholson having begun to make preparations for defence against a foreign invasion (June, 1689), Leisler took command of some trained bands, marched to the fort, took possession, and expressed his determination to hold it until

the decision of the sovereigns should be known. He despatched a messenger to King William, and succeeded in interesting the government at Boston in his favour. The report being raised that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, all classes in New York immediately joined the party of Leisler; while Nicholson, fearful of sharing the fate of Andros, fled to England. Soon after Leisler's assumption of power, a letter came from the British ministry, directed "to such as for the time take care for administering the laws of the province," and giving authority to perform the duties of lieutenant-governor. Regarding this as addressed to himself, Leisler assumed the office, issued commissions, and appointed his own executive council. A convention composed of deputies from the several towns and districts assembled at New York, and adopted various regulations for the temporary government of the province.

But these proceedings had many opponents among the colonists. The inhabitants of Long Island solicited Connecticut to annex their insular settlements to its jurisdiction, while a number of gentlemen, jealous of the elevation of a man of inferior rank to the supreme command, retired to Albany, seized the fort there, declaring that they held it for King William, and disavowed all connection with Leisler. James Milbourn, later a son-in-law of Leisler, was despatched to Albany to dislodge them. They gave up the fort to him and retired to the neighbouring colonies; and Leisler, to revenge himself for their defection, confiscated their estates. The colonists of New York were thus unhappily divided, and animosity and malignity existed between the factions for nearly two years. The quarrel, however, exhibited no symptoms of national antipathy, as the Dutch were divided between the two parties, and no blood was shed by either during the continuance of the controversy. The miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were now unhappily added to the calamity of internal dissensions.

The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly raised from the brink of ruin to a state of comparative security by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under a skilful and active old general, Count de Frontenac, who now assumed the command of the French settlement, and speedily retrieved the affairs of his countrymen. He effected a treaty of neutrality with the Five Nations, and then despatched a body of French and Indians against New York, in the depth of winter. This party wandered for twenty-two days through deserts rendered trackless by the snow, when approaching the village of Schenectady (February 8th, 1690), benumbed, famished, and fatigued, they sent forward a messenger to deliver to the inhabitants their submission as prisoners of war. But arriving at a late hour of an inclement night, and finding that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they determined to massacre the people from whom they were just before about to implore mercy. The inhabitants rushed from their beds as the savage war-whoop burst upon their ears, and at their doors met the murderers with uplifted tomahawk. The light of the burning village, which was soon fired by the Indians, disclosed the helpless inhabitants to the savages, who, frantic with slaughter, cut down all who fell in their way. Sixty perished in that dreadful night; of those who attempted to escape by flight, twenty-five lost their limbs from the severity of the season; while a few made their perilous way to Albany through a violent snow-storm.

In 1690 Leisler took a step which Fiske calls "a memorable event in American history." He called together the first congress of American colonies, May 1st, to prepare offensive and defensive measures against the French

[1690-1695 A. D.]

in Canada. Though the southern colonies declined to take part, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland joined New York, but they had no general to match the genius of Frontenac.^a The army proceeded as far as to the head of Lake Champlain, whence they were obliged to return for want of boats to convey them farther. To co-operate with them, a fleet of thirty vessels, under Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston into the St. Lawrence, and, landing troops, made an attack upon Quebec; but the garrison was too strong for him, and the enterprise was abandoned.

Leisler's messenger to King William was graciously received by his majesty; but the representations of Nicholson induced the king to make no express recognition of Leisler's authority; and in August, 1689, Henry Sloughter was appointed Governor of New York.ⁱ Leisler refused to surrender the fort to one of the governor's officers who reached New York before him, and a conflict took place in which some blood was shed. When the governor himself arrived, Leisler vainly endeavored to secure terms, but after a short delay was seized, together with some of his adherents.^a

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a special court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milbourne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutines, and sentenced to death. Sloughter, in a time of excitement, assented¹ to the vote of the council that Leisler and Milbourne should be executed. "The house, according to their opinion given, did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

Accordingly, on the next day (May 16th), amidst a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife, Alice, and his numerous family, was with his son-in-law, Milbourne, led to the gallows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction"; in other respects they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God"—these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends—"but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation"; adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milbourne exclaimed, "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

The appeal to the king, which had not been permitted during their lives, was made by Leisler's son; and though the committee of lords of trade reported that the forms of law had not been broken, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families. Dissatisfied with this imperfect redress, the friends of Leisler persevered till an act of parliament, strenuously but vainly opposed by Dudley, reversed the attainder in 1695.

Thus fell Leisler and Milbourne, victims to party spirit. The event struck deep into the public mind. Long afterwards, their friends, whom a royalist of that day described as "the meaner sort of the inhabitants," and who were distinguished always by their zeal for popular power, for toleration, for opposition to the doctrine of legitimacy, formed a powerful and ultimately a successful party. The rashness and incompetency of Leisler were forgotten

[¹ An old tradition tells that Sloughter would not sign the death warrant until he had been made drunk by enemies whom Leisler's tyrannies had rendered implacable. There is no proof for or against the tradition.]

in sympathy for the judicial murder by which he fell; and the principles which he upheld, though his opponents might rail at equality of suffrage, and demand for the man of wealth as many votes as he held estates, necessarily became the principles of the colony.^d

Of Leisler, John Fiske says: "In spite of his blunders and his failure, in spite of the violence and fanaticism which stain his record, Leisler stands as one of the early representatives of ideas since recognised as wholesome and statesmanlike. Moreover, the name of the man who called together the first congress of American colonies must always be pronounced with respect."^e

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government, and to English liberties, to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favour. This act received the veto of King William.^d

The administration of Sloughter, thus tragically begun, marks the final abandonment in New York of the ancient Dutch usages, and the complete introduction of English law. The acts of the assembly which solicited the execution of Leisler, by one of which all previous laws were repealed, stand first in the series of New York statutes, the basis of the existing code. The king placed his veto on a statute declaring the right of the inhabitants to participate, through an assembly, in the enactment of all laws, and claiming all the privileges of the English Bill of Rights; but, in practice, an assembly became henceforth an essential part of the political system of New York. Yet, by voting a revenue for a term of years, and allowing payments from the treasury only on the governor's warrant, that officer was rendered, to a certain extent, independent of the assembly, and was thus enabled to exercise a powerful influence on the politics of the province.^h

TREATY WITH THE FIVE NATIONS

In July, 1691, Sloughter's short administration was terminated by his sudden death. The only act of any benefit to the province was the renewal of the treaty with the Five Nations. To test their friendship and confirm it by calling it into exercise, Major Schuyler advanced against Montreal at the head of three hundred Mohawks. No very decisive action took place, but the expedition served to rouse the spirit of the Indian allies, who continued an irregular warfare on the French during the winter. These continued assaults so exasperated Count Frontenac that he condemned to the most cruel death two Mohawk warriors who had fallen into his hands.

Colonel Fletcher succeeded Sloughter as governor of New York in 1692. He was a brave and active soldier, but avaricious and passionate. He was governed by the superior information and advice of Schuyler in affairs pertaining to the Indians, who were thus preserved as allies to the colony. Fletcher laboured zealously to assimilate the language and religion of the colonial inhabitants, and remove as far as possible the indications of its Dutch origin. At two successive meetings of the assembly he recommended to them to provide for the establishment English schoolmasters and clergymen in the province, and in a subsequent session they in part complied with this recommendation. But having refused an amendment added by the council, giving to the governor the power of rejection or refusal, Fletcher was so enraged that he commanded their immediate attendance on his presence, and in an angry speech prorogued them to the next year. The Peace

[1692-1710 A.D.]

of Ryswick, which took place in 1697, gave repose to the colonies, but left the Five Nations exposed to the hostilities of the French. Count Frontenac prepared to direct his whole force against them, and was only prevented from executing his purpose by the energy and decision of the earl of Bellamont, who had succeeded Fletcher in the government of the colony in 1698. This governor supplied the Five Nations with munitions to defend themselves against the French, and by a well-timed threat to Count Frontenac succeeded in effecting a treaty of peace with him soon after.

Lord Bellamont was instructed to put an end to piracy, which under Fletcher had increased to an alarming extent along the American coasts, and the government having declined to furnish the necessary naval force, the governor united with Lord Chancellor Summers, the duke of Shrewsbury, and some others in a private undertaking against it. A vessel of war was fitted out and placed in command of one William Kidd,¹ who was represented as a man of honour and integrity, and well acquainted with the persons and haunts of the pirates. He received a commission as a privateer, with directions to proceed against the pirates, and hold himself responsible to Lord Bellamont. But instead of attacking the pirates, it was alleged that he formed a new contract with his crew, turned pirate himself, and became the most infamous and successful of them all. After continuing his depredations for three years, he burned his ship, and returned to Boston, where he was seized and sent to England for trial. His crime was punished capitally in May, 1701, and the noblemen who had procured his commission were charged with participating in his crimes and sharing his plunders. But no exertions of their enemies could fix the imputation upon them, as at every examination Kidd declared them [and himself] innocent.

Lord Bellamont's administration was terminated by his death, in 1701. He was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, grandson of the great chancellor Clarendon, but not possessed of one of the virtues of his ancestor, being mean, profligate, and unprincipled. Cornbury was a violent supporter of the anti-Leislerian faction. He was also an overstrenuous advocate for the established church, and persecuted with great severity the members of other denominations. The assembly having raised several sums of money for public purposes, and intrusted the expenditure of it to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own private use. He also ran in debt with the citizens of the province, and evaded payment by the privileges of his office. His frequent acts of violence and misconduct so disgusted the people that in 1708 the assemblies of New York and New Jersey petitioned Queen Anne to remove him. She accordingly superseded his commission the next year by the appointment of Lord Lovelace to succeed him. Cornbury was immediately seized by his creditors in the colony and thrust into prison, where he remained until the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to buy his liberation. He then returned to England, and died in 1723. The administration of Lovelace was of brief duration, and distinguished by no remarkable occurrence. It was terminated by his sudden death, when General Robert Hunter was appointed to succeed him.

The new governor arrived in the colony in 1710, bringing out with him

[¹ Though Captain Kidd has become a very proverb for piracy, he maintained that he had never captured a ship that was not under hostile French colours, except once or twice when his crew were starving and overpowered him. Berthold Fernow *v* indeed says, "To-day the justice which was meted out to Kidd might hardly be called justice; for it seems questionable if he had ever been guilty of piracy." He seems to have been sacrificed in an effort to whitewash the noblemen who commissioned him. The treasure he is said to have buried has kept his memory mysteriously fascinating.]

nearly three thousand Germans, a part of whom settled in New York, and the remainder in Pennsylvania. The assembly had obtained permission from Queen Anne, during the former administration, to appoint their own treasurer in case of special appropriations. This right was the cause of frequent and unsatisfactory disputes with the governor, who prorogued the assembly on their refusal to admit an amendment of a money bill, proposed by the council, and at their next session dissolved them. Extensive preparations were made in 1709 for an attack upon the French in Canada; but the promised assistance from England not arriving, the enterprise was abandoned. Two years after, the project was resumed, and an unsuccessful attempt was made against Quebec. [In July, 1711, a fleet commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, and carrying seven thousand troops, sailed from Boston, but several ships were wrecked in the St. Lawrence river with the loss of a thousand lives, and the fleet retired.] The assembly passed several bills to defray the expenses of the expedition, and the council persisting in amending them, another contest ensued between the two bodies; the assembly was again dissolved, and at the next session the same act was repeated. The people at length became weary of this contention, and at the next election took care to choose members who were known to be favourable to the governor; in consequence of which the utmost harmony and a cordial co-operation existed between the two branches of the colonial government for a period of several years.

In 1719 Governor Hunter quitted the province, and the duties of his office were discharged by Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council, until the arrival of William Burnet. He was well apprised of the danger to be apprehended from the French upon the northwestern frontier, and soon penetrated their design of forming a line of posts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He erected a fort at Oswego on Lake Ontario, in hopes of defeating their design. But the French were not thus to be foiled. They erected Fort Frontenac at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and another fortification at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it; they also launched two vessels upon the lake. Burnet privately assembled the sachems of the Five Nations, and having represented to them the transactions of the French at Niagara, they besought succour from the English against the governor of Canada, who, said they, "encroaches on our land and builds thereon." This favourable opportunity was seized on by the governor to procure from them a deed surrendering their country to his majesty, to be protected for their use, and confirming their grant of 1701.

The assembly elected in 1716 had been on such good terms with the governor that he continued it till 1727, when the dissatisfaction of the people at being so long without the exercise of their elective rights induced him to dissolve it.

Burnet, being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, was succeeded at New York by Colonel John Montgomery, whose short administration was not distinguished by any remarkable event. He died in 1731, when Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, became acting governor. His administration was feeble and inefficient, and during its continuance the French erected at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of the English colonies, a fortification which served as a rallying-point for hostile Indians.

William Cosby, who succeeded Rip Van Dam, was at first a very popular governor; but having attacked the liberty of the press by instigating the prosecution of John Zenger, the printer of a newspaper, for publishing an article derogatory to his majesty's government, he lost the favour and con-

[1731-1741 A.D.]

fidence of the people. Zenger was ably defended by Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, and acquitted by an impartial jury. For this valuable service the magistrates of the city of New York presented Mr. Hamilton the freedom of their corporation in a gold box.²

Cosby having died suddenly in 1735, while these disputes were still raging, George Clarke, whom successive suspensions had made senior councillor, claimed to fill, in that capacity, the vacant chair. The opposition maintained that Van Dam, whose suspension had never been confirmed in England, was still senior councillor, and, as such, entitled to the place of acting governor. Both Van Dam and Clarke assumed authority and issued orders; and so exasperated were parties, that it was only the two independent companies in garrison at New York that prevented them from actually coming to blows.

Confirmed in the temporary administration by the arrival of a royal instruction, and shortly after appointed lieutenant-governor, Clarke endeavoured to accommodate matters by calling a new assembly. But the delegates would grant a revenue only for one year—a policy to which, thenceforward, they firmly adhered.

THE BLOODY DELUSION IN NEW YORK (1741 A.D.)

In April, 1741, the city of New York became the scene of a cruel and bloody delusion, less notorious but not less lamentable than the Salem witchcraft. That city now contained some nine or ten thousand inhabitants, of whom twelve or fifteen hundred were slaves. Nine fires in rapid succession, most of them, however, merely the burning of chimneys, produced a perfect insanity of terror. An indentured servant woman purchased her liberty and secured a reward of £100 by pretending to give information of a plot formed by a low tavern-keeper, her master, and three negroes to burn the city and murder the whites. This story was confirmed and amplified by an Irish prostitute convicted of a robbery, who, to recommend herself to mercy, reluctantly turned informer. Numerous arrests had been already made among the slaves and free blacks. Many others followed. The eight lawyers who then composed the bar of New York all assisted by turns on behalf of the prosecution. The prisoners, who had no counsel, were tried and convicted upon most insufficient evidence. The lawyers vied with each other in heaping all sorts of abuse on their heads, and Chief-Justice Delancey, in passing sentence, vied with the lawyers. Many confessed to save their lives, and then accused others. Thirteen unhappy convicts were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported.

The war and the religious excitement then prevailing tended to inflame the yet hot prejudices against Catholics. A non-juring schoolmaster, accused of being a Catholic priest in disguise, and of stimulating the negroes to burn the city by promises of absolution, was condemned and executed. Glutted with blood and their fright appeased, the citizens began at last to recover their senses. The informers lost their credit, and a stop was put to these judicial murders.

In a last effort "to recall the delegates of New York to their duty," Clarke, the lieutenant-governor, addressed the assembly in an historical discourse, in which he traced the progress of their encroachments. He concluded by pressing the grant of a standing revenue as the only means of removing a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, "that the plantations are not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence." The assembly,

in a historical reply, showed by what misappropriations of money and other official abuses they had been gradually driven into their present position. As to independence, they took it upon themselves to vouch that not one person in the province had any such thought or desire.* Clarke yielded to necessity, and accepted such conditional and temporary grants as the assembly chose to make.

The same policy was adopted by Clarke's successor, George Clinton, an admiral in the navy, a younger son of the earl of Lincoln—that same family so intimately connected with the early settlement of Massachusetts—and father, also, of a future commander-in-chief of the British armies in America. Shortly after Clinton's arrival (August, 1743) the assembly passed an act limiting its own existence and that of future assemblies to seven years.

The Six Nations still retained the right to traverse the great valley west of the Blue Ridge. Just at this inopportune moment some of their parties came into bloody collision with the backwoodsmen of Virginia, who had penetrated into that valley. Hostilities with the Six Nations, now that war was threatened with France, might prove very dangerous, and Clinton hastened to secure the friendship of these ancient allies by liberal presents; for which purpose, in conjunction with commissioners from New England, he held a treaty at Albany. The commissioners assembled on this occasion proposed to Clinton an association of the five northern colonies for mutual defence. But the New York assembly, in hopes to secure the same neutrality enjoyed during the previous war, declined this proposal. The difficulties between Virginia and the Six Nations were soon after settled in a treaty, made at Lancaster, to which Pennsylvania and Maryland were also parties, and in which, in consideration of £400, the Six Nations relinquished all their title, as the Virginians claimed, though the Indians did not so understand it, to the whole valley of the Ohio. While the western frontier was thus secured, New England received intimation of the breaking out of the expected war with France.^h

NEW JERSEY, 1682-1738

To the "twenty-four proprietors" of east New Jersey, the duke of York, as we have seen, had made his third and last grant of East Jersey, bearing date March 14th, 1682. From this period, owing to the number of proprietors and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, so much confusion was introduced into the titles of lands and uncertainty as to the rights of government, that both the Jerseys were in a continual state of disturbance and disorder, until 1702, when the proprietors, wearied with contention, surrendered their rights of government to the crown of England. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions under the old name of New Jersey, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor, who also exercised authority over New York. But Lord Cornbury, instead of promoting unanimity, basely abetted the animosities; and from the period of his appointment till his dismissal from office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of his contests with the colonial assemblies, and exhibits the resolution with which they opposed his arbitrary proceedings, his partial distribution of justice, and fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen yielded to the universal indignation, and he was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace.

In 1738 the inhabitants of New Jersey, by petition to the king, desired that they might in future have a separate governor. Their request was granted, and the office was first conferred on Lewis Morris, esquire, under

[1689-1690 A.D.]

whom the colonists enjoyed peace and prosperity. The population now amounted to forty thousand. In the same year the college called Nassau Hall was founded at Princeton.

The situation of New Jersey, remote from the Canada border, gave it a complete exemption from the direful calamities of Indian and French warfare which afflicted the northern colonies; while the Indian tribes in the neighbourhood, whom they always treated with mildness and hospitality, were ever willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. This province furnished no further materials for history of any importance till it united with the other colonies in the great struggle for national independence. In this later period of her history it will be seen that New Jersey more than compensated for the immunity which she had previously enjoyed by becoming the theatre of hostile operations during the most dark and distressing period of the war. In these perilous times her patriotism was put to the severest test, and was ever found to be of the true temper, daring and enduring all things with heroic self-sacrifice.²

PROCLAMATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN MASSACHUSETTS; RELEASE OF ANDROS

A little more than a month from the overthrow and imprisonment of Andros a ship from England arrived at Boston (May 26th, 1689) with news of the proclamation of William and Mary. This was joyful intelligence to the body of the people. The magistrates were at once relieved from their fears, for the revolution in the Old World justified that in the New. Three days later the proclamation was published with unusual ceremony. A week later the representatives of the several towns upon a new choice met at Boston. The representatives urged the unconditional resumption of the charter, declaring that they could not act in anything until this was conceded. It was finally adopted, and it was resolved that all the laws in force May 12th, 1686, should be continued until further orders.

The first advices from England were somewhat encouraging, and hope revived. But subsequent despatches were much less favourable. These letters did not reach Boston until late in the year, and meanwhile a scheme was devised for the escape of Andros, who succeeded in outwitting his guards near midnight, and fled to Newport, Rhode Island, where he was again apprehended, and, after an absence of eight days, returned to the castle. The arrival of the king's orders and the placing a strong guard at the castle stopped further attempts; the old government was confirmed, and the obedience of the people required; and, after orders had been passed to that effect, at the first opportunity the prisoners were sent to England. Against Dudley the resentment of the people was deep and determined.

As it was probable that no means would be spared by the friends of Andros to effect his liberation, and as affairs in the colony were yet in an unsettled state, the general court concluded to send additional agents to join Mr. Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst, and Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, two of the assistants, were selected for that purpose.

But the papers containing the charges against the prisoners not being signed by the proper authorities, advantage was artfully taken of this defect to quash further proceedings. Sir Robert Sawyer declaimed against the colony, and Sir John Somers and other lords spoke in its defence. Sir Edmund and the rest were discharged; his majesty approved the decision of

the council; the matter was ordered to be fully dismissed. Both Andros and Randolph presented charges against the colony—the former censuring the people for the subversion of his government and the insurrection in which they had engaged, and the latter complaining of irregularities in trade since those events transpired; but all these charges were fully answered, to the satisfaction of the colonists, if not to the king. Thus the instruments of tyranny escaped unharmed, and to complete the work of intrigue and duplicity Sir Edmund obtained the government of Virginia, where he conducted himself prudently; Mr. Dudley was appointed chief justice of New York, and Randolph received an appointment in the West Indies. It is probable that all of them learned wisdom from misfortunes.

THE PROVINCE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY (1692 A.D.)

From the disposition of the next parliament nothing favourable to New England was expected; and, having failed in procuring a writ of error in judgment, to be brought out of chancery into the court of king's bench, all hopes of the restoration of the charter were reluctantly relinquished, and application was made for a new grant.

It had been evident for some time that William and his ministers had resolved to erect a new government in Massachusetts, which was to be known as the province of the Massachusetts Bay. The first draft of a charter was objected to by the agents because of its limitation of the powers of the governor, who was to be appointed by the king. The second draft was also objected to; whereupon the agents were informed that "they must not consider themselves as plenipotentiaries from a foreign state, and that if they were unwilling to submit to the pleasure of the king, his majesty would settle the country without them, and they might take what would follow." Nothing remained, therefore, but to decide whether they would submit, or continue without a charter and at the mercy of the king. Mather, concluding that all parties would be best conciliated by submission, wisely assumed the responsibility of consenting to the adoption of the charter as reported, and to him the nomination of officers was left.

By the terms of this new charter (October 7th, 1691), the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, with a tract farther east, were united into one jurisdiction, whose officers were to consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and a secretary appointed by the king, and twenty-eight councillors chosen by the people. A general court was to be holden annually, on the last Wednesday in May, and at such other times as the governor saw fit, and each town was authorised to choose two deputies to represent them in this court. The choice of these deputies was conceded to all freeholders having an estate of the value of £40 sterling, or land yielding an income of at least forty shillings per annum, and every deputy was to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the crown. All residents of the province and their children were entitled to the liberties of natural-born subjects, and liberty of conscience was secured to all but papists. To the governor was given a negative upon all laws enacted by the general court; without his consent in writing none were valid; and all receiving his sanction were to be transmitted to the king for approval, and if rejected at any time within three years were to be of no effect. The governor was empowered to erect courts, levy taxes, convene the militia, carry on war, exercise martial law, with the consent of the council, and erect and furnish all requisite forts.

[1692 A.D.]

Such was the province charter of 1692—a far different instrument from the colonial charter of 1629. That charter effected a thorough revolution in the country. The form of government, the powers of the people, and the entire foundation; and objects of the body politic were placed upon a new basis, and the dependence of the colonies upon the crown was secured. How far these changes were of benefit to the country remains to be seen.

It was on Saturday, the 14th of May, 1692, that Sir William Phips arrived at Boston as the first governor of the new province.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION AT SALEM (1692 A.D.)

No event probably in the whole history of New England has furnished grounds for more serious charges affecting the character of the people than the witchcraft delusion, as it has been commonly termed; an episode of thrilling and melancholy interest, impressing the mind with a vivid sense of the evils of superstition, and the unhappy consequences which flow from that morbid excitement of the passion for the marvellous which seems to have had its cycles of recurrence from the earliest period to the present time. But the belief in witchcraft was by no means confined to America, nor was it the indigenous growth of the soil of New England. Long before the settlement of the country, all nations, civilised and uncivilised, gave more or less credence to marvellous tales of ghosts and witches.^e

Thwaites emphasises the antiquity of witch persecutions. "The witchcraft craze at Salem is commonly thought to have been a legitimate outgrowth of the gloomy religion of the Puritans. It was, however, but one of those panics of fear which during several centuries periodically swept over civilised lands. In the twelfth century thousands of persons in Europe were sacrificed because the people believed them to be witches, in league with the devil, and with the power to ride through the air and vex humanity in many occult ways. Pope Innocent VIII commanded (1484) that witches be arrested, and hundreds of odd and repulsive old women were burned or hanged in consequence. From King John down to 1712 innocent lives were constantly sacrificed in England on this charge; in the year 1661 alone, one hundred and twenty were hanged there. It was therefore no new frenzy that broke out in Massachusetts."

The introduction of Christianity had not eradicated these opinions, for the writings of the fathers abound in allusions to the doctrine of possessions. In the dark ages superstition¹ held unlimited sway. Nor at the dawn of the Reformation were the mists which had brooded over the mind wholly dispersed. No spell had been found sufficiently potent to exorcise the delusions which had seized upon all. "He that will needs perswade himself that there are no witches," says Gaule,^s "would as faine be perswaded that there is no devill; and he that can already beleieve that there is no devill, will ere long beleieve that there is no God." Hence "every old woman with a wrinkled

[¹ Eggleston, indeed, referring to the remarks of Sprengel^q on the increase of demonism after the Reformation, notes that "Luther inherited the traditions of the humble class from which he sprang, and set the first Protestant example of extreme faith in witchcraft, berating the medical men who traced diseases to natural causes, most of which he himself attributed to the devil. He advised that an afflicted child should be cast into the river Mulde, and complained afterwards that he was not obeyed. After the Reformation melancholy and hysterical women could no longer relieve their morbid sense of culpability by a meritorious pilgrimage. Perhaps this sort of faith cure was the greatest benefit of the old religion lost by the Lutheran revolution. Puritanism sometimes drove such brain-sick creatures to stark madness."^r]

face, a furr'd brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voyce, or a scolding tongue, having a rugged coate on her back, a skull cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, and a dog or cat by her side," was not only "suspected, but pronounced for a witch." The young and the beautiful—the bewitchers of modern times—were rarely accused; but every town or village had its two or three old women who were charged with laming men, killing cattle, and destroying children. Nay, even a hare could not suddenly spring from a hedge, or an "ugly weasel" run through one's yard, or a "fowle great catte" appear in the barn, but it was suspected as a witch. "A big or a boyl, a wart or a wen, a push or a pile, a scar or a scabbe, an issue or an ulcer," were "palpable witches markes," and "every new disease, notable accident, mirable of nature, rarity of art, and strange work or just judgment of God," was, says Gaule, "accounted for no other but an act or effect of witchcraft."

Hence England, in the seventeenth century, and every other nation of Europe, believed in the agency of evil spirits, and, guided by the statute of Moses—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," Exodus xxii, 18—the penal code of every state recognised the existence and the criminality of witchcraft; persons suspected as witches or wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and executed; and the most eminent judges, as Sir Matthew Hale, distinguished for his learning as well as for his piety, sided with the multitude, and passed sentence of death upon the accused. Commerce with the devil, indeed, was an article of faith firmly embedded in the popular belief; and thousands were ready to testify that they had caught glimpses of Satan and his allies.

The earliest trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts occurred June 15th, 1648, when Margaret Jones was charged with this crime, found guilty, and executed. The year previous there was an execution at Hartford for witchcraft. During a period of forty years there were similar instances in Massachusetts and Connecticut [as that of Mrs. Ann Hibbins, executed at Boston in 1655]. Under the administration of Andros, however, a case occurred which seems to have been the precursor of the delusion which soon after spread so widely. A child about thirteen years of age, the daughter of John Goodwin, charged a laundress residing in her father's family with having stolen some linen. The mother of this laundress, "Goody Glover," an illiterate Irish woman, and a Catholic withal, repelled the accusation, and gave Goodwin's daughter "harsh language," soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have "something diabolical in them." A sister and two brothers of the girl, the youngest but five years old, "followed her example," and the infection spread until the excitement was general. Weird faces and giant goblins haunted the imagination of many a little one, as the life-blood curdled with horror in its veins; and trembling crones began to deliberate upon the propriety of nailing horseshoes to the door-posts to preserve them from the enchantments of evil spirits. The evidences of bewitchment were such as were usually adduced. According to the eye-witness Lawson,^t "sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, etc., and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen."

The ministers of Boston, Cotton Mather, Willard, Allen, and Moody, with Symmes of Charlestown, anxious to investigate the case, "kept a day of fast-

[1655-1689 A.D.]

ing and prayer at the troubled house," and with such success that "the youngest child made no more complaints"; upon which the magistrates interposed.^e

The magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, and being irresponsible to the people of Massachusetts, with a "vigour" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was evidently the wild Irish woman of a strange tongue. Goodwin,^u who made the complaint, "had no proof that could have done her any hurt"; but "the scandalous old hag," whom some thought "crazed in her intellectuals," was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions. It was plain the prisoner was a Roman Catholic; she had never learned the Lord's Prayer in English; she could repeat the paternoster fluently enough, but not quite correctly; so the ministers and Goodwin's family had the satisfaction of getting her condemned as a witch, and executed. "Here," it was proclaimed, "was food for faith."

By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, Cotton Mather^v satisfied himself, "by trials of their capacity, that devils are well skilled in languages, and understand Latin and Greek, and even Hebrew"; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the dæmons did not seem so well to understand." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified, for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits.

The revolution in New England seemed to open once more a career to the ambition of ministers. The rapid progress of free inquiry was alarming. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather.^w "A devil, in the apprehension of these mighty acute philosophers, is no more than a quality or a distemper." "We shall come," he adds, "to have no Christ but a light within, and no heaven but a frame of mind." "Men counted it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches, therefore there are none." "How much," add the ministers of Boston and Charlestown, "how much this fond opinion has gotten ground is awfully observable." "Witchcraft," shouted Cotton Mather from the pulpit, "is the most nefarious high treason against the Majesty on high. A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth." The *Discourse* of Cotton Mather was therefore printed, with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was confirmed by Goodwin, and recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown as an answer to atheism, proving clearly that "there is both a God and a devil, and witchcraft." This book, thus prepared and recommended, and destined to have a wide circulation, was printed in 1689, and distributed through New England. Unhappily, it gained fresh power from England, where it was "published by Richard Baxter," who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but "a very obdurate Sadducee." In Salem village, now Danvers, there had been, between Samuel Parris, the minister, and a part of his people, a strife so bitter that it had even attracted the attention of the general court. The delusion of witchcraft would give opportunities of terrible vengeance. In the family of Samuel Parris, his daughter, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices; and Tituba, an Indian female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing herself a witch. March 11th, 1692, the ministers of the neighbourhood held at the afflicted house a day

of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden, the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould, and the ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman, of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. As the affair proceeded, and the accounts of the witnesses appeared as if taken from his own writings, Mather's boundless vanity gloried in "the assault of the evil angels upon the country, as a particular defiance unto himself." Parris, moved by personal malice as well as by blind zeal, "stifled the accusations of some"—such is the testimony of the people of his own village—and at the same time "vigilantly promoting the accusation of others," was, says Calef,^x "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country."

The deputy governor and five other magistrates went to Salem (April 11th). It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he himself elicited every accusation. Examinations and commitments multiplied. It had been hinted that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, Deliverance Hobbs owned everything that was asked of her, and was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up, not for those who professed themselves witches but for those who rebuked the delusion.

A court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge; by the 2nd of June the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious." The poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh; "she gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem"—it is Cotton Mather who records this—"and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." On the 10th of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged.

Of the magistrates at that time, not one held office by the suffrage of the people; the tribunal, essentially despotic in its origin, as in its character, had no sanction but an extraordinary and an illegal commission, and Stoughton, the chief judge, a partisan of Andros, had been rejected by the people of Massachusetts. The responsibility of the tragedy, far from attaching to the people of the colony, rests with the very few, hardly five or six, in whose hands the transition state of the government left, for a season, unlimited influence. Into the interior of the colony the delusion did not spread at all.

If the confessions were contradictory, if witnesses uttered apparent falsehoods, "the devil," the judges would say, "takes away their memory and imposes on their brain." And who now would dare to be skeptical—who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil; did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; were threats after a quarrel followed by the death of cattle or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's Prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed—these all were signs of witchcraft.¹ In some instances, the phenomena of somnambulism would appear to have been exhibited, and "the afflicted, out of their fits, knew nothing of what they did or said in them."

[¹ One very neat woman walked miles over dirty roads without showing any mud. "I scorn to be drabbled," she said, and she was hanged for her cleanliness.—EGGLESTON.^r]

[1692 A.D.]

Again, on a new session (August 3rd), six were arraigned, and all were convicted. Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved. The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his granddaughter. "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart"—thus she wrote to her father—"I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience, who can bear?" And she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates. The magistrates refused their belief, and, confining her for trial, proceeded to hang her grandfather.

These five were condemned on the 3rd, and hanged on the 19th of August; pregnancy reprieved Elizabeth Procter. To hang a minister as a witch was a novelty; but George Burroughs denied absolutely that there was, or could be, such a thing as witchcraft, in the current sense. This opinion wounded the self-love of the judges, for it made them the accusers and judicial murderers of the innocent. On the ladder, Burroughs cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's Prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister, insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light; and the hanging proceeded.

Meantime, the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists. Mary Osgood was dipped by the devil. The court still had work to do. On the 9th, six women were condemned, and more convictions followed. Giles Cory, the octogenarian, seeing that all were convicted, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. The horrid sentence, a barbarous usage of English law, never again followed in the colonies, was executed forthwith. On the 22nd of September eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession, and, speaking the truth boldly, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft. "There hang eight firebrands of hell," said Noyes, the minister of Salem, pointing to the bodies swinging on the gallows.

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations.¹ The jails were full. It was also observed that no one of the condemned confessing witchcraft had been hanged. No one that confessed and retracted a confession had escaped either hanging or imprisonment for trial. No one of the condemned who asserted innocence, even if one of the witnesses confessed perjury, or the foreman of the jury acknowledged the error of the verdict, escaped the gallows. Favouritism was shown in listening to accusations, which were turned aside from friends or partisans. If a man began a career as a witch-hunter, and, becoming convinced of the imposture, declined the service, he was accused and hanged. Witnesses convicted of perjury were cautioned, and permitted still to swear away the lives of others. It was certain people had been tempted to become accusers by promise of favour. Yet the zeal of Stoughton was unabated, and the arbitrary court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November.

[Upham says that several hundreds were thrown in prison.]

Cotton Mather, still eager "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy," had prepared his narrative of the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, in the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us."^d

This called forth a reply from Robert Calef,^e a clear-headed, fearless man, who, by the weapons of reason and ridicule, overcame and put to flight, in an astonishingly short time, both witches and devils. It was in vain that Cotton Mather denounced him as "a coal from hell"; the sentiment of the people went with him; and though a circular from Harvard College signed by the president, Increase Mather, solicited from all the ministers of the neighbourhood a return of the apparitions, possessions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world is more sensibly demonstrated, the next ten years produced scarcely five returns. The invisible world was indeed becoming really so; and as is always the case, the superstition, when it ceased to be credited, lost its power of delusion.^z

Before the court reassembled the spell was broken. The wife of Mr. Hale, of Beverley, was among the accused; insinuations had been thrown out against Mr. Willard, the excellent pastor of the South church in Boston, and Mr. Deane, of Andover; and even the wife of Sir William Phips did not escape suspicion. Under these circumstances the revulsion was electrical. If mere accusations were in themselves plenary proofs of guilt, then might the best fall; and, in this view, was it not time to inquire whether the whole subject was not open to doubt? A large share of credit is due to the people of Andover, who openly remonstrated against the doings of the tribunals (October 18th). "We know not," say they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame." Nor was this remonstrance ill-timed, for a large number of the inhabitants of Andover had been accused.

It is to the credit of the people that no tumultuous modes of redress were adopted, and that they did not retaliate upon their accusers, meeting violence with violence. And the result vindicated their wisdom; for when the superior court met at Salem, six women of Andover, at once renouncing their confessions, did not scruple to treat the whole affair as a frightful delusion; and of the presentments against those who were still in prison, the grand jury dismissed more than half without hesitation; and if they found bills against a few, they were all acquitted upon trial except three of the worst, and even these were reprieved by the governor, and recommended to mercy. In Calef's^e words, "such a gaol delivery was made this court as has never been known at any other time in New England." As the excitement subsided, the prominent actors in the terrible tragedy began to reflect, and a few made public acknowledgment of their error.^e

"Judge Sewall," says Eggleston, "at a general fast, handed up to the minister to be read a humble confession, and stood while it was read. He annually kept a private day of humiliation. Honour to his memory!"¹ The twelve jurymen also signed an affecting paper asking to be forgiven. Cotton

[¹ Holmes ^{bb} says: "I find these entries in Sewall's manuscript diary, April 11th, 1692: 'Went to Salem, where in the meeting-house the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; was a very great assembly; 'twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in margin is written with a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, 'Væ, væ, væ! Decr. 24th [1696]. Sam. recites to me in Latin, Matt. 12 from the 6th to the end of the 12th v. The seventh verse did awfully bring to my mind the Salem Trajediae.']"]

[1692-1699 A. D.]

Mather never acknowledged himself wrong in this or any other matter. From the time it became unpopular he speaks of the witchcraft trials in a far-away manner, as if they were wholly the work of someone else. He was never forgiven, and probably never ought to have been."^r

Some have spoken of this whole affair in terms of contempt; others have unsparingly denounced its participants; very few have considered the subject calmly and dispassionately, or given due credit to the honesty of the parties. It was an unhappy affair, at the best; but it can be said with truth that the delusion was less extensive, and caused less suffering, in New England than in Old; for there the belief in witchcraft prevailed until the middle of the eighteenth century, and persons were hanged, or otherwise put to death, as witches, long after such executions had ceased in America.^e

"The declaration," says Eggleston, "of Chief-Justice Parker, in 1712, that if any supposed witch should thereafter die in the dangerous ordeal, those who put her into the water would be held guilty of wilful murder, is commonly said to have put an end to the rare sport of baiting old women in England; but according to Hutchinson, it appears to have been still in vogue some years later. A man was 'swam for a wizard' in Suffolk, England, as late as 1825."^r

THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF PHIPS, BELLAMONT, AND DUDLEY; THE RIGID CODE

In 1694 Sir William Phips, who was a man of choleric temper, having got into dispute with the royal collector at Boston, and afterwards with the captain of a man-of-war, on whom he inflicted personal chastisement and then committed to prison, was recalled to England to account for his conduct, where he died shortly after his arrival. The general court petitioned parliament that he might not be removed. The earl of Bellamont [Bellomont] was appointed his successor; but his arrival being delayed, Stoughton administered the government for several years.

The treaty which had been made with the eastern Indians at Pemaquid had not remained unbroken; during the awful witch-delusion the horrors of Indian warfare were renewed.

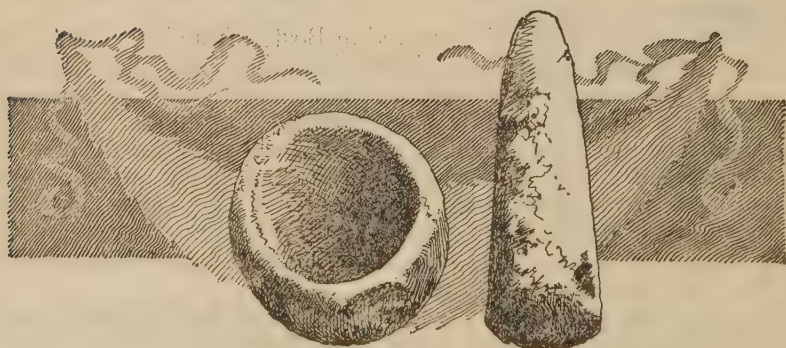
In 1699 the earl of Bellamont arrived in Boston from New York. Neither Usher, the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, who fled to Boston in alarm for his life, nor his successor, Partridge, who, being a ship-carpenter, had the merit of introducing into that province a profitable timber-trade to Portugal, nor the proprietary, Allen, who presently assumed the government, were more successful than Cranfield had been in extorting quit-rents from the settlers of that sturdy little province. And New Hampshire, now included under Bellamont's commission, continued for the next forty years to have the same governors as Massachusetts, though generally a lieutenant-governor was at the head of the administration.

On the death of Lord Bellamont, Massachusetts had the mortification of receiving the "apostate" Joseph Dudley, the friend of the hated Andros, as governor, he having obtained the appointment through the influence of Cotton Mather. The popular party, they who had opposed the tyranny of Andros, now set themselves in opposition to the new governor, and refused to comply with the royal instructions, which required them to fix permanently the salaries of the governor and crown officers. Although "a spirit of latitudinarianism" was gradually narrowing the bounds of the theocratic power in Massachusetts, still her code retained most of its rigid enactments. It was

still forbidden "to travel, work, or play on the Sabbath," and constables and tithingmen were commanded to "prevent all persons from swimming in the waters, all unnecessary and unreasonable walking in the streets or fields, keeping open of shops, or following secular occasions or recreations on the evening preceding the Lord's Day, or on any part of the day or evening following."

Atheism and blasphemy, under which was included the denying that any of the canonical books of Scripture were the inspired word of God, were punished with six months' imprisonment, setting in the pillory, whipping, boring through the tongue with a red-hot iron, sitting on the gallows with a rope round the neck, or any two of these punishments, at the discretion of the court. Adultery was punished by the guilty parties being set on the gallows with a rope round their necks, and on their way thence to the jail to be severely flogged, not exceeding forty stripes, and ever after to wear the capital letter A, of two inches long, cut out of cloth of a contrary colour to their clothes, and sewed upon their upper garments on the outside of their arm or on their back in public view, and if caught without this to be liable to fifteen stripes. This extraordinary mode of punishment has, it will be remembered, furnished the subject for Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*.²

The territory of Massachusetts had been by the charter of 1692 vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth Islands; on the east, it included Maine and all beyond it to the Atlantic; on the north, it was described as swept by the St. Lawrence—the fatal gift of a wilderness, for the conquest and defence of which Massachusetts expended more treasure and lost more of her sons than all the English continental colonies besides.^d



STONE PESTLES.



CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

[1689-1763 A.D.]

THE conquest of Canada was an event of momentous consequence in American history. It changed the political aspect of the continent, prepared a way for the independence of the British colonies, rescued the vast tracts of the interior from the rule of military despotism, and gave them, eventually, to the keeping of an ordered democracy. Yet to the red natives of the soil its results were wholly disastrous. Could the French have maintained their ground, the ruin of the Indian tribes might long have been postponed; but the victory of Quebec was the signal of their swift decline. Thenceforth they were destined to melt and vanish before the advancing waves of Anglo-American power, which now rolled westward unchecked and unopposed. They saw the danger, and, led by a great and daring champion, struggled fiercely to avert it. The history of that epoch is crowded with scenes of tragic interest, with marvels of suffering and vicissitude, of heroism and endurance.—FRANCIS PARKMAN.^b

FRANCE and England were early competitors in the American seas. Their hereditary hatred, which had existed for centuries, had been deepened and intensified by repeated collisions. Differences of religion increased their animosity. They were rivals in the Old World and rivals in the New; rivals in the East Indies and rivals in the West; rivals in Africa and rivals in Europe; rivals in politics, in commerce, and the arts; rivals in ambition for conquest and supremacy. Each sought its own aggrandisement at the expense of the other; each claimed to be superior to the other in the elements of national glory and the appliances of national strength. The gayety of the former was in contrast with the gravity and sobriety of the latter. The impetuosity of the one was the counterpart to the coolness and cautiousness of the other. Time, instead of softening, had hardened their prejudices, and for a century and a half from the date of the establishment of the first French colony at

the north, the two nations, with but slight interruptions, were constantly in the attitude of opposition and defiance.

England, without doubt, preceded France in the career of discovery, and the voyage of the Cabots gave to the former her claims to the regions visited by their vessels. But the interval which elapsed between the voyage of the Cabots (1497) and the earliest authenticated voyage of the French (1504) was exceedingly brief, and the two nations, if not contemporaries, were equals in the race. France succeeded, even before England, in settling a colony to the north, and the foundations of Quebec were laid before the landing of the Pilgrims and before the settlement of Boston. In consequence of this rivalry of England and France, the colonies at the north were early involved in difficulties and contentions, and these difficulties increased as the conflict of interests brought them into collision. Hence before the confederacy of 1643, apprehensions of hostilities were entertained in Massachusetts, and from that date to the union of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts in 1692, these apprehensions continued to disturb the people, and resulted, at length, in vigorous action on the part of the English to uproot their rivals and drive them from their possessions.

If New England was the "key of America," New France might, with equal propriety, claim to be the lock; for Canada, with the chain of fresh-water lakes bordering upon its territory, opened a communication with the distant West; and the Jesuit missionaries, Marquette, Joliet, La Salle, and Hennepin, by their explorations on the Mississippi, the "Father of Waters," brought the vast region watered by that stream and its tributaries under the dominion of the Bourbons, and backed all British America with a cordon of military posts, hovering upon the outskirts of the northern settlements with their savage allies, greatly to the alarm of the English, who were exposed to their depredations, and from whose incursions they could defend themselves only by an expenditure of money and strength which impoverished them in their weakness and imperilled their safety.

Behold, then, the two nations, rivals for centuries, upon the eve of a fresh struggle upon the new field of action. Acadia and Canada were wrested from the French in 1629, before the settlement of Boston, but were restored by the Treaty of St. Germain, March 29th, 1654. Acadia was again conquered under the commonwealth in 1632, but by the Treaty of Breda was subsequently restored in 1667. Under Charles II the conquest of Canada was a second time attempted, but the difficulties of the enterprise prevented its success. Again, under James II, in 1686, a third attempt for its conquest was made, but with a like want of success. The accession of William of Orange to the English throne, on May 7th, 1689, was the signal for a new war with France, growing out of a "root of enmity," which Marlborough described as "irreconcilable to the government and the religion" of Great Britain, and on the occurrence of this war a fourth expedition to Canada was projected, which was attended with important results.^c

THE BACKGROUND OF EUROPEAN WARS (1688-1763 A.D.)

The names of the "Palatinate War," the "War of the Spanish Succession," the "War of the Austrian Succession," and the "Seven Years' War" do not suggest American history, and many a reader, even though informed above the average, would say that these subjects have nothing American in them. Yet they are the true titles of great conflicts in which the New World

[1688-1763 A.D.]

was vitally concerned, though it calls them by other names. To the European historian, the colonial branches of these wars were mere reverberations in the distance, and of only the faintest importance. He dismisses them in a few lines. And the American historian is likely to return the compliment, magnify the importance of the frontier colonial skirmishes, and dismiss in a few lines the great continental wars. This in spite of the fact that peace was always made and broken at the European capitals, and the colonists were not consulted in the division of spoil. On occasion, as in the case of Louisburg, the English government might even ignore the actual conquests of the colonists and restore them to the enemy.

The right balance of the events about to be described can be established only by a study of the history of Europe of this period. In the earlier volumes of this work, devoted to England, France, Spain, and Holland, the accounts of these struggles are more fully treated, and reference should be made to them, but a brief sketch of European politics in this place will avoid some confusion, and serve as a background in perspective. We shall, for simplicity's sake, group all these wars in one sketch, and then revert to their American details in new sequence.

In 1688 France was the chief power in the world. Louis XIV had at that date absorbed into his own hands an absolute control never equalled, save perhaps by Napoleon. Like Napoleon, he terrorised all Europe by his projects of aggrandisement and provoked coalition after coalition against him; like Napoleon, he carried his glory to the point of collapse, and at his death found a national decline noticeably under way. Louis XIV seems to have sincerely believed in that sublime egotism, the divine right of kings. He cried, "The state is myself" (*L'état, c'est moi*), and proceeded to act upon the outrageous assumption that his whims and his selfish schemes were not merely the welfare of his people, but the desires and plans of an all-wise Deity. His intense Catholicism encouraged him in this bigotry and in his backward step, the renewal of the persecutions from which the Huguenots had been relieved by Henry of Navarre's Edict of Nantes in 1598. Louis had gradually succeeded in making France a great naval power, and Duquesne had defeated the combined Spanish and Dutch fleets.

Now he found that William of Orange, doubly his enemy as an old warrior and as a Protestant, had been called to England by a presumptuous parliament as a substitute for the sacred and Catholic king James II, who was deposed. Three years before (1686) William had succeeded in forming the League of Augsburg against Louis, who now found that even the pope and Catholic Spain feared him still more than they feared Protestantism. Surrounded by the enemies he had accumulated, Louis decided on getting the advantage of beginning the inevitable war. For point of attack he chose not Holland, but that part of Germany called the Palatinate. It offered the feeblest resistance and suffered terrible devastation. But meanwhile this so-called "War of the Palatinate" gave William of Orange his chance to enter England, take up the sceptre, and bind Great Britain also into the League of Augsburg. As later, in the times of the Revolution and of Napoleon, France found herself encircled by enemies. Then, as later, she fought them all magnificently, though the final exhaustion of blood, money, and enthusiasm was unavoidable. France kept from four to six huge armies in the field, and a great fleet on the sea, a fleet which, under Tourville, defeated the English-Dutch fleet off Beachy Head, while Jean Bart preyed on English commerce. Louis set the fugitive James II down in Ireland, whence William drove him by his victory at the Boyne. Louis' general, Luxembourg, won a

victory at Fleurus in the Netherlands, and another general, Catinat, defeated the League at Staffarda, in Italy; Louis himself took Mons and Namur by siege. But in 1692, trusting that half the English fleet would desert to James II, Louis sent Admiral Tourville into a great defeat at Cape La Hogue. This gave England the naval power again. From this moment France began to tire and to count the cost. Occasional victories could not revive her *elan*. Louis, after making a secret and advantageous alliance, found himself ready to accept the two treaties of Ryswick in 1697, by which, though he lost nothing but his pains, he had to restore all his conquests.

While these colossal events were taking place, America was undergoing what is locally known as "King William's War" (1689-1697). The religious feuds between the French and English colonies were always bitter, and even in the times of 1776 many Americans were scandalised at taking the French as allies, preferring to risk independence rather than a heterodox combination. In King William's War, then, that bitterest of all enthusiasms, religious sectarianism, found a bloody vent. The Indians sided with the more friendly French, and the horrors of savagery were added to the evils of what we euphemistically call "civilised warfare." This conflict, which is described at length in the following pages, ended simultaneously with the continental war at the Treaty of Ryswick.

By this treaty Louis XIV acknowledged William of Orange lawful king of England. Five years later William died (March 8th, 1702). The deposed James II had died seven months before. The question of succession now arose. The English, to continue Protestantism on the throne, had settled the crown on James II's second daughter, Anne. But Louis declared for the eldest son, Prince James, "the Pretender," as the English called him. The friction on this point was increased by the act of Louis in placing his own grandson, Philip of Aragon, on the Spanish throne, in spite of his previous renunciations of all claim to that crown. Thus, upon Louis' death, France and Spain would probably be united under one monarch. In 1701 Louis had declared the Ryswick treaty void. The Germans and Dutch had formed with William of England a "Grand Alliance" to curb the presumptions of the "Grand Monarch." War broke out at once, and in the midst of it the death of William emphasised the breach.

This great war of eleven years' duration (1702-1713) was called "The War of the Spanish Succession." The Huguenots crippled Louis at home, and the duke of Marlborough built up fame by thunderous campaigns culminating in the Battle of Blenheim (1704), by which the French were driven out of Bavaria. Marlborough's success at Ramillies (1706) crushed French sway in the Netherlands. In 1704 the English fleet had taken Gibraltar, and in 1706 the allies took Italy. In 1708 the victory of Oudenarde and the taking of Lille by siege combined with famine to pluck down French pride. Louis asked for terms, but the allies tried to drive so hard a bargain that they woke the marvellous elasticity of the French spirit and the war raged anew; and while success was still with the allies, English politics and weariness began to weaken them. Marlborough lost favour at court and was withdrawn from command. Negotiations dragged along, and without England's aid the allies began, in 1712, to lose place after place. By 1713 all the allies, except the Austrian emperor, had signed the Treaty of Utrecht, and a year later he was coerced by defeats at French hands. By this treaty England gained her theory of succession, as well as Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay territory. France found herself about as she was before the war, though she squeezed out much better terms than those offered in 1706. In 1715

[1688-1763 A.D.]

the Grand Monarch died, surrounded by evidences of toppling conquest, and with no nearer heir than a great-grandson.

During all these complicated years the American colonies were in the throes of what they called, not the "War of the Spanish Succession," which interested them little, but "Queen Anne's War," because the question of the possession of the English throne by a Catholic or a Protestant monarch was of the utmost importance to them. It was also called "Governor Dudley's War," from the activity of that man.

Louis XIV succeeded by the dissolute Louis XV, who left the government to his ministers, the first of whom, Fleury, was unwillingly dragged into many international broils. In 1740 the Austrian emperor, Charles VI, died, leaving no male issue. His daughter, Maria Theresa, being left in control of the great realm, the land-hungry nations about her looked for easy prey. The only trouble to be feared was internal wrangling. This came speedily enough in a chaos of claims and counter-claims. England wished Maria Theresa's inheritance left intact; the French saw an opportunity to dismember the Austrian power. Frederick the Great of Prussia agreed to this, but was eager for his share of the loot. He took Silesia, then signed a treaty with Maria Theresa, and joined the English in saying that the division had gone far enough. The French, under Marshal Saxe, fought desultorily against England and Germany. In 1744 the war blazed up furiously. France sent the "Young Pretender," Charles Edward, into Scotland, where he failed miserably at Culloden. Marshal Saxe succeeded in the Netherlands, however, and defeated the English, Dutch, and Germans at Fontenoy. Success smiled on France also in Italy. But England ended her pretensions in the East Indies. At length, by 1748, the rivals were ready for the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. France and England returned each what each had taken, and Maria Theresa was firmly established.

This four years' strife, known to Europe as the "War of the Austrian Succession" or the "First and Second Silesian Wars" (1740-1744, 1744-1748), is sometimes called in America "King George's War," for no particular reason except that George II was then on the English throne. In this war the colonists played a more or less independent part. The colonies organised a land force and besieged the important port of Louisburg. English troops and ships joined later, and in 1745 the fort surrendered. New England troops garrisoned the fort till the treaty of peace in 1748, when to their disgust it was restored to France. The colonists were given no share of the prize money, £600,000, from the capture of the port and shipping, and it was not until 1749 that the expenses of the troops were reimbursed. The colonists had, however, acquired two important bits of knowledge: first, that England did not seriously respect their feelings; second, that they could fight regular European soldiers as well as Indians.

What Americans call the "French and Indian War" (1754-1763) was a genuine colonial struggle, with victory nodding now towards the Catholics and now towards the Protestants. The results were of final importance to American history, and continued the schooling that the colonies were to use for independence not many years later. In Europe the war did not break out till 1756. It was the time of Richelieu, and of that alliance of three empires, which the French called the "Alliance of the Three Petticoats," from Maria Theresa of Austria, Elizabeth of Russia, and the French king's potent mistress Madame de Pompadour. Richelieu had raised a French navy, and it brilliantly defeated the English navy, whose overbearing pride of power had stung France to war; as in 1812 it drove the United States to desperation. It was the time when

Frederick the Great of Prussia was humbled until his decisive stroke at Rossbach, in 1757, won him definite English support, leaving him free to fight Austria, while England, Hanover, and Brunswick assailed France. France now began to lose in all directions, and the combination of all the Bourbon monarchs of the Latin races into the "Family Compact" only involved them in the disaster.

The Treaty of Paris, in 1763, ended the war and left France to the mercy of English cupidity. As for France, her disasters were the disasters of the sovereign and of the incapable aristocracy. The great mass of the French people was so far from sympathy with either their aggressions or their defeats that laughter rang through France when certain of the heaviest disasters were announced. In this mockery was foreshadowed that sardonic hatred that flamed forth in the French Revolution, where several hundreds of aristocratic heads in the basket of La Guillotine paid a small tithe for the hundreds of thousands of French bodies scattered over Europe and the world at the whim of royal pride and family quarrel. England's shears clipped from France in 1763 Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, the territory to the Mississippi, and many islands here and there. It was the acme of England's glory. Small wonder that such spoils should have fed presumption. The successes of the English led them to sneer at the colonists and their claims with disastrous results. Having thus sketched in the background of the series of colonial wars, let us go back and take them up in detail.^a

THE FIRST INTERCOLONIAL CONFLICT; KING WILLIAM'S OR THE PALATINATE WAR (1689-1697 A.D.)

Whatever was the result of the accession of William of Orange in 1688 upon the metropolitan relations of the colonies, upon their relations with their neighbours of Canada, and, through that medium, upon their domestic condition, it exercised a most disastrous influence, involving them in cruel and barbarising wars, attended with immense individual suffering, vast expense, heavy debts, and all the impoverishing and demoralising consequences of the paper-money system. From a mixture of religious and political motives the king of France had, in 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantes. The cruelties to which the unhappy French Protestants were subjected and their flight and dispersion throughout Europe and America had kindled against the king of France, in all Protestant states, mingled feelings of detestation and horror, adding also new gall to religious hatreds, already sufficiently bitter. The Palatinate War, begun in Europe, as we have seen, by the ravage of the beautiful banks of the Rhine, in 1689, was destined to extend also to America, and soon carried death and desolation into the villages of New York and New England.

The total population of the English colonies at the commencement of this first intercolonial war might have amounted to two hundred thousand; but half at least of it, south of the Delaware, and far removed from the scene of hostilities, took no part in the struggle beyond voting some small sums for the aid of New York. Yet the northern colonies alone seemed quite an overmatch for New France, and King William promptly rejected that offer of colonial neutrality which a conscious weakness in that quarter had extorted from the French court. Nor was this rejection by any means disagreeable to the people of New England, who entered very eagerly into the war, nourishing dreams of conquest, destined, however, to repeated and disastrous disappointments.

[1690 A.D.]

The French, weak¹ as they were, entertained also similar schemes. It was part of their plan to secure the western fur trade, and an uninterrupted passage through Lake Erie to the Mississippi, by effectually subduing those inveterate enemies, the Iroquois. They intended also to drive the English from Hudson Bay, of which the possession had for some time been disputed between the French fur traders and the English Hudson Bay Company chartered twenty years before by Charles II. The French also hoped, by occupying Newfoundland, to cut off the English from that cod fishery enjoyed in common by the nations of Europe since the discovery of America, and which now constituted a main source of the wealth and prosperity of New England, furnishing, indeed, her chief exportable product.

So soon as the declaration of war between France and England became known in America, the Baron Castin easily excited the eastern Indians to renew their depredations. In these hostilities the tribes of New Hampshire were induced also to join. The fort at Pemaquid, the extreme eastern frontier, was soon after obliged to surrender. All the settlements farther east were ravaged and broken up.

Frontenac's Men Invade the Colonies (1690 A.D.)

Canada had received relief from the distress to which it had been reduced by the late inroads of the Iroquois by the arrival (October 15th) of Count Frontenac from France, recommissioned as governor, and bringing with him, along with such of the Indian prisoners as had survived the galleys, troops, supplies, and a scheme for the conquest and occupation of New York. As a part of this scheme, the chevalier de la Coffinière proceeded to cruise off the coast of New England, making many prizes, and designing to attack New York by sea while Frontenac assailed it on the land side. Frontenac, though sixty-eight years of age, had all the buoyancy and vigour of youth. Not able to prosecute his scheme of conquest, he presently detached three war parties, to visit on the English frontier those same miseries which Canada had so recently experienced at the hands of the Five Nations.

A number of converted Mohawks composed, with a number of Frenchmen, the first of Frontenac's war parties, amounting all told to two hundred and ten persons. Guided by the water-courses, whose frozen surface furnished them a path, they traversed a wooded wilderness covered with deep snows. After a twenty-two days' march, intent on their bloody purpose, they approached Schenectady, a Dutch village on the Mohawk, then the outpost of the settlements about Albany. The cluster of some forty houses was protected by a palisade, but the gates were open and unguarded, and at midnight the inhabitants slept profoundly. February 8th, 1690, the assailants entered in silence, divided themselves into several parties, and, giving the signal by the terrible war-whoop, commenced the attack. Sixty were slain on the spot; twenty-seven were taken prisoners; the rest fled, half naked, along the road to Albany through a driving snow-storm, a deep snow, and cold so bitter that many lost their limbs by frost. The assailants set off for Canada with their prisoners and their plunder, and effected their escape, though not without serious loss inflicted by some Mohawk warriors, who hastened to pursue them.

¹ Bradstreet *d* computes the population of New France in 1680 at 5,000 men. Haliburton *e* estimates it, in 1690, at 5,815 souls. But Bancroft *f* estimates it, in 1688, at 11,249 persons. A letter of Vaudreuil estimated the soldiers of New France, in 1714, at 4,480. See also Charlevoix.*g*

Frontenac's second war party, composed of only fifty-two persons, entered the valley of the upper Connecticut, and thence made their way across the mountains and forests of New Hampshire. March 27th they descended on Salmon Falls, a frontier village, killed most of the male inhabitants, and carried off fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children, whom they drove before them, laden with the spoils. While thus returning they fell in with the third war party from Quebec, and, joining forces, proceeded to attack Casco. A part of the garrison was lured into an ambuscade and destroyed. The rest, seeing their palisades about to be set on fire, surrendered on terms as prisoners of war, in May.

Such was the new and frightful sort of warfare to which the English colonists were exposed. The savage ferocity of the Indians, guided by the sagacity and civilised skill and enterprise of French officers, became ten times more terrible. The influence which the French missionaries had acquired by persevering self-sacrifice and the highest efforts of Christian devotedness was now availed of, as too often happens, by mere worldly policy, to stimulate their converts to hostile inroads and midnight murders. Religious zeal sharpened the edge of savage hate. The English were held up to the Indians not merely as enemies, but as heretics, upon whom it was a Christian duty to make war. If the chaplet of victory were missed, at least the crown of martyrdom was sure. Hatred of papacy received a new impetus. The few Catholics of Maryland, though their fathers had been the founders of that colony, were disfranchised, and subjected to all the disabilities by which, in Britain and Ireland, the suppression of Catholicism was vainly attempted. Probably also to this period we may refer the act of Rhode Island, of unknown date, which excluded Catholics from becoming freemen of that colony. Cruelties were not confined to one side. The inroads of the Mohawks into Canada, always encouraged and supported by the authorities of New York, were even sometimes directed by leaders from Albany. The French settlements along the coast of Acadia soon experienced all the miseries of partisan warfare.

Phips' Expedition Against Port Royal and Quebec; the First Paper Money

Engrossed by the war in Ireland, where the partisans of James II were still powerful, William III left the colonies to take care of themselves. New York seems to have assumed the leadership. Leisler, as acting governor of that province, addressed a circular letter (April 2nd) to all the colonies as far south as Virginia, inviting them to send commissioners to New York, to agree upon some concerted plan of operations. In accordance with this invitation, delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York met as proposed (April 24th) and formed a counter scheme of conquest. While a fleet and army sailed from Boston to attack Quebec, four hundred men were to be raised in New York, and as many more in the other colonies, to march against Montreal.^h

Bancroft credits Massachusetts with the initiative: "Meantime, danger taught the colonies the necessity of union, and on the first day of May, 1690, New York beheld the momentous example of an American 'congress.' The idea originated with the government of Massachusetts, established by the people in the period that intervened between the overthrow of Andros and the arrival of the second charter, and the place of meeting was New York, where, likewise, the government had sprung directly from the action of the

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people. Thus, without exciting suspicion, were the forms of independence and union prepared. The invitations were given by letters from the general court of Massachusetts, and extended to all the colonies as far, at least, as Maryland. Massachusetts, the parent of so many states, is certainly the parent of the American Union. Thus did Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, having at that time each a government constituted by itself, in the spirit of independence, not only provide for order and tranquillity at home, but, unaided by England, of themselves, plan the invasion of Acadia and Canada."^f

A fleet of eight or nine small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men on board, sailed under the command of Sir William Phips, a native of Pemaquid, one of twenty-six children by the same mother. An easy conquest was made of Port Royal (April 28th, 1690), and plunder enough was obtained, by the ravage of the neighbouring settlements, to pay the expenses of the expedition, though not without complaints, on the part of the French, that the articles of surrender were grossly violated. Phips departed in a few days to attack the other French posts in Acadia.

The success of this enterprise encouraged the prosecution of the expedition against Canada. Fitz-John Winthrop was appointed to command the troops destined against Montreal. A party of Mohawks, the van of the attack, led by Schuyler, pushed forward towards the St. Lawrence. At the first alarm, Frontenac roused the courage of his Indian allies by joining them in the war-song and the war-dance. He was able to muster twelve hundred men for the defence of Montreal. Schuyler and the Iroquois were repulsed. The rest of the colonial forces scarcely advanced beyond Wood Creek, where they were stopped short by the small-pox and deficiency of provisions. The expedition ended in mutual recriminations, which did but express and confirm the hereditary antipathy of Connecticut and New York. Leisler was so enraged at the retreat of the troops that he even arrested Winthrop at Albany.

Phips meanwhile sailed from Boston (August 12th), with thirty-two vessels and two thousand men, most of them pressed into the service. Three of the ships were from New York, with two hundred and forty soldiers. For want of pilots, Phips was nine weeks in finding his way up the St. Lawrence, of which no charts as yet existed. Frontenac hastened back to Quebec. He arrived three days before Phips, who found himself disappointed of that surprise which had been his main reliance. The fortifications were strong, the garrison was considerable, Frontenac was there, and winter was approaching. A party landed from the ships, and some skirmishing ensued.^h Satisfied that the contest was hopeless, the English weighed anchor, and, with the receding tide, floated their crippled vessels out of the reach of the enemy's fire; but not without the loss of the flag of the rear-admiral, which was shot away, and, as it drifted toward the shore, was seized by a Canadian, who swam out into the stream and brought it in triumph to the castle, where for many years it was hung up as a trophy in the church of Quebec.^c

Louis XIV commemorated this repulse by a medal with the legend "*Francia in novo orbe victrix*"—"France victorious in the New World." When Phips' troops landed at Boston, disgusted with failure and out of temper with hardships, there was no money to pay them. They even threatened a military riot. The general court, in this emergency, resolved upon an issue of bills of credit, or treasury notes, the first paper money ever seen in the English colonies. A similar expedient, in the issue of "card money," redeemable in bills on France, had been adopted in Canada five years before;

but this fact was probably unknown in Massachusetts. The Massachusetts notes, ranging from five shillings to five pounds, were receivable in payment of taxes, and redeemable out of any money in the treasury. Notwithstanding the patriotic example of Phips, who freely exchanged coin for notes, it was no easy matter to get this first government paper into circulation. The total amount of the issue was presently fixed at £40,000, but long before that limit was reached the bills sunk to a discount of one-half. To raise their credit, the general court in May, 1691, made them a legal tender in all payments, while at the treasury they were receivable at an advance of 5 per cent.

While Phips was employed against Quebec, Colonel Church led an expedition against the eastern Indians at the great falls, now Lewiston, where he destroyed a great quantity of corn, and, "for example," put a number of his prisoners to death, not sparing even women and children. Undeterred by such cruelties, which they knew too well how to retaliate, the eastern tribes kept up a frontier warfare, which occasioned much individual suffering, perpetual anxiety, and a heavy expense. The towns of Maine all suffered, and many were abandoned. Sometimes, in a fit of fury or revenge, the Indians killed all who fell into their hands. But their object in general was to make prisoners, especially of the women and children, for whom a market was found in Canada, where they were purchased as servants—a constant stimulus to new enterprises on the part of the Indians. These unhappy captives, in their long and dreary travels through the woods, frequently in midwinter, the women often with infants in their arms, suffered sometimes from the cruel insolence of their captors, and always from terror, hunger, and fatigue. Arrived in Canada, they often experienced at the hands of their French purchasers an unexpected kindness, prompted frequently, no doubt, by pure humanity, but sometimes also by zeal for their conversion to the Catholic faith, in which case it became a new source of suffering. Many of the returned captives related, among the sorest of their trials, temptations to change their religion. To these temptations some yielded. Of the captive children who remained long among the Indians, many became so habituated to that wild method of life as to be unwilling, when ransomed, to return to their parents.

As if this terrible Indian war were not scourge enough, New York and Massachusetts both at the same time were the scenes each of its own domestic tragedy. [We have already read of these—Leisler's rebellion in New York and the witchcraft delusion in Salem.] Villebon, arriving from France with an armed ship, retook Port Royal in November, 1691. New York had started the idea that the other provinces ought to be made to contribute to her defence, serving as she did as a barrier against Canada; and in conformity with this suggestion, a royal letter presently conveyed to all the colonies except Carolina an order to that effect, suggesting also a colonial congress for the assignment of quotas.

Massachusetts excused herself from the quota asked for New York, alleging the heavy expenses in which she was involved for the defence of her own frontier and that of New Hampshire. The Peace of Pemaquid with the Eastern tribes had not been of long duration. Those Indians, led by French officers, and stimulated by the missionary Thury, renewed the war in July, 1694, killing or carrying off near a hundred of the inhabitants of Oyster River, a village, now Durham. To prevent the Five Nations from making peace with the French, for which purpose they had sent messengers to Canada, a treaty was held with them at Albany, in August, 1694, at which deputies were present from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. After much urging, Maryland voted a small sum towards the defence of

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New York. Virginia also voted £500, but, upon a representation of utter inability, was unwillingly excused by the king from further grants. The military establishment maintained by Virginia, consisting of a captain, lieutenant, eleven rangers, and two Indians at the head of each of the four rivers, was set forth as an intolerable burden, at a time when Massachusetts never had less than five hundred men on foot for the protection of her eastern frontier.

So far as the English were concerned, the concluding operations of the war in America were but feeble. Able with difficulty to hold his own in Europe, William could bestow but little attention on this distant quarter. The French were more active. Fort Frontenac was reoccupied, and regular communications, interrupted for several years, were re-established with the posts on the upper lakes. In July, 1696, with eight hundred soldiers and a large body of auxiliary Indians, the French governor made a destructive foray into the country of the Oneidas and Onondagas, burning their villages on the banks of the Oswego and destroying their corn. By these vigorous measures, those inveterate enemies were driven at last to sue for peace.

While Frontenac carried on these operations in the west, D'Iberville, a native of Canada, who had already distinguished himself by his exploits on Hudson Bay, arrived from France with two ships and a few troops. Being joined at St. John's and Penobscot by a party of eastern Indians under Villebon and the baron St. Castin, he laid siege to and took the Massachusetts fort at Pemaquid (August 17th, 1696). Proceeding to Newfoundland, he took the fort of St. John's, and several other English posts in that island. After wintering at Plaisance, he sailed the next spring for Hudson Bay, where he recovered a fort which the English had taken, and captured two English vessels. The capture of the Pemaquid fort resulted in the breaking up and complete ruin of the ancient settlements in that neighbourhood. The veteran Church retorted by a foray up the bay of Fundy; indeed, Iberville's vessels did but just escape his squadron. He burned the houses of the French settlers at Beau Bassin, the westernmost recess of that bay, and destroyed their cattle, which constituted their chief wealth; but his attempt to dislodge Villebon from St. John's proved a failure.

During February and March of 1697 parties of Indians attacked Andover and Haverhill, then frontier towns, though within twenty-five miles of Boston. The heroism of Hannah Dustin, one of those taken captive at Haverhill, made her famous throughout the colonies. Only a week before her capture she had become a mother; but the infant proving troublesome, the Indians soon dashed out its brains against a tree. In the division of the prisoners, Hannah Dustin, with her nurse, was assigned to an Indian family of two men, three women, and seven children, besides a white boy taken prisoner many months before. While still on their journey, and now upward of a hundred miles from Haverhill, stimulated by the terrible stories which the Indians amused themselves with telling her of the tortures she would be exposed to in running the gantlet—a ceremony which they represented as indispensable—this energetic woman, having first prevailed on the nurse and boy to join her, rose in the night, waked her confederates, and with their assistance killed all the Indians with their own hatchets except two of the youngest, took their scalps, and then, retracing the long journey through the woods, found the way back to Haverhill. In such scenes were the women of those times called on to act!

The last year of the war was particularly distressing. After suffering from a winter uncommonly severe, and a scarcity of provisions amounting almost

to a famine, New England was kept in great alarm for nearly six months in apprehension of an attack from Canada, to be aided by a fleet from France.^b

The Peace of Ryswick, which followed in 1697, led to a temporary suspension of hostilities. France, anxious to secure as large a share of territory in America as possible, retained the whole coast and adjacent islands from Maine to Labrador and Hudson Bay, with Canada, and the valley of the Mississippi. The possessions of England were southward from the St. Croix. But the bounds between the nations were imperfectly defined, and were for a long time a subject of dispute and negotiation. Without doubt both parties would gladly have assumed jurisdiction over the whole North American continent, could they have done so with the prospect of maintaining their assumptions; nor did the French exhibit a greater desire to encroach upon the English than the English exhibited to encroach upon the French. Each accused the other of trespassing upon its dominions, and neither was content that the other should gain the least advantage, or secure to itself a monopoly of the fishery or the fur trade.

The suspension of hostilities in Europe was but temporary, for in 1702 war was again declared. In the mean time the French were secretly employed in encouraging the Indians bordering upon New England to violate the leagues which had been formed with them, and ravage the country.^c

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (QUEEN ANNE'S OR GOVERNOR DUDLEY'S WAR) (1702-1713 A.D.)

In North America the central colonies scarce knew the existence of war, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were sometimes alarmed at a privateer hovering off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with both France and England, protected New York by a mutual compact of neutrality. South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida, and New England, which had so often conquered Acadia and coveted the fisheries, were alone involved in the direct evils of war. South Carolina began colonial hostilities. Its governor, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine in 1702. The town was easily ravaged, but the garrison retreated to the castle. When two Spanish vessels of war appeared near the mouth of the harbour, Moore abandoned his ships and stores and retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, issued bills of credit to the amount of £6,000. To Carolina the first-fruits of war were debt and paper money.

This ill success diminished the terror of the Indians. The Spaniards had long occupied the country on Appalachee Bay, had gathered the natives into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by missions of Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with alarm the continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore and assisted by a thousand savage allies, roamed through the woods by the trading path across the Ocmulgee, descended through the regions which none but De Soto had invaded, and came upon the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's. At sunrise on the 14th of December, 1705, the bold adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from the assault with loss, they succeeded in setting fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar," the only white man, came forward to beg mercy; more than a hundred women and children and

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more than fifty warriors were taken and kept as prisoners for the slave market. Five other towns submitted without conditions. Most of their people abandoned their homes and were received as free emigrants into the jurisdiction of Carolina. Thus was St. Augustine insulated by the victory over its allies. The Creeks, that dwelt between Appalachee and Mobile, being friends to Carolina, interrupted the communication with the French. The English flag having been carried triumphantly through the wilderness to the gulf of Mexico, the savages were overawed, and Great Britain established a new claim to the central forests that were soon to be named Georgia.

In the next year (1706) a French squadron from Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett and the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, inspired courage and prepared defence. The Huguenots also panted for action. One of the French ships was taken, and wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Unaided by the proprietaries, South Carolina defended her territory, and with very little loss repelled the invaders. The result of the war at the south was evidently an extension of the English boundary far into the territory that Spain had esteemed as a portion of Florida.

At the north, the province of Massachusetts alone was desolated; for her, the history of the war is but a catalogue of misery. The marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. A treaty of neutrality with the Senecas was commemorated by two strings of wampum; to prevent the rupture of this happy agreement, he resolved to send no war parties against the English on the side of New York. The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. Within six weeks the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On one and the same day (August 10th, 1703) the several parties of the Indians, with the French, burst upon every house or garrison in that region, sparing, says the faithful chronicler, "neither the milk-white brows of the ancient nor the mournful cries of tender infants."

Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, who had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres—the village citadel. The snow lay four feet deep, when the war party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, with the aid of snow-shoes, and led by Hertel de Rouville, walked on the crust all the way from Canada. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless. The village was set on fire. Of the inhabitants but few escaped; forty-seven were killed; one hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise (March 1st) the party began its return to Canada. Two men starved to death. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and when they rested by the wayside, or, at night, made their couch of branches of evergreen strewn on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care, and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a girl

of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith and the wife of a Caughnawaga chief; and when, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress, and after a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam and to the love of her own Mohawk children.

There is no tale to tell of battles like those of Blenheim or of Ramillies, but only one sad narrative of rural dangers and sorrows. In the following years the Indians stealthily approached towns in the heart of Massachusetts, as well as along the coast, and on the southern and western frontiers. Children, as they gambolled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household—were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance.

In 1708, at a war-council at Montreal, a grand expedition was resolved on by the French Indians against New England, to be led by French officers, and assisted by a hundred picked Canadians. The party of the French Mohawks and the Hurons failed; but the French under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, with Algonquin Indians as allies, ascended the St. Francis, and, passing by the White Mountains—having travelled nearly one hundred and fifty leagues through almost impracticable paths—made their rendezvous at Winnipiseogee. There they failed to meet the expected aid from the Abenakis, and in consequence were too feeble for an attack on Portsmouth; they therefore descended the Merrimac to the town of Haverhill, resolving to sack a remote village rather than return without striking a blow.

On the night of the 29th of August the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood.

Such fruitless cruelties inspired the colonists with a deep hatred of the French missionaries; they compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers, so that there was one year during this war when even a fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms were in active service. They gave birth also to a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded. They could not be reduced by usual methods of warfare, hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp; to regular forces under pay, the grant was £10; to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum; but if men would of themselves, without pay, make up parties and patrol the forests in search of Indians, as of old the woods were scoured for wild beasts, the chase was invigorated by the promised "encouragement of fifty pounds per scalp."

Meantime, the English had repeatedly made efforts to gain the French fortress on Newfoundland, and New England had desired the reduction of Acadia as essential to the security of its trade and fishery. In 1704 a fleet from Boston harbour had defied Port Royal, and three years afterwards, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The failure of that costly expedition, which was thwarted by the activity of Castin, created discontent in the colony by increasing its paper money and its debts. But England was resolved on colonial acquisitions; in 1709 a

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fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe; from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, twelve hundred men were to aid in the conquest of Quebec; from the central provinces, fifteen hundred were to assail Montreal; and, in one season, Acadia, Canada, and Newfoundland were to be reduced under British sovereignty. The colonies kindled at the prospect; to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut and New York and New Jersey then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected; the troops levied from the hardy agriculturists. But no English fleet arrived, and the energies that had been roused were wasted in inactive expectation.

At last, in 1710, the final successful expedition against Acadia took place. At the instance of Nicholson, who had been in England for that purpose, and under his command, six English vessels, joined by thirty of New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The garrison of Subercase, the French governor, was weak and disheartened, and could not be rallied; murmurs and desertions multiplied. The terms of capitulation were easily concerted; on October 16th the tattered garrison, one hundred and fifty-six in number, marched out with the honours of war, to beg food as alms. Famine would have soon compelled a surrender at discretion. In honour of the queen, the place was called Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada. The legislature of New York had unanimously appealed to the queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion in the west. "It is well known," said their address, "that the French can go by water from Quebec to Montreal. From thence they can do the like, through rivers and lakes, at the back of all your majesty's plantations on this continent as far as Carolina. At that time the secretary of state was St. John, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke. He was the statesman who planned the conquest of Canada. "As that whole design," wrote St. John, in June, 1711, "was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it."

The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker; the seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general—whom his bottle companions called honest Jack Hill. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favourites. Yet the fleet did sail at last. From June 25th to the 30th of July the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal; while in the west, in Wisconsin, the English had, through the Iroquois, obtained allies in the Foxes, ever wishing to expel the French from Michigan.

The news of the intended expedition was seasonably received in Quebec, and the measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Indians. The English squadron, leaving Boston on the 30th of July, after loitering near the bay of Gaspé, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence, while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. On the evening of the 22nd of August a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze; morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible

to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger; by the loss of a part, providence saved all the rest!" and he expected public honours for his successful retreat, which to him seemed as glorious as a victory.^f The British officers concerned in the expedition attempted to shift off on the colonists the blame of this failure. They alleged "the interestedness, the ill nature, and sourness of these people, whose hypocrisy and canting are insupportable." The indignant colonists, suspicious of the tory ministry, believed that the whole enterprise was a scheme meant to fail, and specially designed for their disgrace and impoverishment. Harley, having quarrelled with his colleagues, denounced it to the house of commons as a job intended to put £20,000 into the pockets of St. John and Harcourt.^h

Such was the issue of hostilities in the northeast. The failure of the attack on Quebec left Nicholson no option but to retreat, and Montreal also was unmolested. In the mean time the preliminaries of a treaty had been signed between France and England, and the war, which had grown out of European changes and convulsions, was suspended by negotiations that were soon followed (April 11th, 1713) by the uncertain Peace of Utrecht.^f

SOUTHERN WARS WITH INDIANS AND PIRATES (1711-1715 A.D.)

While the northern colonies were busy with the expedition against Canada, North Carolina suffered from the rebellion of Deputy-Governor Cary, who turned out the administration and was in turn captured by Governor Spotswood of Virginia and sent to England for trial in 1710. A body of German immigrants had settled on the Neuse, and a Swiss colony had founded New Berne. These infringements provoked the Tuscaroras to war in 1711. They were forced to agree to peace after some devastation, but the South Carolina militia violated the truce by attacking several defenceless Indian villages and selling the inhabitants as slaves, a treachery which the Indians speedily revenged, only to be crushed again and sold into bondage. Those who escaped fled north as far as Lake Oneida, where their kinsmen accepted them as allies in 1713, and the Five Nations became henceforth the Six. In 1715 South Carolina herself was the scene of a war with the Yamassee and allied Indians, who were at length driven into Florida.^a

In the quarter of a century from the English revolution to the accession of the house of Hanover, the population of the English colonies had doubled. The following table, compiled for the use of the Board of Trade in 1715, though probably somewhat short of the truth, will serve to exhibit its distribution:

	Whites.	Negroes.	Total.
New Hampshire.....	9,500	150	9,650
Massachusetts.....	94,000	2,000	96,000
Rhode Island.....	8,500	500	9,000
Connecticut.....	46,000	1,500	47,500
New York.....	27,000	4,000	31,000
New Jersey.....	21,000	1,500	22,500
Pennsylvania and } Delaware.....	43,300	2,500	45,800
Maryland.....	40,700	9,500	50,200
Virginia.....	72,000	23,000	95,000
North Carolina.....	7,500	3,700	11,200
South Carolina.....	6,250	10,500	16,750
	375,750	58,850	434,600

[1715-1724 A.D.]

Massachusetts, in addition to the numbers above stated, also contained twelve hundred subject Indians. The immigration into the colonies during these twenty-five years had been inconsiderable, consisting principally of negro slaves and of Irish and German indentured servants. The great majority of the present inhabitants were natives of America.

The late war, like its predecessor, had left a disagreeable residuum behind it in the numerous privateersmen, who sought to supply the occupation of which the peace had deprived them by the equally honest but less lawful trade of piracy. The American seas again swarmed with freebooters, who made their headquarters among the Bahama Islands, or lurked along the unfrequented coast of the Carolinas. Bellamy, one of the most noted of their number, was wrecked on Cape Cod, where he perished with a hundred of his men.^h Robert Thatch, or Theach, known as "Blackbeard," actually insulted the harbour of Charleston, and when eight or ten ships manned by prominent citizens went out to punish him, took them captives and promised to send their heads to Governor Johnson, if they were not ransomed in forty-eight hours. The governor was forced to yield.

It was said in 1717 by the secretary of Pennsylvania that there were fifteen hundred pirates active on the coast. But an organized effort to crush them was now made, chiefly by Governor Johnson; they were caught and hanged by the score, and in 1718 the death of "Blackbeard" gave him the distinction of being "the Last of the Pirates."

"KING GEORGE'S WAR" AND THE TAKING OF LOUISBURG

Efforts had been constantly noted in England to deprive the presumptuous colonists of their chief pride, their charters. In 1701, 1704, and 1714 bills were introduced in parliament to that end, but fought successfully, Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts in England, being prominent in the last battle. From 1715 on Massachusetts was kept uneasy by the contests between the governor, who wished a permanent fixed salary, and the assembly, who would vote only such annual sums as they approved to keep him from independence. Governor Dudley failed to coerce the assembly; his successors, Shute and Burnet, found it even more restive. In 1731 Governor Belcher was compelled to ask the crown to allow him to make a final concession, and the assembly thus won its independence after a contest of twenty-six years. Belcher's unpopularity was so great that he was finally recalled after colonial intrigues in English politics which were disgraceful to both sides. He was succeeded by Shirley.

In 1724 Fort Dummer marked the first English settlement in Vermont; it was near the present Brattleboro. Previously there had been collisions with the Abenakis, who claimed that Massachusetts had infringed their territory between the Kennebec and the St. Croix. Father Rasles, the Jesuit missionary, held the affections of the Indians, and the government of Massachusetts tried twice in vain to capture him. They took prisoner the young baron de St. Castin, and finally, in 1724, a party from New England surprised Rasles' village of Norridgewock. Bancroft thus describes his death in this contest, which is known as "Captain Lovewell's" or "Governor Dummer's War:"^a

Rasles went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants, and his hope was not vain. The English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then, heedless of sacrilege, set them

on fire. After the retreat of the invaders, the savages returned to nurse their wounded and bury their dead. They found Rasles mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt; and they buried him beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar. Thus died Sebastian Rasles, the last of the Catholic missionaries in New England; thus perished the Jesuit missions and their fruits—the villages of the semi-civilised Abenakis and their priests.

The overthrow of the Jesuits was the end of French influence. At last the eastern Indians concluded a peace (August 6th, 1726), which was solemnly ratified by the Indian chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. English trading-houses supplanted French missions. The eastern boundary of New England was established.^f In Shirley's administration war broke out again with Canada. This was locally known as "King George's," "Shirley's," or the "Five Years' War"; it was preceded and precipitated by the conflict with Spain which we have already described in an earlier chapter, as it chiefly concerned Georgia. It was in this contest that Oglethorpe distinguished himself by his knowledge of the arts of strategy, as he had distinguished himself earlier by his peaceful victories.^a

Louisburg, on which the French had spent much, was by far the strongest fort north of the gulf of Mexico. But the prisoners of Canso, carried thither, and afterwards dismissed on parole, reported the garrison to be weak and the works out of repair. So long as the French held this fortress it was sure to be a source of annoyance to New England; but to wait for British aid to capture it would be tedious and uncertain, public attention in Great Britain being much engrossed by a threatened invasion. Under these circumstances, Shirley proposed to the general court of Massachusetts the bold enterprise of a colonial expedition, of which Louisburg should be the object. After six days' deliberation and two additional messages from the governor, this proposal was adopted by a majority of one vote (January 25th, 1745). A circular letter, asking aid and co-operation, was sent to all the colonies as far south as Pennsylvania. In answer to this application, urged by a special messenger from Massachusetts, the Pennsylvania assembly, though engaged in a warm controversy with Governor Thomas, voted £4,000 of their currency to purchase provisions. The New Jersey assembly, engaged, like that of Pennsylvania, in a violent quarrel with their governor, had refused to organise the militia or to vote supplies unless Morris would first consent to all their measures, including a new issue of paper money. They furnished, however, £2,000 towards the Louisburg expedition, but declined to raise any men. The New York assembly, after a long debate, voted £3,000 of their currency; but this seemed to Governor Clinton a niggardly grant, and he sent, besides, a quantity of provisions purchased by private subscription, and ten eighteen-pounders from the king's magazine. Connecticut voted five hundred men, led by Roger Wolcott, afterwards governor, and appointed, by stipulation of the Connecticut assembly, second in command of the expedition. Rhode Island and New Hampshire each raised a regiment of three hundred men; but the Rhode Island troops did not arrive till after Louisburg was taken.

The chief burden of the enterprise, as was to be expected, fell on Massachusetts. In seven weeks an army of three thousand two hundred and fifty men was enlisted, transports were pressed, and bills of credit were profusely issued to pay the expense. Ten armed vessels were provided by Massachusetts, and one by each of the other New England colonies. The command-in-chief was given to William Pepperell, a native of Maine, a wealthy merchant, who had inherited and augmented a large fortune acquired by his

[1745 A.D.]

father in the fisheries. Whitefield, then preaching on his third tour throughout the colonies, gave his influence in favour of the expedition by suggesting, as a motto for the flag of the New Hampshire regiment, "*Nil desperandum Christo duce*"—"Nothing is to be despaired of with Christ for a leader." The enterprise, under such auspices, assumed something of the character of an anti-Catholic crusade. One of the chaplains, a disciple of Whitefield, carried a hatchet, specially provided to hew down the images in the French churches.

Notice having been sent to England and the West Indies of the intended expedition, Captain Warren presently arrived with four ships of war, and, cruising before Louisburg, captured several vessels bound thither with supplies. Already, before his arrival, the New England cruisers had prevented the entry of a French thirty-gun ship. As soon as the ice permitted, the troops landed (April 30th, 1745) and commenced the siege, but not with much skill, for they had no engineers. The artillery was commanded by Gridley, who served thirty years after in the same capacity in the first Massachusetts revolutionary army. Cannon and provisions had to be drawn on sledges by human strength over morasses and rocky hills. Five unsuccessful attacks were made, one after another, upon an island battery, which protected the harbour. In that cold, foggy climate, the troops, very imperfectly provided with tents, suffered severely from sickness, and more than a third were unfit for duty. But the French garrison was feeble and mutinous, and when the commander found that his supplies had been captured, he relieved the embarrassment of the besiegers by offering to capitulate (June 17th). The capitulation included six hundred and fifty regular soldiers, and nearly thirteen hundred effective inhabitants of the town, all of whom were to be shipped to France. The island of St. John's presently submitted on the same terms. The loss during the siege was less than a hundred and fifty, but among those reluctantly detained to garrison the conquered fortress ten times as many expired afterwards by sickness. In the unsuccessful expedition of Vernon against Cuba in 1741, and this against Louisburg, perished a large number of the remaining Indians of New England, persuaded to enlist as soldiers in the colonial regiments.

Pepperell was made a baronet, and both he and Shirley were commissioned as colonels in the British army. Warren was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. The capture of this strong fortress, effected in the face of many obstacles, shed, indeed, a momentary lustre over one of the most unsuccessful wars in which Britain was ever engaged. It attracted, also, special attention to the growing strength and enterprise of the people of New England, represented by Warren, in his communications to the ministry, as having "the highest notions of the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and, indeed, as almost Levellers." The French, on their side, were not idle. The garrison of Crown Point sent out a detachment, which took the Massachusetts fort at Hoosick, now Williamstown (August 20th), and presently surprised and ravaged the settlement recently established at Saratoga.

The easy conquest of Louisburg revived the often disappointed hope of the conquest of Canada. Shirley submitted to Newcastle a plan for a colonial army to undertake this enterprise. But the duke of Bedford, then at the head of the British marine, took alarm at the idea of "the independence it might create in those provinces when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest." The old plan was therefore preferred of sending a fleet and army from England to capture Quebec, to be joined at Louisburg by the New

England levies, while the forces of the other colonies operated in the rear against Montreal. Orders were accordingly sent to the colonies, in April, 1746, to raise troops, which the king would pay. Hardly were these orders across the Atlantic when the ministers changed their mind; but before the countermand arrived the colonial levies were already on foot. Instead of the expected English squadron, a French fleet of forty ships of war, with three thousand veteran troops on board, had sailed for the American coast, exciting a greater alarm throughout New England than had been felt since the threatened invasion of 1697. This alarm, the non-appearance of the British fleet, and the various difficulties encountered on the march, put a stop to the advance on Montreal. The French fleet, shattered by storms and decimated by a pestilential fever, effected nothing beyond alarm. The admiral, D'Anville, died; the vice-admiral committed suicide. The command then devolved on La Jonquière, appointed governor-general of New France as successor to Beauharnais, who had held that office for the last twenty years. A second storm dispersed the ships, which returned singly to France. After the capture of Jonquière in a second attempt to reach Canada, the office of governor-general devolved on La Galissonnière.

Parliament subsequently reimbursed to the colonies the expenses of their futile preparations against Canada, amounting to £235,000, or upwards of a million of dollars. Indian parties from Canada severely harassed the frontier of New England. Even the presence of a British squadron on the coast was not without embarrassments. Commodore Knowles, while lying in Boston harbour, finding himself short of men, sent a press-gang one morning in November, 1747, into the town, which seized and carried off several of the inhabitants. As soon as this violence became known, an infuriated mob assembled, and, finding several officers of the squadron on shore, seized them as hostages for their imprisoned fellow-townsmen. Surrounding the town-house, where the general court was in session, they demanded redress. After a vain attempt to appease the tumult, Shirley called out the militia; but they were very slow to obey. Doubtful of his own safety, he retired to the castle, whence he wrote to Knowles, representing the confusion he had caused, and urging the discharge of the persons impressed. Knowles offered a body of marines to sustain the governor's authority, and threatened to bombard the town unless his officers were released. The mob, on the other hand, began to question whether the governor's retirement to the castle did not amount to an abdication. Matters assumed a very serious aspect, and those influential persons who had countenanced the tumult, now thought it time to interfere for its suppression. The inhabitants of Boston, at a town-meeting, shifted off the credit of the riot upon "negroes and persons of vile condition." The governor was escorted back by the militia; Knowles discharged the greater part of the impressed men, and presently departed with his squadron. Shirley, in his letters to the Board of Trade on the subject of this "rebellious insurrection," ascribes "the mobbish turn of a town of twenty thousand persons" to its constitution, which devolved the management of its affairs on "the populace, assembled in town-meetings."

The war so inconsiderately begun, through the resolution of the British merchants to force a trade with Spanish America, after spreading first to Europe and then to India, and adding \$144,000,000 (£30,000,000) to the British national debt, was at last brought to a close by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (October 8th, 1748). Notwithstanding a former emphatic declaration of the British government that peace never should be made unless the right to navigate the Spanish-American seas free from search were conceded, that

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claim, the original pretence for the war, was not even alluded to in the treaty. The St. Mary's was fixed as the boundary of Florida. Much to the mortification of the people of New England, Cape Breton and the conquered fortress of Louisburg were restored to the French, who obtained, in addition, the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the south coast of Newfoundland, as stations for their fishermen. A new commission was also agreed to for the settlement of French and English boundaries in America—a matter left unsettled since the Treaty of Ryswick.

SPECIE CURRENCY IN MASSACHUSETTS; THE FIRST THEATRICALS

Massachusetts was somewhat consoled for the retrocession of Louisburg by an indemnity towards the expense of its capture, obtained through the diligence of Bollan, Shirley's son-in-law, sent as agent to solicit it. The sum allowed amounted to £183,000, nearly the whole of which belonged to Massachusetts. The paper money of that province, increased by repeated issues during the war, amounted now to £2,200,000, equivalent, when issued, to about as many dollars, but depreciated since the issue full one-half, the whole depreciation being at the rate of seven or eight for one. This great and rapid fall had contributed to open people's eyes to the true character of the paper money. All debts, rents, salaries, and fixed sums payable at a future period had experienced an enormous and most unjust curtailment. The paper bills, a legal tender at their nominal amount, had been made the instruments of cruel frauds upon widows, orphans, and all the more helpless members of society. The ministers, though partially indemnified by a special act in their favour, had suffered a great falling off in their salaries, and they gave their decided and weighty influence against the bills. It was proposed to import the Cape Breton indemnity in silver, to redeem at once at its current value all the outstanding paper, and to adhere in future to a currency of coin.

This project, which had the support of Governor Shirley, was warmly advocated by Thomas Hutchinson, for nine years past representative of Boston, and now speaker of the house. Already influential, for the next quarter of a century he played a very conspicuous part. The withdrawal of the paper money encountered warm opposition from many interested and many ignorant persons, who strove to impress the people with the idea that, if there were no other money than silver, it would all be engrossed and hoarded by the rich, while the poor could expect no share in so precious a commodity! It was said, also, that the bills ought to be redeemed at their nominal and not at their actual value. In spite of this and other similar arguments, the proposition, after having been once lost in the house, was sanctioned by the general court.

The indemnity money having arrived in specie, the paper, amid much public gloom and doubt, was redeemed at a rate about one-fifth less than the current value. Future debts were to be paid in silver, at the rate of 6s. 8d. the ounce, and for the next quarter of a century Massachusetts enjoyed the blessing of a sound currency. Resolved to drive the other New England colonies into the same measures, she prohibited the circulation of their paper within her limits. Connecticut called in her bills, but Rhode Island proved obstinate; and, forgetting her former constitutional scruples, Massachusetts applied for and obtained an act of parliament prohibiting the New England assemblies, except in case of war or invasion, to issue any bills of credit for the redemption of which, within the year, provision was not made at the time

of the issue; nor in any case could the bills be made a legal tender. It is a great proof of the progress of sound notions on the subject of finance that the use of a specie currency, ineffectually forced on the reluctant colonists by orders in council and acts of parliament, has become, in our days, a universal favourite.^h

It was just at this time when a great inroad was attempted on the rigidity of the Puritan manners by the attempt of some young Englishmen at Boston to introduce theatrical entertainments. The play first announced was Otway's *Orphan*, but it proceeded no further than announcement, such exhibitions being at once prohibited "as tending to discourage industry and frugality, and greatly to the increase of impiety and contempt for religion." Connecticut immediately followed the example; neither would she suffer such Babylonish pursuits. Two years afterwards a London company of actors came over and acted the *Beau's Stratagem* and *Merchant of Venice* at Annapolis and Williamsburg in Virginia. Connecticut and Massachusetts being closed against them, they confined their labours to Annapolis, Williamsburg, Philadelphia, Perth Amboy, New York, and Newport.

THE OHIO COMPANY

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left the great causes of difference, the undefined limits of the French and English claims in America, still unsettled. The French, by virtue of the discoveries of La Salle, Marquette, Champlain, and others, claimed all the lands occupied by the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Lakes, and all watered by the Mississippi and its branches. In fact, they claimed the whole of America, except that portion which lies east of the Alleghany chain, the rivers of which flow into the Atlantic, and even of this they claimed the basin of the Kennebec and all Maine to the east of that valley. The British had lately purchased from the chiefs of the confederated Six Nations, acknowledged by the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle as being under British protection, their claim to the country of the Mississippi, which, it was stated, had at some former period been conquered by them.

The French had in part carried out their plan of a chain of forts, to connect their more recent settlements on the Mississippi with their earlier ones on the St. Lawrence, when in 1750 a number of gentlemen of Virginia, among whom was Lawrence Washington, the grandfather of the celebrated George, applied to the British parliament for an act for incorporating "the Ohio Company," and granting them six hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio river. This was done; the tract was surveyed, and trade commenced with the Indians. The jealousy of the French was roused; and the Marquis Duquesne, governor of Canada, complained to the authorities of New York and Pennsylvania, threatening to seize their traders if they did not quit this territory. The trade went on as before, and the French carried out their threat, burning the village of an Indian tribe which refused submission, and seizing the English traders and their merchandise; and the following year the number and importance of the French forts was increased.

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE WEST; DID HE ASSASSINATE JUMONVILLE?

Robert Dinwiddie, at that time royal governor of Virginia, alarmed at those violent proceedings, purchased permission of the Indians on the Monongahela to build a fort on the junction of that river with the Alleghany, and

[1751-1754 A.D.]

determined to send a trusty messenger to the French commandant at Venango, to require explanation and the release of the captured traders. It was late in the season, and the embassy demanded both courage and wisdom. A young man of two-and-twenty, a major in the militia and by profession a land-surveyor, and who when only sixteen had been employed as such by Lord Fairfax on his property in the Northern Neck, was selected for this service. This young man was George Washington.

The journey, about four hundred miles through the untracked forest, and at the commencement of winter, though full of peril and wild adventure, was performed successfully. Washington was well received by the commandant, St. Pierre, who promised, after two days' deliberation, to transmit his message to his superiors in Canada; and all unconscious of the present or future importance of their guest, who was making accurate observations as to the strength of the fort, the French officers revealed to him, over their wine, the intentions of France to occupy the whole country.

The reply of St. Pierre, the contents of which were not known till opened at Williamsburg, leaving no doubt of the hostile intentions of the French, Dinwiddie began immediately to prepare for resistance, promising to the officers and soldiers of the Virginian army two hundred thousand acres of land to be divided amongst them as an encouragement to enlist. A regiment of six hundred men, of which Washington was appointed lieutenant-colonel, marched in the month of April, 1754, into the disputed territory, and, encamping at the Great Meadows, were met by alarming intelligence; the French had driven the Virginians from a fort which, owing to his own recommendation, they were building at "the Fork," the place where Pittsburg now stands, between the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, the importance of which position he had become aware of on his journey to Venango. This fort the French had now finished, and had called Duquesne, in honour of the governor-general; besides which, a detachment sent against him were encamped at a few miles' distance. Washington proceeded, surprised the enemy, and killed the commander, Jumonville—the first blood shed in this war.ⁱ

French writers claimed that, on catching sight of the English, Jumonville's interpreter at once called out that he had something to say to them; but Washington,^k who was at the head of his column, declared this absolutely false. The French claimed also that Jumonville was killed in the act of reading the summons. "There was every reason," says Parkman, "for believing that the designs of the French were hostile; and though by passively waiting the event he would have thrown upon them the responsibility of striking the first blow, Washington would have exposed his small party to capture or destruction. It was inevitable that the killing of Jumonville should be greeted in France by an outcry of real or assumed horror; but the chevalier de Lévis, second in command to Montcalm, probably expressed the true opinion of Frenchmen best fitted to judge when he calls it 'a pretended assassination.' Judge it as we may, this obscure skirmish began the war that set the world on fire."ⁱ

On his return to the Great Meadows, Washington was joined by the troops from New York and South Carolina, and here erected a fort, which he called Fort Necessity. Frye, the colonel, being now dead, the chief command devolved upon Washington, who very shortly set out towards Duquesne, when he was compelled to return and intrench himself within Fort Necessity, owing to the approach of a very superior force under De Villiers, the brother of Jumonville. After a day of hard fighting, the fort itself was surrendered,

on condition of the garrison being permitted to retire unmolested. A singular circumstance occurred in this capitulation: Washington, who did not understand French, employed a Dutchman as his interpreter, and he, either from ignorance or treachery, rendered the terms of the capitulation incorrectly; thus Washington signed an acknowledgment of having "assassinated" Jumonville, and engaged not again to appear in arms against the French within twelve months.⁷

Villiers^l claimed to have made Washington sign this virtual admission that he had assassinated Jumonville. Some time after, Washington wrote to a correspondent who had questioned him on the subject: "That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives for so doing, certain it is that he called it the 'death' or the 'loss' of the sieur Jumonville. • So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation."^k

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S SCHEME OF UNION (1754 A.D.)

Hitherto the intercolonial wars had originated in European quarrels; now, the causes of dispute existed in the colonies themselves, and were derivable from the growing importance of these American possessions to the mother-countries; the approaching war, in consequence, assumed an interest to the colonies which no former war had possessed. It was now, therefore, proposed by the British cabinet that a union should be formed among the colonies for their mutual protection and support, and that the friendship of the Six Nations should be immediately secured. Accordingly a congress was convened at Albany, in June, 1754, at which delegates appeared from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; Delancy, governor of New York, being the president. A treaty of peace was signed with the Six Nations, and the convention entered upon the subject of the great union, a plan for which had been drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, the delegate from Pennsylvania, and which was carefully discussed, clause by clause, in the assembly. Both William Penn, in 1697, and Coxe, in his "Carolana," had proposed a similar annual congress of all the colonies for the regulation of trade, and these were the bases of Franklin's plan of union.

This plan proposed the establishment of a general government in the colonies, the administration of which should be placed in the hands of a governor-general appointed by the crown, and a council of forty-eight members, representatives of the several provinces, "having the power to levy troops, declare war, raise money, make peace, regulate the Indian trade, and concert all other measures necessary for the general safety; the governor-general being allowed a negative on the proceedings of the council, and all laws to be ratified by the king." This plan was signed by all the delegates excepting the one from Connecticut, who objected to a negative being allowed to the governor-general, on the 4th of July, the day on which Fort Necessity was surrendered, and the very day twenty-two years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

This scheme of union was, however, rejected by all the colonial assemblies, on the plea of giving too much power to the crown; and, strange to say, was

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rejected likewise by the crown, because it gave too much power to the people. The colonial union, therefore, being at an end for the present, it was proposed by the British ministry that money should be furnished for the carrying on of the war by England, to be reimbursed by a tax on the colonies. This scheme, however, the colonies strongly opposed, being averse, argued Massachusetts, to everything that shall have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in America for any public use or purpose of government. It was therefore finally agreed to carry on the war with British troops, aided by such auxiliaries as the colonial assemblies would voluntarily furnish. These pending territorial disputes led to the publication of more complete maps, whereby the position and danger of the British colonies were more clearly understood. The British colonies occupied about a thousand miles of the Atlantic coast, but their extent inland was limited; the population amounted to about one million five hundred thousand. New France, on the contrary, contained a population not exceeding one hundred thousand, scattered over a vast expanse of territory from Cape Breton to the mouth of the Mississippi, though principally collected on the St. Lawrence. The very remoteness of the French settlements, separated from the English by unexplored forests and mountains, placed them in comparative security, while the whole western frontier of the English, from Maine to Georgia, was exposed to attacks of the Indians, disgusted by constant encroachments and ever ready for war.

THE "OLD FRENCH WAR," (1755 A.D.)

While negotiations were being carried on with France for the adjustment of the territorial quarrel, the establishment of French posts on the Ohio and the attack on Washington being regarded as the commencement of hostilities, General Braddock was selected as the American major-general, under the duke of Cumberland, commander-in-chief of the British army. Braddock was a man of despotic temper, intrepid in action, and severe as a disciplinarian; and as the duke had no confidence in any but regular troops, it was ordered that the general and field officers of the colonial forces should be of subordinate rank when serving with the commissioned officers of the king. Washington, on his return from the Great Meadows, found Dinwiddie reorganising the Virginia militia, and that, according to the late orders, he himself was lowered to the rank of captain, on which he indignantly retired from the service.

In February, 1755, Braddock, with two British regiments, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, the colonies having levied forces in preparation, and a tax being already imposed on wine and spirituous liquors, spite of the general opposition to such imposts, and which excited a very general discontent, each family being required on oath to state the quantity consumed by themselves each year, and thus either to perjure or to tax themselves. This unpopular tax gave rise to several newspapers, the first newspaper of Connecticut dating from this time.

Braddock having arrived, a convention of colonial governors met at Alexandria, in Virginia, to concert the plan of action, when four expeditions were determined upon. Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce that province; General Johnson, from his long acquaintance with the Six Nations, was selected to enroll the Mohawk warriors in British pay, and conduct an army of Indians and provincial militia against Crown Point; Governor Shirley was to do the same against Niagara; while Braddock was

to attack Fort Duquesne, and thus recover the Ohio valley and take possession of the Northwest.

Soon after Braddock sailed, the French sent out a fleet with a large body of troops under the veteran Baron Dieskau to reinforce the army in Canada. Although England at this time had avowed only the design of resisting encroachment on her territory, Boscawen was sent out to cruise on the banks of Newfoundland, where he took two of the French ships; of the remainder, some aided by fog and others by altering their course, arrived safely at Quebec and Louisburg; at the same time, De Vaudreuil, a Canadian by birth, and formerly governor of Louisiana, arrived and superseded Duquesne as governor of Canada.

THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS, 1755

Three thousand men sailed from Boston under Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, on the 29th of May, for the expedition against Nova Scotia. This Winslow was the great-grandson of the Plymouth patriarch, and grandson of the commander of the New England forces in King Philip's War; he was a major-general in the Massachusetts militia, and now, under the British commander-in-chief, was reduced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. No sooner did the English fleet appear in the St. John, than the French, setting fire to their fort at the mouth of that river, evacuated the country. The English thus, with the loss of about twenty men, found themselves in possession of the whole of Nova Scotia. When great difficulty arose, what was to be done with the people?

Acadia was the oldest French colony in America, having been settled by Bretons sixteen years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Thirty years before the commencement of the present war the Treaty of Utrecht had ceded Acadia to Great Britain, yet the settlement remained French in spirit, character, and religion. By the terms granted to them when the British took possession, they were excused from bearing arms against France, and were thence known as "French Neutrals." From the time of the Peace of Utrecht they appear, however, almost to have been forgotten, until the present war brought them, to their great misfortune, back to remembrance. Their life had been one of Arcadian peace and simplicity; neither tax-gatherer nor magistrate was seen among them; their parish priests, sent over from Canada, were their supreme head. By unwearied labour they had secured the rich alluvial marshes from the rivers and sea, and their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Their population, which had doubled within the last thirty years, amounted at this time to about eight thousand.

Unfortunately, these good Acadians had not strictly adhered to their character of neutrals;¹ three hundred of their young men had been taken in arms at Beauséjour, and one of their priests was detected as an active French agent. It was resolved, therefore, to remove them from their present position, in which they had every opportunity of aiding the French. Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, Boscawen, and Mostyn, commanders of the British fleet, consulted with Belcher, chief justice of the province, and the result was a scheme of kidnapping and conveying them to the various British provinces, although at the capitulation of Beauséjour it had been strictly provided that the neighbouring inhabitants should not be disturbed.

[¹ So Parkman says "the Acadians while calling themselves neutrals were in fact an enemy encamped in the heart of a province."]

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A sadder incident of wholesale outrage hardly occurs in history than this. The design was kept strictly secret, lest the people, excited by despair, should rise *en masse* against their oppressors. Obeying the command, therefore, to assemble at their parish churches, they were surrounded by soldiers, taken prisoners, and marched off, without ceremony, to the ships, for transportation. At Grandpré, for example, four hundred and eighteen unarmed men came together, when Winslow,^m the American commander, addressed them as follows: "Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this province. I am, through his majesty's goodness, directed to allow you to carry off your money and your household goods, as many as you can without discommoding the vessels you go in." They were the king's prisoners; their wives and families shared their lot; their sons, five hundred and twenty-seven in number, their daughters, five hundred and seventy-six; the whole, including women and babes, old men and children, amounting to about two thousand souls. They had left home in the morning; they were never to return. The 10th of September was the day of transportation. They were marched down to the vessels six abreast, the young men first, driven forward by the bayonet. It was a scene of heart-breaking misery; and in the confusion of embarkation wives were separated from their husbands, parents from their children, never to meet again. It was two months before the last of the unhappy people were conveyed away, and in the mean time many fled to the woods. But even this availed nothing; the pitiless conquerors had already destroyed the harvests, to compel their surrender, and burned their former homes to the ground.

A quota of these unhappy people were sent to every British North American colony, where, broken-hearted and disconsolate, they became burdens on the public charity, and failed not to excite pity by their misery, spite of the hatred to them as Catholics and the exasperation produced by the protracted war. Some few made their way to France; others to Canada, St. Domingo, and Louisiana; and to those who reached the latter country lands were assigned above New Orleans, still known as the Acadian coast. A number of those sent to Georgia constructed rude boats, and endeavoured to return to their beloved homes in the bay of Fundy. Generally speaking, they died in exile, the victims of dejection and despair. It will be remembered that one of the finest poems which America has produced, "Evangeline," by Longfellow, is founded on this cruel, unjustifiable outrage on humanity.ⁱ

The total number deported is a subject of controversy, estimates ranging between three and eight thousand. Governor Lawrence himself placed the number at about seven thousand, and this seems right, though Hannayⁿ and some others, by overlooking certain of the later deportations, set it far lower. Rameau de Saint Père^o and Parkmanⁱ agree on six thousand.

As to the virtue of the Acadians it is natural that the historian should find Longfellow's idyllic view somewhat irksome, based as it is on the views of the abbé Raynal,^p who never saw the Acadians. Hannay has been especially severe in his criticisms of them; but the most idyllic life is subject to human frailties, and, as Burke said, indictments may not be drawn against nations.

The Acadians were certainly as good as the average of mankind and had as good a right to their homes. But it was inevitable that an effort should be made to justify the English action. Every crime and criminal in history must find critical defence, yet there have been surprisingly few to say a good word for the treatment of the Acadians. Among them, curiously, is Parkman, who says:

"New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried in vain. The agents of the French court, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, had made some act of force a necessity. We have seen by what vile practices they produced in Acadia a state of things intolerable and impossible of continuance. They conjured up the tempest, and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people they gave no help. The government of Louis XV began with making the Acadians its tools and ended with making them its victims."

He somewhat modified his view in his *Half Century of Conflict*. But a later historian, himself an Acadian, Edouard Richard,^a who has made a fuller study of the documents, claims that Parkman was so biassed as to close his eyes deliberately to evidence at hand. Richard calls him a "cheat" and a "literary malefactor," and accuses him of having "reduced historical trickery to a fine art." Such criticism of so revered a name is futile, but it is undoubtedly true that much has been left unsaid in favour of the Acadians by those who have tried to modify the popular view of the cruelty inflicted on them. It must be remembered that even Winslow was revolted at the task of deportation which he was commanded to carry out.^a

BRADDOCK'S PROJECT

The English in the mean time, as if their arms were not to be blessed, had met with a severe repulse in their attempt to drive the French from the Ohio. Braddock's troops landed at Alexandria, a small town at the mouth of the Potomac, early in June; and Colonel Washington, being permitted to retain his rank in consequence of the reputation he had already attained, joined the expedition soon after. Braddock made very light of the whole campaign; being stopped at the commencement of his march, for want of horses and wagons, he told Benjamin Franklin that after having taken Fort Duquesne, whither he was hastening, he should proceed to Niagara, and, having taken that, to Frontenac. Franklin calmly replied that the Indians were dexterous in laying and executing ambuscades. "The savages," replied Braddock, "may be formidable to your raw American militia; upon the king's regulars it is impossible that they should make any impression."

Among the wagoners whom the energy¹ of Franklin obtained was Daniel Morgan, famous as a village wrestler, who had emigrated as a day-labourer from New Jersey to Virginia, and who, having saved his wages, was now the owner of a team, all unconscious of his future greatness. By the advice of Washington, owing to the difficulty of obtaining horses and wagons, the heavy baggage was left under the care of Colonel Dunbar, with an escort of six hundred men, and Braddock, at the head of thirteen hundred picked men, proceeded forward more rapidly. Fort Duquesne, in the mean time, was receiving reinforcements. Braddock was by no means deficient in courage or military skill, but he was wholly ignorant of the mode of conducting warfare amid American woods and morasses, and to make this deficiency the greater, he undervalued the American troops, nor would profit by the opinions and experience of American officers. Washington urged the expediency of

[¹ Braddock, in a letter dated June 5th, 1755, said of Franklin that he was "almost the only instance of ability and honesty I have known in these provinces." Washington also complained of Braddock, "He looks upon the country, I believe, as void of honour or honesty."]

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employing the Indians, who, under the well-known chief Half-king, had already offered their services as scouts and advance parties; but Braddock rejected both the advice and this offered aid, and that so rudely that Half-king himself and his Indians were seriously offended.

PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

To Braddock was assigned the chief command of all the British forces in America, and a person worse fitted for the office could scarcely have been found. His experience had been ample, and none could doubt his courage, but he was profligate, arrogant, perverse, and a bigot to military rules. On his first arrival in Virginia he called together the governors of the several provinces in order to explain his instructions and adjust the details of the projected operations. These arrangements complete, Braddock advanced to the borders of Virginia, and formed his camp at Fort Cumberland, where he spent several weeks in training the raw backwoodsmen, who joined him, into such discipline as they seemed capable of; in collecting horses and wagons, which could only be had with the utmost difficulty; in railing at the contractors, who scandalously cheated him, and in venting his spleen by copious abuse of the country and the people. All at length was ready, and early in June, 1755, the army [of about twenty-two hundred] left civilisation behind, and struck into the broad wilderness as a squadron puts out to sea.

It was no easy task to force their way over that rugged ground, covered with an unbroken growth of forest; and the difficulty was increased by the needless load of baggage which encumbered their march. The crash of falling trees resounded in the front, where a hundred axemen laboured with ceaseless toil to hew a passage for the army. The horses strained their utmost strength to drag the ponderous wagons over roots and stumps, through gullies and quagmires; and the regular troops were daunted by the depth and gloom of the forest, which hedged them in on either hand and closed its leafy arches above their heads. So tedious was their progress that, by the advice of Washington, twelve hundred chosen men moved on in advance with the lighter baggage and artillery, leaving the rest of the army to follow, by slower stages, with the heavy wagons. On the 8th of July the advanced body reached the Monongahela, at a point not far distant from Fort Duquesne. Scouts and Indian runners had brought the tidings of Braddock's approach to the French at Fort Duquesne. Their dismay was great, and Contrecoeur, the commander, thought only of retreat, when Beaujeu, a captain in the garrison, made the bold proposal of leading out a party of French and Indians to waylay the English in the woods, and harass or interrupt their march. The offer was accepted, and Beaujeu hastened to the Indian camps.

Around the fort and beneath the adjacent forest were the bark lodges of savage hordes, whom the French had mustered from far and near; Ojibwas and Ottawas, Hurons and Caughnawagas, Abenakis and Delawares. Beaujeu called the warriors together, flung a hatchet on the ground before them, and invited them to follow him out to battle; but the boldest stood aghast at the peril, and none would accept the challenge. A second interview took place with no better success; but the Frenchman was resolved to carry his point. "I am determined to go," he exclaimed. "What, will you suffer your father to go alone?" His daring spirit proved contagious. The warriors hesitated no longer, and when, on the morning of the 9th of July, a scout ran in with the news that the English army was but a few miles distant, the

Indian camps were at once astir with the turmoil of preparation. Chiefs harangued their yelling followers, braves bedaubed themselves with war-paint, smeared themselves with grease, hung feathers in their scalp-locks, and whooped and stamped till they had wrought themselves into a delirium of valour.

Then band after band hastened away towards the forest, followed and supported by nearly two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, commanded by Beaujeu. There were the Ottawas, led on, it is said, by the remarkable man Pontiac; there were the Hurons of Lorette under their chief, whom the French called Athanase, and many more, all keen as hounds on the scent of blood. At about nine miles from the fort they reached a spot where the narrow road descended to the river through deep and gloomy woods, and where two ravines, concealed by trees and bushes, seemed formed by nature for an ambuscade. Here the warriors ensconced themselves, and, levelling their guns over the edge, lay in fierce expectation, listening to the advancing drums of the English army.

It was past noon of a day brightened with the clear sunlight of an American midsummer when the forces of Braddock began to cross the Monongahela, at the fording-place which to this day bears the name of their ill-fated leader. The scarlet columns of the British regulars, complete in martial appointment, the rude backwoodsmen with shouldered rifles, the trains of artillery and the white-topped wagons, moved on in long procession through the shallow current, and slowly mounted the opposing bank. Men were there whose names have become historic. Gage, who twenty years later saw his routed battalions recoil in disorder from before the breastwork on Bunker Hill; Gates, the future conqueror of Burgoyne; and one destined to far loftier fame, George Washington, a boy in years, a man in calm thought and self-ruling wisdom. With steady and well-ordered march, the troops advanced into the great labyrinth of woods which shadowed the eastern borders of the river. Rank after rank vanished from sight. The forest swallowed them up, and the silence of the wilderness sank down once more on the shores and waters of the Monongahela.

Several guides and six light horsemen led the way; a body of grenadiers was close behind, and the army followed in such order as the rough ground would permit. Their road was tunnelled through the dense forest. Leaving behind the low grounds which bordered on the river, the van of the army was now ascending a gently sloping hill, and here, well hidden by the thick standing columns of the forest, by mouldering prostrate trunks, by matted undergrowth and long rank grasses, lay on either flank the two fatal ravines where the Indian allies of the French were crouched. Suddenly a discordant cry arose in front, and a murderous fire blazed in the teeth of the astonished grenadiers. Instinctively as it were the survivors returned the volley, and returned it with good effect; for a random shot struck down the brave Beaujeu, and the courage of the assailants was staggered by his fall. Dumas, second in command, rallied them to the attack, and while he, with the French and Canadians, made good the pass in front, the Indians from their lurking-places opened a deadly fire on the right and left of the British columns. In a few moments all was confusion. The advanced guard fell back on the main body, and every trace of subordination vanished. The fire soon extended along the whole length of the army, from front to rear. Scarcely an enemy could be seen, though the forest resounded with their yells; though every bush and tree was alive with incessant flashes; though the lead flew like a hail-storm, and with every moment the men went down by scores. The regular

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troops seemed bereft of their senses. They huddled together in the road like flocks of sheep, and happy did he think himself who could wedge his way into the midst of the crowd, and place a barrier of human flesh between his life and the shot of the ambushed marksmen. Many were seen eagerly loading their muskets and then firing them into the air, or shooting their own comrades in the insanity of their terror. The officers, for the most part, displayed a conspicuous gallantry; but threats and commands were wasted alike on the panic-stricken multitude. It is said that at the outset Braddock showed signs of fear, but he soon recovered his wonted intrepidity.¹ Four horses were shot under him, and four times he mounted afresh. He stormed and shouted, and while the Virginians were fighting to good purpose, each man behind a tree, like the Indians themselves, he ordered them with furious menace to form in platoons, where the fire of the enemy mowed them down like grass. At length a mortal shot silenced him, and two provincials bore him off the field.² Washington rode through the tumult calm and undaunted. Two horses were killed under him, and four bullets pierced his clothes; but his hour was not come, and he escaped without a wound. Gates was shot through the body, and Gage also was severely wounded. Of eighty-six officers, only twenty-three remained unhurt; and of fourteen hundred and sixty soldiers who crossed the Monongahela, more than nine hundred were killed and wounded. None suffered more severely than the Virginians, who had displayed throughout a degree of courage and steadiness which put the cowardice of the regulars to shame. The havoc among them was terrible, for of their whole number scarcely one-fifth left the field alive.³

The slaughter lasted three hours, when at length the survivors, as if impelled by a general impulse, rushed tumultuously from the place of carnage, and with dastardly precipitation fled across the Monongahela. The enemy did not pursue beyond the river, flocking back to the field to collect the plunder and gather a rich harvest of scalps. The routed troops pursued their flight until they met the rear division of the army, under Colonel Dunbar; and even then their senseless terrors did not abate. Dunbar's soldiers caught the infection. Cannon, baggage, provisions, and wagons were destroyed [to the value of £100,000], and all fled together, eager to escape from the shadows of those awful woods, whose horrors haunted their imagination. They passed the defenceless settlements of the border, and hurried on to Philadelphia, leaving the unhappy people to defend themselves as they might against the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

[Parkman elsewhere says: "Braddock has been charged with marching blindly into an ambuscade; but it was not so. There was no ambuscade; and had there been one, he would have found it. It is true that he did not reconnoitre the woods very far in advance of the head of the column; yet, with this exception, he made elaborate dispositions to prevent surprise."]

[² Braddock, suffering from fatal wounds, was carried along by the retreating troops. All the first day he was silent; at night he simply said, "Who would have thought it?" The second day he was silent till just before his death, when he murmured, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." Bolling, one of his colonial troops, said that Braddock in his last hours "could not bear the sight of a redcoat," but praised the Virginian "blues," whom he hoped to live to reward. His last hours must have been tragic with remembered mistakes, none of them greater than his using his sword to beat the troops from behind the trees and other cover they wisely sought. He died on the 13th, and men, horses, and wagons were led over his grave to conceal it from the Indians.]

³ "The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men are left alive. Captain Peyrouny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his was left. In short, the dastardly behaviour of those they call regulars exposed all others that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran, as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them."—WASHINGTON.^b

The calamities of this disgraceful rout did not cease with the loss of a few hundred soldiers on the field of battle, for it entailed upon the provinces all the miseries of an Indian war. Those among the tribes who had thus far stood neutral, wavering between the French and English, now hesitated no longer. Many of them had been disgusted by the contemptuous behaviour of Braddock. All had learned to despise the courage of the English, and to regard their own prowess with unbounded complacency. It is not in Indian nature to stand quiet in the midst of war; and the defeat of Braddock was a signal for the western savages to snatch their tomahawks and assail the English settlements with one accord, to murder and pillage with ruthless fury, and turn the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia into one wide scene of woe and desolation.^b

AN ACCOUNT OF BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT BY AN INDIAN CAPTIVE¹

I asked him what news from Braddock's army. He said the Indians spied them every day, and he showed me, by making marks on the ground with a stick, that Braddock's army was advancing in very close order, and that the Indians would surround them, take trees, and (as he expressed it) "shoot um down of one pigeon." Shortly after this, on the ninth day of July, 1755, in the morning, I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall and viewed the Indians; in a huddle before the gate were more barrels of powder, bullets, etc., and everyone taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank, entire—likewise the French Canadians and some regulars. After viewing the Indians and French in different positions, I computed them by about four hundred, and wondered that they attempted to go out against Braddock with so small a party. I saw them in high hopes that I would soon see them fly before the British troops, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue me.

I remained anxious to know the event of this day; but in the afternoon I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort; and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news.

I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one now left alive before sundown.

Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them.

[¹ There exists a very picturesque side-light on Braddock's defeat in the words of Colonel James Smith, who was a captive among the Indians at the time, and from whose narrative we shall quote. It is included in Archibald Loudon's "Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages Committed by the Indians in their Wars with the White People," from which we quote by permission of the Harrisburg (Pa.) Publishing Company. Colonel Smith had been badly wounded in running the gantlet, but his life had been spared.]

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They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, and appeared to be about one hundred and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps. After this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in and those that had arrived kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broken loose.

About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Alleghany river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in a most doleful manner—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.

When I came into my lodgings I saw Russell's *Seven Sermons*, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me. From the best information I could receive, there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field, besides what were killed in the river on their retreat. The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians in British officers' dress, with sash, half-moon, laced hats, etc., which the British then wore.^r

THE BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE

The three remaining expeditions which the British ministry had planned for that year's campaign were attended with various results. Acadia, as we have seen, was quickly reduced by the forces of Colonel Monkton; but the glories of this easy victory were tarnished by an act of high-handed oppression. The expedition against Niagara was a total failure, for the troops did not even reach their destination. The movement against Crown Point met with no better success, as regards the main object of the enterprise. Owing to the lateness of the season, and other causes, the troops proceeded no farther than Lake George; but the attempt was marked by a feat of arms which, in that day of failure, was greeted both in England and America as a signal victory.^b

The troops destined for the expedition against Crown Point, consisting principally of the militia of Connecticut and Massachusetts, were intrusted to General (afterwards Sir William) Johnson. In June and July about six thousand New England men, having Phineas Lyman as their major-general, were joined by General Johnson, with about thirty-four hundred irregulars and Indians, towards the end of August, and advanced towards Lake George. Dieskau, in the mean time, having ascended Lake Champlain with two thousand men from Montreal, suddenly attacked the camp of Johnson. Johnson had sent out a thousand Massachusetts men, under Ephraim Williams, and a body of Mohawk warriors, under a famous chief called Hendrick, for the purpose of intercepting their return. This detachment fell in with the whole force of Dieskau's army in a narrow defile, and were driven back with great

slaughter, Williams and Hendrick being soon slain. It was this Williams who, when passing through Albany, made his will, leaving his property, in case of his death, to found a free school for western Massachusetts, which is now the Williams College; a better monument, as Hildreth^h justly observes, than any victory would have been.

The firing being heard in the camp of Johnson, a breastwork of felled trees was therefore hastily constructed, and a few cannon mounted; and scarcely had the fugitives reached the camp, when the enemy appeared, who met with so warm a reception from the newly planted cannon that the Canadian troops and the Indians soon fled, greatly to the chagrin of Dieskau. Johnson, being early wounded, retired from the fight, and the New Englanders, under their own officers, fought bravely for five hours. It was a terrible day for the French; nearly all their regulars perished, and Dieskau was mortally wounded. Instead of pursuing his advantage, Johnson spent the autumn in erecting a fort on the site of his encampment, called Fort William Henry, and, the season being late, dispersed his army to their respective provinces. In the mean time the French were strengthening their position at Crown Point, and fortifying Ticonderoga. These actions are known as the battle of Lake George.¹ [Johnson was made a baronet and voted £5,000.]

Benjamin Franklin having about this time published an account of the rapid increase of population in the United States, the attention of England was turned to the immensely growing power of her colonies. Let us hear the reasoning of the two parties on this subject. "I have found," said the royal governor, Shirley, who had been appealed to, "that the calculations are right. The number of the inhabitants is doubled every twenty years." He admitted that the demand for British manufactures and the employment of shipping increased in an equal ratio; also that the sagacity which had been displayed in the plan of union proposed at the late congress at Albany might justly excite the fear of England lest the colonists should throw off their dependence on the mother country and set up a government of their own. But, added he, let it be considered how various are the present constitutions of their respective governments; how much their interests clash, and how opposed their tempers are, and any coalition among them will be found to be impossible. "At all events," said he, "they could not maintain such an independency without a strong naval force, which it must be ever in the power of Great Britain to prevent. Besides, the seven thousand troops which his majesty has in America, and the Indians at command, provided the provincial governors do their duty, and are maintained independent of the assemblies, may easily prevent any such step being taken."

The royal governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, urged upon parliament his plan of a general land and poll tax, begging, however, that the plan might come entirely as from them; he urged also the subversion of charter-governments, arguing that all would remain in a distracted condition until his majesty took the proprietary government into his own hands. Another advised that Duke William of Cumberland should be sent out as sovereign of the united provinces of British America, on the plea that in a few years the colonies of America would be independent of Britain.

These fears were prophetic of the future, and indeed were but an echo of the popular sentiment. Franklin was thinking, and acting, and scattering abroad words which were winged seeds of liberty; Washington was already doing great deeds; and John Adams, then the young teacher of a New Eng-

[¹ Parkmanⁱ says "the Crown Point expedition was a failure disguised under an incidental success."

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land free-school, was giving words to ideas which thousands besides himself were prepared to turn into deeds. "All creation," said he, "is liable to change; mighty states are not exempted. Soon after the Reformation, a few people came out here for conscience sake. This apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. If we can remove these turbulent Gallies, our people, according to the exactest calculation, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. All Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." They had learned already that union was strength.

THE DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN OF 1756-1757

The plan of the campaign for 1756, arranged by a convention of provincial governors at New York, was similar to that of the preceding year: the reduction of Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne. The enrolling of volunteer militia went on; Benjamin Franklin being active for this purpose in Pennsylvania, and he himself now assuming military command as a colonel on the frontier from the Delaware to the Maryland line. The frontiers of Virginia continued to suffer severely, though Washington, with fifteen hundred volunteers, did his utmost for their protection. It was difficult to obtain a larger volunteer force, on account, said Dinwiddie, writing to the board of trade on this subject, "of our not daring to part with any of our white men to a distance, as we must have a watch over our negro slaves."

The war had now continued two years without any formal declaration of hostilities between Great Britain and France. In May, however, of this year it was made. In June General Abercrombie, who superseded Shirley, arrived and proceeded to Albany. Abercrombie, deeming his forces insufficient for the proposed campaign, determined to wait for the arrival of Lord Loudon, now appointed commander-in-chief. This occasioned a delay until the end of July. In the mean time the French, under the marquis of Montcalm, successor to the baron Dieskau, taking advantage of the tardiness of the English, had made an attack on Fort Oswego. The Forts Oswego and Ontario were taken. Upwards of one thousand men and one hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, a great amount of stores, and a fleet of boats and small vessels built the year before for the Niagara expedition, fell into the hands of Montcalm.

To gratify the Six Nations and induce them to assume a position of neutrality, Montcalm destroyed the forts, after which he returned to Canada. These disasters were as discouraging as the defeat of Braddock had been in the former year. Feebleness and incapacity characterised the campaign. The Indians, incited by the French, renewed their border depredations; and the Quakers incurred no inconsiderable ignominy by persisting to advocate the cause of the Indians, holding conferences with them and forming treaties of peace. But though these measures were against the spirit of the time, they persevered, and succeeded in thus defending the frontiers of Pennsylvania as well as some of the other colonies by force of arms.

On July 9th, 1757, Loudon sailed with six thousand regulars against Louisburg, and on the 13th reached Halifax, where he was reinforced by eleven sail of the line, under Admiral Holbourn, with six thousand additional troops. Nothing, however, was done; for on learning that Louisburg was garrisoned by six thousand men, and that a large French fleet lay in her harbour, the expedition was abandoned, and Loudon returned to New York.

In the mean time, Montcalm, combining his forces from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, amounting to nine thousand, with two thousand Indians, ascended Lake George and laid siege to Fort William Henry, which was at that time commanded by Colonel Munro, with upwards of two thousand men, while Colonel Webb was stationed at Fort Edward, only fifteen miles distant, with five thousand. For six days the garrison made a brave resistance, until the ammunition being exhausted, and no relief coming from Fort Edward, Munro capitulated; honourable terms being granted, "on account," said the capitulation, "of their honourable defence." But the terms were not kept. The Indians attached to Montcalm's army fell upon the retiring British, plundering their baggage and murdering them in cold blood. Munro and a part of his men retreated for protection to the French camp; great numbers fled to the woods, where they suffered extremely; many were never more heard of.¹

The unfortunate results of the campaigns of 1756-1757 were extremely humiliating to England, and so strong was the feeling against the ministry and their measures that a change was necessary. A new administration was formed, at the head of which was William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham; Lord Loudon was recalled; additional forces were raised in America, and a large naval armament and twelve thousand additional troops were promised. After this great expenditure of money and of blood on the part of the English, the French still held all the disputed territory. The English were still in possession of the Bay of Fundy, it is true; but Louisburg, commanding the entrance of the St. Lawrence, Crown Point and Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, Frontenac and Niagara on Lake Ontario, Presque Island on Lake Erie, and the chain of posts thence to the Ohio, were still in the hands of the French. They had driven the English from Fort Oswego and Lake George, and had compelled the Six Nations to neutrality. A devastating war was raging along the whole northwestern frontier; scalping parties advanced to the very centre of Massachusetts, to within a short distance of Philadelphia, and kept Maryland and Virginia in perpetual alarm.

THE SUCCESSES OF 1758-1759

The campaign of 1758 began in earnest. Pitt addressed a circular to the colonies, demanding at least twenty thousand men; the crown undertook to provide arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions; the colonies were to raise, clothe, and pay the levies, but were to be reimbursed by parliament. This energetic impulse was cheerfully responded to. Massachusetts voted seven thousand men, besides such as were needed for frontier defence. The advances of Massachusetts during the year amounted to about £250,000. The tax on real estate amounted to 13s. 4d. in the pound. Connecticut voted five thousand men; New Hampshire and Rhode Island a regiment of five hundred men each; New Jersey one thousand; Pennsylvania appropriated £100,000 for bringing two thousand seven hundred men into the field; Virginia raised two thousand. To co-operate with these colonial levies, the Royal Americans were recalled from Canada, and large reinforcements were sent from

[The French have been bitterly blamed for permitting this massacre, and it seems that their precautions were insufficient; but once the Indians attacked the prisoners, the French officers used every effort to calm the savages, even at the risk of their lives, Montcalm begging the Indians to take his life instead. The Canadian militia, however, says Parkman, "failed atrociously to do their duty."]

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England. Abercrombie, the new commander-in-chief, found fifty thousand men at his disposal—a greater number than the whole male population of New France. The total number of Canadians able to bear arms was twenty thousand; the regular troops amounted to about five thousand; besides which the constant occupation of war had caused agriculture to be neglected. Canada was at this time almost in a state of famine. “I shudder,” wrote Montcalm to the French government in February, 1758, “when I think of provisions. The famine is very great; New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; so great is the number of the English; so great our difficulty in obtaining supplies.” The French army, and the whole of Canada, were put on restricted allowance of food.

The campaign, as we have said, began in earnest; there was no trifling, no delay. Three simultaneous expeditions were decided upon: against Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne. In June, Boscawen appeared before Louisburg with thirty-eight ships of war, conveying an army of fourteen thousand men, chiefly regulars, under General Amherst, but including a considerable body of New England troops. The siege commenced. It was here that General Wolfe first distinguished himself in America; his amiable disposition and calm, clear judgment early won the esteem and admiration of the colonists. The siege was conducted with great skill and energy, and on the 27th of July this celebrated fortress was in the hands of the English, and with it the islands of Cape Breton, Prince Edward’s Island, and their dependencies. The garrison became prisoners of war; the inhabitants were shipped off to France. Such was the end of the French power on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

While the siege of Louisburg was going forward, General Abercrombie, with sixteen thousand men and a great force of artillery, advanced against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Landing near the northern extremity of Lake George, the march commenced through a thick wood towards the fort, which Montcalm held with about four thousand men. The vanguard—headed by the young and gallant Lord Howe, who, like Wolfe, had already gained the enthusiastic affection of the Americans—ignorant of the ground, lost their way and fell in with a French scouting party, when a skirmish took place, and, though the enemy was driven back, Lord Howe fell. The grief of the provincial troops, and indeed of the whole northern colonies, was very great for the loss of this brave young man, to whose memory Massachusetts afterwards erected a monument in Westminster Abbey.

The death of Lord Howe is said to have considerably abated the ardour of the troops; nevertheless, Abercrombie, without waiting for the coming up of his artillery, hastened on the attack of Ticonderoga, having been assured that the works were unfinished, and that it might easily be taken. The result, however, proved the contrary. With the loss of about two thousand killed and wounded, Abercrombie was repulsed, and the next day made a disorderly retreat to Fort William Henry. [The French lost only three hundred and thirty-seven.]

Colonel Bradstreet obtained from Abercrombie, after this defeat, a detachment of three thousand men, and with these, having marched to Oswego, he crossed Lake Ontario, and on the 25th of August attacked Fort Frontenac, which in two days’ time surrendered.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne was intrusted to General John¹ Forbes, who early in July commenced his march with seven thousand men,

[¹ Not Joseph Forbes, as Bancroft and others write it.]

including the Pennsylvanian and Virginian levies, the Royal Americans, recalled from South Carolina, and a body of Cherokee Indians. Washington, who headed the Virginian troops, and was then at Cumberland ready to join the main army, advised that the military road cut by Braddock's army should be made use of; instead of which, Forbes, induced by some Pennsylvanian land-speculators, commenced making a new road from Ray's Town, where the Pennsylvanian forces were stationed, to the Ohio. Whilst a needless delay was thus caused, Major Grant, who with eight hundred men had been sent forward to reconnoitre, was repulsed with the loss of three hundred men, and himself taken prisoner. A number of French prisoners accidentally brought in revealed the feeble state of the garrison, and it was resolved to push forward immediately. They succeeded in arriving at the fort on the 25th of November, when it was found to be a pile of ruins, the garrison having set fire to it the day before and retired down the Ohio. The possession of this post caused great joy. New works were erected on the site of Duquesne, the name of which was now changed to Fort Pitt, afterwards Pittsburg. The consequence of this success was immediately seen by the disposition which the Indians showed for peace. The frontiers of Virginia and Maryland were relieved from their incursions; and at a grand council held at Easton, in Pennsylvania, not only deputies of the Six Nations, but from their dependent tribes, the Delawares and others, met Sir William Johnson and the governors of New York and New Jersey, and solemn treaties of peace were entered into.

The great object of the campaign of 1759 was the so long desired conquest of Canada. The intention of the British minister was communicated to the various colonial assemblies under an oath of secrecy; and this, together with the faithful reimbursement of their last year's expenses, induced such a general activity and zeal that early in the spring twenty thousand colonial troops were ready to take the field. In consequence of his disaster at Ticonderoga, Abercrombie was superseded, and General Amherst became commander-in-chief. The plan for the campaign was as follows: Wolfe, who after the taking of Louisburg had gone to England, and was now returning with a powerful fleet, was to make a direct attack on Quebec; Amherst was directed to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and so proceed northerly; while General Prideaux, who commanded the provincial troops and Indians, was to descend the St. Lawrence after taking Fort Niagara, and join Amherst in an attack on Montreal. Such was the proposed plan. The three divisions were intended to enter Canada by three different routes of conquest, all to merge finally in the conquest of Quebec, the great heart of the French power and dominion in America.

According to arrangement, Amherst arrived before Ticonderoga in July with eleven thousand men, when, the garrison of the fort having been weakened by the withdrawal of forces for the defence of Quebec, both this and Crown Point surrendered without difficulty; the want of vessels, however, prevented him for some time either proceeding to join Wolfe at Quebec or attacking Montreal. General Prideaux on the 6th of July effected a landing near Fort Niagara without opposition. The bursting of a gun, however, killed him, when the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. Twelve hundred French and an equal number of Indian auxiliaries, advancing to the relief of the garrison, gave battle to the English, and were routed with great loss, leaving a considerable number prisoners; on which the dispirited garrison capitulated. The surrender of this post cut off all communication between Canada and the southwest.

Disappointed in receiving important reinforcements, Wolfe was compelled

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to commence the siege of Quebec alone. The presence of Wolfe had already inspired the most unbounded confidence. His army consisted of eight thousand men; his fleet, commanded by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, consisted of twenty-two ships of the line and the same number of frigates and armed vessels. The brigades were commanded by Robert Monckton, afterwards governor of New York, and the conqueror of Martinique. Wolfe selected as his adjutant-general Isaac Barre, his old associate at Louisburg, an Irishman of humble birth, but brave, eloquent, and ambitious.^j

PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF WOLFE AND MONTCALM AT QUEBEC

General Wolfe formed his camp immediately below Quebec, on the island of Orleans. From thence he could discern at a single glance how arduous was the task before him. Piles of lofty cliffs rose with sheer ascent on the northern border of the river, and from their summits the boasted citadel of Canada looked down in proud security, with its churches and convents of stone, its ramparts, bastions, and batteries, while over them all, from the very brink of the precipice, towered the massive walls of the castle of St. Louis. Above, for many a league, the bank was guarded by an unbroken range of steep acclivities. Below, the river St. Charles, flowing into the St. Lawrence, washed the base of the rocky promontory on which the city stood. Lower yet lay an army of fourteen thousand men, under an able and renowned commander, the marquis of Montcalm. His front was covered by intrenchments and batteries, which lined the bank of the St. Lawrence; his right wing rested on the city and the St. Charles; his left, on the cascade and deep gulf of Montmorenci; and thick forests extended along his rear. Opposite Quebec rose the high promontory of Point Levi; and the St. Lawrence, contracted to less than a mile in width, flowed between, with deep and powerful current. To a chief of less resolute temper it might well have seemed that art and nature were in league to thwart his enterprise; but a mind like that of Wolfe could only have seen in this majestic combination of forest and cataract, mountain and river, a fitting theatre for the great drama about to be enacted there.

Yet nature did not seem to have formed the young English general for the conduct of a doubtful and almost desperate enterprise. His person was slight, and his features by no means of a martial cast. His feeble constitution had been undermined by years of protracted and painful disease.¹ His kind and genial disposition seemed better fitted for the quiet of domestic life than for the stern duties of military command; but to these gentler traits he joined a high enthusiasm and an unconquerable spirit of daring and endurance which made him the idol of his soldiers, and bore his slender frame through every hardship and exposure. The work before him demanded all his courage. How to invest the city, or even bring the army of Montcalm to action, was a problem which might have perplexed a Hannibal. A French fleet lay in the river above, and the precipices along the northern bank were guarded

¹ "I have this day signified to Mr. Pitt that he may dispose of my slight carcass as he pleases; and that I am ready for any undertaking within the reach and compass of my skill and cunning. I am in a very bad condition, both with the gravel and rheumatism; but I had much rather die than decline any kind of service that offers. If I followed my own taste, it would lead me into Germany; and if my poor talent was consulted, they should place me to the cavalry, because nature has given me good eyes, and a warmth of temper to follow the first impressions. However, it is not our part to choose, but to obey."—*Letter of Wolfe to William Rickson Salisbury, December 1st, 1758.*

at every accessible point by sentinels and outposts. Wolfe would have crossed the Montmorenci by its upper ford, and attacked the French army on its left and rear; but the plan was thwarted by the nature of the ground and the sleepless vigilance of his adversaries. Thus baffled at every other point, he formed the bold design of storming Montcalm's position in front, and on the afternoon of July 31st a strong body of troops was embarked in boats, and, covered by a furious cannonade from the English ships and batteries, landed on the beach just above the mouth of the Montmorenci. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first on shore, and their ill-timed impetuosity proved the ruin of the plan. Without waiting to receive their orders or form their ranks, they ran pell-mell across the level ground, and with loud shouts began, each man for himself, to scale the heights which rose in front, crested with intrenchments and bristling with hostile arms. The French at the top threw volley after volley among the hot-headed assailants. The slopes were soon covered with the fallen, and at that instant a storm, which had long been threatening, burst with sudden fury, drenched the combatants on both sides with a deluge of rain, extinguished for a moment the fire of the French, and at the same time made the steeps so slippery that the grenadiers fell repeatedly in their vain attempts to climb. Night was coming on with double darkness. The retreat was sounded, and as the English re-embarked, troops of Indians came whooping down the heights and hovered about their rear, to murder the stragglers and the wounded; while exulting cries of *Vive le roi* from the crowded summits proclaimed the triumph of the enemy.

With bitter agony of mind Wolfe beheld the headlong folly of his men, and saw more than four hundred of the flower of his army fall a useless sacrifice. The anxieties of the siege had told severely upon his slender constitution, and not long after this disaster he felt the first symptoms of a fever, which soon confined him to his couch. Still his mind never wavered from its purpose, and it was while lying helpless in the chamber of a Canadian house, where he had fixed his headquarters, that he embraced the plan of that heroic enterprise which robbed him of life and gave him immortal fame. It was resolved to divide the little army, and while one portion remained before Quebec to alarm the enemy by false attacks and distract their attention from the scene of actual operation, the other was to pass above the town, land under cover of darkness on the northern shore, climb the guarded heights, gain the plains above, and force Montcalm to quit his vantage-ground, and perhaps to offer battle. The scheme was daring even to rashness, but its singular audacity was the secret of its success.

Early in September a crowd of ships and transports, under Admiral Holmes, passed the city amidst the hot firing of its batteries, while the troops designed for the expedition, amounting to scarcely five thousand, marched upward along the southern bank, beyond reach of the cannonade. All were then embarked, and on the evening of the 12th, Holmes's fleet, with the troops on board, lay safe at anchor in the river, several leagues above the town. These operations had not failed to awaken the suspicions of Montcalm, and he had detached M. Bougainville to watch the movements of the English and prevent their landing on the northern shore.

The eventful night of the 12th was clear and calm, with no light but that of the stars. Within two hours before daybreak thirty boats, crowded with sixteen hundred soldiers, cast off from the vessels and floated downward, in perfect order, with the current of the ebb tide. To the boundless joy of the army, Wolfe's malady had abated, and he was able to command in person.

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He sat in the stern of one of the boats, pale and weak, but borne up to a calm height of resolution. Every order had been given, every arrangement made, and it only remained to face the issue. The ebbing tide sufficed to bear the boats along, and nothing broke the silence of the night but the gurgling of the river and the low voice of Wolfe, as he repeated to the officers about him the stanzas of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had recently appeared and which he had just received from England. Perhaps, as he uttered those strangely appropriate words,

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

the shadows of his own approaching fate stole with mournful prophecy across his mind. "Gentlemen," he said, as he closed his recital, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow."

As they approached the landing-place the boats edged closer in towards the northern shore, and the woody precipices rose high on their left, like a wall of undistinguished blackness.

"*Qui vive?*" shouted a French sentinel from out the impervious gloom.

"*La France!*" answered a captain of Fraser's Highlanders, from the foremost boat.

"*A quel régiment?*" demanded the soldier.

"*De la Reine!*" promptly replied the Highland captain, who chanced to know that the regiment so designated formed part of Bougainville's command. As boats were frequently passing down the river with supplies for the garrison, and as a convoy from Bougainville was expected that very night, the sentinel was deceived, and allowed the English to proceed. They reached the landing-place in safety—an indentation in the shore, about a league above the city, and now bearing the name of Wolfe's Cove. Here a narrow path led up the face of the heights, and a French guard was posted at the top to defend the pass. The general was one of the first on shore.

At the point where the Highlanders landed, one of their captains, Donald Macdonald, apparently the same whose presence of mind had just saved the enterprise from ruin, was climbing in advance of his men, when he was challenged by a sentinel. He replied in French, by declaring that he had been sent to relieve the guard and ordering the soldier to withdraw. Before the latter was undeceived, a crowd of Highlanders were close at hand, while the steep slopes below were thronged with eager climbers, dragging themselves up by trees, roots, and bushes. The guard turned out and made a brief though brave resistance. In a moment they were cut to pieces, dispersed, or made prisoners, while men after men came swarming up the height and quickly formed upon the plains above. Meanwhile the vessels had dropped downward with the current and anchored opposite the landing-place. The remaining troops were disembarked, and, with the dawn of day, the whole were brought in safely to the shore.

The sun rose, and from the ramparts of Quebec the astonished people saw the Plains of Abraham glittering with arms, and the dark-red lines of the English forming in array of battle. Breathless messengers had borne the evil tidings to Montcalm, and far and near his wide-extended camp resounded with the rolling of alarm drums and the din of startled preparation. He, too, had had his struggles and his sorrows. The civil power had thwarted him; famine, discontent, and disaffection were rife among his soldiers, and no small portion of the Canadian militia had dispersed from sheer starvation. In spite of all, he had trusted to hold out till the winter frosts should drive

the invaders from before the town, when, on that disastrous morning, the news of their successful temerity fell like a cannon-shot upon his ear. Still he assumed a tone of confidence. "They have got to the weak side of us at last," he is reported to have said, "and we must crush them with our numbers." With headlong haste his troops were pouring over the bridge of the St. Charles and gathering in heavy masses under the western ramparts of the town.¹

Full in sight before them stretched the long, thin lines of the British forces—the half-wild Highlanders, the steady soldiery of England, and the hardy levies of the provinces—less than five thousand in number, but all inured to battle, and strong in the full assurance of success. Yet, could the chiefs of that gallant army have pierced the secrets of the future, could they have foreseen that the victory which they burned to achieve would have robbed England of her proudest boast, that the conquest of Canada would pave the way for the independence of America, their swords would have dropped from their hands, and the heroic fire have gone out within their hearts.

It was nine o'clock, and the adverse armies stood motionless, each gazing on the other. The clouds hung low, and at intervals warm, light showers descended, besprinkling both alike. The coppice and corn-fields in front of the British troops were filled with French sharpshooters, who kept up a distant, spattering fire. Here and there a soldier fell in the ranks, and the gap was filled in silence. At a little before ten the British could see that Montcalm was preparing to advance, and in a few moments all his troops appeared in rapid motion. They came on in three divisions, shouting after the manner of their nation, and firing heavily as soon as they came within range. In the British ranks not a trigger was pulled, not a soldier stirred, and their ominous composure seemed to damp the spirits of the assailants. It was not till the French were within forty yards that the fatal word was given; at once, from end to end of the British line, the muskets rose to the level, as if with the sway of some great machine, and the whole blazed forth at once in one crashing explosion. Like a ship at full career, arrested with sudden ruin on a sunken rock, the ranks of Montcalm staggered, shivered, and broke before that wasting storm of lead. The smoke rolling along the field for a moment shut out the view, but when the white wreaths were scattered on the wind a wretched spectacle was disclosed—men and officers tumbled in heaps, battalions resolved into a mob, order and obedience gone; and when the British muskets were levelled for a second volley, the masses of the militia were seen to cower and shrink with uncontrollable panic. For a few minutes the French regulars stood their ground, returning a sharp and not ineffectual fire. But now, echoing cheer on cheer, redoubling volley on volley, trampling the dying and the dead and driving the fugitives in crowds, the British troops advanced and swept the field before them. The ardour of the men burst all restraint. They broke into a run, and with unsparing slaughter chased the flying multitude to the very gates of Quebec. Foremost of all, the light-footed Highlanders dashed along in furious pursuit, hewing down the Frenchmen with their broadswords, and slaying many in the very ditch of the fortifications. Never was victory more quick or more decisive.

In the short action and pursuit the French lost fifteen hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken. Of the remainder, some escaped within the city,

[¹ There is dispute as to the numbers engaged, Knox * setting the number of the English at 4,828, and that of the French at 7,500; but other accounts reckon the French troops at hardly more than half this number, and Parkman † thinks that, allowing for the French detained in garrisoning other posts, the forces on the Plains of Abraham "seem to have been about equal."]

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and others fled across the St. Charles to rejoin their comrades who had been left to guard the camp. The pursuers were recalled by sound of trumpet, the broken ranks were formed afresh, and the English troops withdrawn beyond reach of the cannon of Quebec. Bougainville, with his corps, arrived from the upper country, and hovering about their rear, threatened an attack; but when he saw what greeting was prepared for him, he abandoned his purpose and withdrew. Townsend and Murray, the only general officers who remained unhurt, passed to the head of every regiment in turn and thanked the soldiers for the bravery they had shown; yet the triumph of the victors was mingled with sadness as the tidings went from rank to rank that Wolfe had fallen.

In the heat of the action, as he advanced at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg, a bullet shattered his wrist; but he wrapped his handkerchief about the wound, and showed no sign of pain. A moment more and a ball pierced his side. Still he pressed forward, waving his sword and cheering his soldiers to the attack, when a third shot lodged deep within his breast. He paused, reeled, and, staggering to one side, fell to the earth. Brown, a lieutenant of the grenadiers, Henderson, a volunteer, an officer of artillery, and a private soldier raised him together in their arms, and, bearing him to the rear, laid him softly on the grass. They asked if he would have a surgeon, but he shook his head, and answered that all was over with him. His eyes closed with the torpor of approaching death, and those around sustained his fainting form. Yet they could not withhold their gaze from the wild turmoil before them and the charging ranks of their companions rushing through fire and smoke. "See how they run!" one of the officers exclaimed, as the French fled in confusion before the levelled bayonets. "Who run?" demanded Wolfe, opening his eyes like a man aroused from sleep. "The enemy, sir," was the reply; "they give way everywhere." "Then," said the dying general, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles river, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," he murmured, and turning on his side, he calmly breathed his last.

Almost at the same moment fell his great adversary, Montcalm, as he strove, with vain bravery, to rally his shattered ranks. Struck down with a mortal wound, he was placed upon a litter and borne to the General Hospital on the banks of the St. Charles. The surgeons told him that he could not recover. "I am glad of it," was his calm reply. He then asked how long he might survive, and was told that he had not many hours remaining. "So much the better," he said; "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Officers from the garrison came to his bedside to ask his orders and instructions. "I will give no more orders," replied the defeated soldier; "I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short; therefore, pray leave me." The officers withdrew, and none remained in the chamber but his confessor and the bishop of Quebec. To the last, he expressed his contempt for his own mutinous and half-famished troops, and his admiration for the disciplined valour of his opponents.¹ He died before midnight, and was buried at his own desire in a cavity of the earth formed by the bursting of a bombshell.

[¹ In his dying hours Montcalm sent the following message to the victorious General Townsend: "Monsieur, the humanity of the English sets my mind at peace concerning the fate of the French prisoners and the Canadians. Feel towards them as they have caused me to feel. Do not let them perceive that they have changed masters. Be their protector, as I have been their father."]

The victorious army encamped before Quebec and pushed their preparations for the siege with zealous energy; but before a single gun was brought to bear, the white flag was hung out and the garrison surrendered. On the 18th of September, 1759, the rock-built citadel of Canada passed forever from the hands of its ancient masters.

The victory on the plains of Abraham and the downfall of Quebec filled all England with pride and exultation. Canada, crippled and dismembered by the disasters of this year's campaign, lay waiting, as it were, the final stroke which was to extinguish her last remains of life and close the eventful story of French dominion in America.^b

END OF THE WAR

General Townsend returning to England, General Murray was left in command at Quebec with a garrison of five thousand men. The French army retired to Montreal, and Lévis, who had succeeded Montcalm, being reinforced by Canadians and Indians, returned the following spring, 1760, with six thousand men to Quebec. General Murray left the fortress, and a second still more bloody battle was fought on the Heights of Abraham. Each army lost about a thousand men, but the French maintained their ground, and the English took refuge within the fortress. Here they were closely invested, until, having received reinforcements, Lévis abandoned all hope of regaining possession of Quebec, and returned to Montreal, where Vaudreuil, the governor, assembled all the force of Canada.

Desirous of completing this great conquest, the northern colonies joyfully contributed their aid, and towards the close of the summer three armies were on their way to Montreal—Amherst at the head of ten thousand men, together with one thousand Indians of the Six Nations, headed by Sir William Johnson; Murray with four thousand men from Quebec, and Haviland at the head of thirty-five hundred men, by way of Lake Champlain. The force which was thus brought against Montreal was irresistible, but it was not needed; Vaudreuil, the governor, surrendered without a struggle, September 8th, 1760. The British flag floated on the city, and not alone was possession given of Montreal, but of Presque Isle, Detroit, Mackinaw, and all the other posts of western Canada. About four thousand regular troops were to be sent to France, and to the Canadians were guaranteed their property and liberty of worship.

Great was the joy of New York and the New England states in the conquest of Canada, as their frontiers were now finally delivered from the terrible scourge of Indian warfare. But while they rejoiced from this cause, the Carolinian frontiers were suffering from incursions of the Cherokees, who had been instigated to these measures by the French, who, retiring from Fort Duquesne, had passed through their country on their way to Louisiana. General Amherst therefore despatched Colonel Montgomery against them, who, aided by the Carolinian troops, marched into their country, burned their villages, and was on his way to the interior, when they in their turn besieged Fort Loudon, which, after great suffering, the garrison were compelled to surrender, under promise of a safe conduct to the British settlements. This promise, however, was broken; great numbers were killed on the way and others taken prisoners, and again the war raged on the frontier. The next year Colonel Grant marched with increased force into their country; a terrible battle was fought, in which the Cherokees were defeated, their

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villages burned, and their crops destroyed. Finally they were driven to the mountains, and now, subdued and humbled, besought for peace.

The war between England and France, though at an end on the continent of America, was still continued among the West India Islands, France in this case also being the loser. Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent's—every island, in fact, which France possessed among the Caribbees—passed into the hands of the English. Besides which, being at the same time at war with Spain, England took possession of Havana, the key to the whole trade of the gulf of Mexico.

In November, 1763, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris, which led to further changes, all being favourable to Britain; whilst Martinique, Guadalope, and St. Lucia were restored to France, England took possession of St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago islands, which had hitherto been considered neutral. By the same treaty all the vast territory east of the Mississippi, from its source to the gulf of Mexico, with the exception of the island of New Orleans, was yielded up to the British, and Spain, in return for Havana, ceded her possession of Florida. Thus, says Hildreth,^h was vested in the British crown, as far as the consent of rival European claimants could give it, the sovereignty of the whole eastern half of North America, from the gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay and the Polar ocean. By the same treaty the navigation of the Mississippi was free to both nations. France at the same time gave to Spain, as a compensation for her losses in the war, all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, which contained at that time about ten thousand inhabitants, to whom this transfer was very unsatisfactory.

Three new British provinces were now erected in America: Quebec and East and West Florida. East Florida included all the country embraced by the present Florida, bounded on the north by the St. Mary's. West Florida extended from the Apalachicola river to the Mississippi; from the 31st degree of latitude on the north to the gulf of Mexico on the south, thus including portions of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi. The boundary of Quebec corresponded with the claims of New York and Massachusetts, being a line from the southern end of Lake Nipissing, striking the St. Lawrence at the 45th degree of latitude, and following that parallel across the foot of Lake Champlain to the sources of the Connecticut, and thence along the highlands which separate the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea.

PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY, 1763 A.D.

When, early in 1763, it was announced to the tribes that the king of France had ceded all their country to the king of England, without even asking their leave, a ferment of indignation at once became apparent among them, and within a few weeks a plot was matured, such as was never before or since conceived or executed by a North American Indian. It was determined to attack all the English forts upon the same day; then, having destroyed their garrisons, to turn upon the defenceless frontier, and ravage and lay waste the settlements until, as many of the Indians fondly believed, the English should all be driven into the sea and the country restored to its primitive owners.

It is difficult to determine which tribe was first to raise the cry of war. There were many who might have done so, for all the savages in the backwoods were ripe for an outbreak, and the movement seemed almost simul-

taneous. But for Pontiac, the whole might have ended in a few troublesome inroads upon the frontier and a little whooping and yelling under the walls of Fort Pitt. Pontiac was principal chief of the Ottawas. The Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies had long been united in a loose kind of confederacy, of which he was the virtual head. Though capable of acts of magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. His faults were the faults of his race, and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities, the great powers and heroic virtues of his mind. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes, and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator.

Pontiac was now about fifty years old. During the war he had fought on the side of France. It is said that he commanded the Ottawas at the memorable defeat of Braddock, and it is certain that he was treated with much honour by the French officers, and received especial marks of esteem from the marquis of Montcalm. When the tide of affairs changed, the subtle and ambitious chief trimmed his bark to the current, and gave the hand of friendship to the English. That he was disappointed in their treatment of him, and in all the hopes that he had formed from their alliance, is sufficiently evident from one of his speeches. A new light soon began to dawn upon his untaught but powerful mind, and he saw the altered posture of affairs under its true aspect.

It was a momentous and gloomy crisis for the Indian race, for never before had they been exposed to such pressing and imminent danger. With the downfall of Canada, the tribes had sunk at once from their position of importance. Hitherto the two rival European nations had kept each other in check upon the American continent, and the Indians had, in some measure, held the balance of power between them. To conciliate their goodwill and gain their alliance, to avoid offending them by injustice and encroachment, was the policy both of the French and English. But now the face of affairs was changed. The English had gained an undisputed ascendancy, and the Indians, no longer important as allies, were treated as mere barbarians, who might be trampled upon with impunity. Abandoned to their own feeble resources and divided strength, they must fast recede and dwindle away before the steady progress of the colonial power. Already their best hunting-grounds were invaded, and from the eastern ridges of the Alleghanies they might see, from far and near, the smoke of the settlers' clearings rising in tall columns from the dark-green bosom of the forest. The doom of the race was sealed, and no human power could avert it; but they, in their ignorance, believed otherwise, and vainly thought that, by a desperate effort, they might yet uproot and overthrow the growing strength of their destroyers.

It would be idle to suppose that the great mass of the Indians understood, in its full extent, the danger which threatened their race. With them, the war was a mere outbreak of fury, and they turned against their enemies with as little reason or forecast as a panther when he leaps at the throat of the hunter. Goaded by wrongs and indignities, they struck for revenge and for relief from the evil of the moment. But the mind of Pontiac could embrace a wider and deeper view. The peril of the times was unfolded in its full extent before him, and he resolved to unite the tribes in one grand effort to avert it. He did not, like many of his people, entertain the absurd idea that the Indians, by their unaided strength, could drive the English into the sea. He adopted the only plan consistent with reason, that of restoring the French

[1763 A.D.]

ascendency in the west, and once more opposing a check to British encroachment. With views like these, he lent a greedy ear to the plausible falsehoods of the Canadians, who assured him that the armies of King Louis were already advancing to recover Canada, and that the French and their red brethren, fighting side by side, would drive the English dogs back within their own narrow limits.

Revolving these thoughts, and remembering that his own ambitious views might be advanced by the hostilities he meditated, Pontiac no longer hesitated. Revenge, ambition, and patriotism wrought upon him alike, and he resolved on war. At the close of the year 1762 he sent out ambassadors to the different nations. They visited the country of the Ohio and its tributaries, passed northward to the region of the upper lakes and the borders of the river Ottawa, and far southward towards the mouth of the Mississippi. Bearing with them the war-belt of wampum, broad and long, as the importance of the message demanded, and the tomahawk stained red, in token of war, they went from camp to camp and village to village. Wherever they appeared the sachems and old men assembled to hear the words of the great Pontiac. Then the chief of the embassy flung down the tomahawk on the ground before them, and, holding the war-belt in his hand, delivered with vehement gesture, word for word, the speech with which he was charged. It was heard everywhere with approval; the belt was accepted, the hatchet snatched up, and the assembled chiefs stood pledged to take part in the war. The blow was to be struck at a certain time in the month of May following, to be indicated by the changes of the moon. The tribes were to rise together, each destroying the English garrison in its neighbourhood, and then, with a general rush, the whole were to turn against the settlements of the frontier.^b

THE INDIAN WAR AND THE PAXTON BOYS

A simultaneous attack was unexpectedly made in May, 1763, along the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The English traders scattered through the region beyond the mountains were plundered and slain. The posts between the Ohio and Lake Erie were surprised and taken—indeed, all the posts in the western country, except Niagara, Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Ligonier. The three latter were closely blockaded, and the troops which Amherst hastily sent forward to relieve them did not reach their destination without some very hard fighting. This sudden onslaught, falling heaviest on Pennsylvania, excited the ferocity of the back settlers, chiefly Presbyterians of Scotch and Irish descent, having very little in common with the mild spirit of the Quakers. Well versed in the Old Testament, the same notion had obtained among them current in the early times of New England and Virginia, that as the Israelites exterminated the Canaanites, so they ought to exterminate the bloody heathen Indians, stigmatised as the children of Ham. Under this impression, and imagining them to be in correspondence with the hostile Indians, some settlers of Paxton township attacked the remnant of a friendly tribe who were living quietly under the guidance of Moravian missionaries at Conestoga, on the Susquehanna. All who fell into their hands, men, women, and children, were ruthlessly murdered. Those who escaped by being absent fled for refuge to Lancaster, and were placed for security in the workhouse there. The "Paxton Boys," as they called themselves, rushed into Lancaster, broke open the doors of the workhouse, and perpetrated a new

massacre.¹ It was in vain that Franklin, lately returned from Europe in December, denounced these murders in an eloquent and indignant pamphlet. Such was the fury of the mob, including many persons of respectable character and standing, that they even marched in arms to Philadelphia in January, 1764, for the destruction of some other friendly Indians who had taken refuge in that city. Thus beset, these unhappy fugitives attempted to escape to New York, to put themselves under the protection of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent; but Lieutenant-Governor Colden refused to allow them to enter that province.

Owing to the royal veto on the late act for a volunteer militia, and the repeated refusals of the assembly to establish a compulsive one, there was no organised military force in the province except a few regular troops in the barracks at Philadelphia. By Franklin's aid, a strong body of volunteers for the defence of the city was speedily enrolled. When the insurgents approached, Franklin went out to meet them, and after a long negotiation, and agreeing to allow them to appoint two delegates to lay their grievances before the assembly, they were persuaded to disperse without further bloodshed. So ended this most disgraceful affair. There was no power in the province adequate to punish these outrages. The Christian Indians presently re-established themselves high up the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. Five or six years after, destined yet to suffer further outrages, they migrated to the country northwest of the Ohio, and settled, with their missionaries, in three villages on the Muskingum.

General Gage, successor of Amherst as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, had called upon the colonies for troops to assist in subduing the Indians. So extensive was the combination that Major Loftus, while attempting to ascend the Mississippi in March, with four hundred men, to take possession of the Illinois country, was attacked near the present site of Fort Adams, and obliged to give over the enterprise. New England, remote from the seat of danger, answered Gage's call scantily and reluctantly. Virginia furnished seven hundred men, and Pennsylvania one thousand. A pack of bloodhounds was sent out from England. Two expeditions were presently organised and sent into the Indian country, one under Bouquet by way of Pittsburg, the other under Bradstreet along the lakes. The Indians, finding themselves thus vigorously attacked, consented to a treaty, by which they agreed to give up all prisoners, and to relinquish all claims to lands within gunshot of any fort, of which the British were authorised to build as many as they chose. Indians committing murders on white men were to be given up, to be tried by a jury half Indians and half colonists.^h

PARKMAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF PONTIAC AND THE END OF INDIAN POWER

At the end of September, after protracted conferences with Pontiac and other chiefs, Sir William Johnson's deputy, George Croghan, left Detroit and departed for Niagara, whence, after a short delay, he passed eastward, to report the results of his mission to the commander-in-chief. But before

[¹ So fierce and active were the war-parties on the borders that the English governor of Pennsylvania had recourse to a measure which the frontier inhabitants had long demanded, and issued a proclamation offering a high bounty for Indian scalps, whether of men or women; a barbarous expedient, fruitful of butcheries and murders, but incapable of producing any decisive result.—PARKMAN,^b]

[1764 A.D.]

leaving the Indian country he exacted from Pontiac a promise that in the spring he would descend to Oswego and, in behalf of the tribes lately banded in his league, conclude a treaty of peace and amity with Sir William Johnson.

Croghan's efforts had been attended with signal success. The tribes of the west, of late bristling in defiance and hot for fight, had craved forgiveness, and proffered the peaceful calumet. The war was over; the last flickerings of that wide conflagration had died away; but the embers still glowed beneath the ashes, and fuel and a breath alone were wanting to rekindle those desolating fires.

In the mean time a hundred Highlanders of the Forty-second Regiment, those veterans whose battle-cry had echoed over the bloodiest fields of America, had left Fort Pitt under command of Captain Sterling, and, descending the Ohio, undeterred by the rigour of the season, arrived at Fort Chartres just as the snows of early winter began to whiten the naked forests. The flag of France descended from the rampart, and, with the stern courtesies of war, St. Ange yielded up his post, the citadel of the Illinois, to its new masters. In that act was consummated the double triumph of British power in America. England had crushed her hereditary foe, and France, in her fall, had left to irretrievable ruin the savage tribes to whom her policy and self-interest had lent a transient support.

Spring returned, and Pontiac remembered the promise he had made to visit Sir William Johnson at Oswego.

We may well imagine with what bitterness of mood the defeated war-chief urged his canoe along the margin of Lake Erie and gazed upon the horizon-bounded waters and the lofty shores, green with primeval verdure. Little could he have dreamed, and little could the wisest of that day have imagined, that, within the space of a single human life, that lonely lake would be studded with the sails of commerce, that cities and villages would rise upon the ruins of the forest, and that the poor mementoes of his lost race—the wampum beads, the rusty tomahawk, and the arrowhead of stone, turned up by the ploughshare—would become the wonder of schoolboys and the prized relics of the antiquary's cabinet. Yet it needed no prophetic eye to foresee that, sooner or later, the doom must come. The star of his people's destiny was fading from the sky, and, to a mind like his, the black and withering future must have stood revealed in all its desolation.

The chiefs passed the portage, and, once more embarking, pushed out upon Lake Ontario. Soon their goal was reached, and the cannon boomed hollow salutation from the batteries of Oswego.

Here they found Sir William Johnson waiting to receive them, attended by the chief sachems of the Iroquois, whom he had invited to the spot, that their presence might give additional weight and solemnity to the meeting. Johnson opened the meeting with the usual formalities, presenting his auditors with a belt of wampum to wipe the tears from their eyes, with another to cover the bones of their relatives, another to open their ears that they might hear, and another to clear their throats that they might speak with ease. Then, amid solemn silence, Pontiac's great peace-pipe was lighted and passed around the assembly, each man present inhaling a whiff of the sacred smoke. These tedious forms, together with a few speeches of compliment, consumed the whole morning; for this savage people, on whose supposed simplicity poets and rhetoricians have lavished their praises, may challenge the world to outmatch their bigoted adherence to usage and ceremonial.

The councils closed on the 31st, with a bountiful distribution of presents to Pontiac and his followers. Thus ended this memorable meeting, in

which Pontiac sealed his submission to the English, and renounced forever the bold design by which he had trusted to avert or retard the ruin of his race. His hope of seeing the empire of France restored in America was scattered to the winds, and with it vanished every rational scheme of resistance to English encroachment. Nothing now remained but to stand an idle spectator, while, in the north and in the south, the tide of British power rolled westward in resistless might; while the fragments of the rival empire, which he would fain have set up as a barrier against the flood, lay scattered a miserable wreck, and while the remnant of his people melted away or fled for refuge to remoter deserts. For them the prospects of the future were as clear as they were calamitous. Destruction or civilisation—between these lay their choice, and few who knew them could doubt which alternative they would embrace.

In 1769 Pontiac was at St. Louis for two or three days, when, hearing that a large number of Indians were assembled at Cahokia, on the opposite side of the river, and that some drinking bout or other social gathering was in progress, he told St. Ange that he would cross over to see what was going forward. St. Ange tried to dissuade him, and urged the risk to which he would expose himself; but Pontiac persisted, boasting that he was a match for the English and had no fear for his life.

An English trader named Williamson was then in the village. He had looked on the movements of Pontiac with a jealousy probably not diminished by the visit of the chief to the French at St. Louis, and he now resolved not to lose so favourable an opportunity to despatch him. With this view, he gained the ear of a strolling Indian belonging to the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illinois, bribed him with a barrel of liquor, and promised him a further reward if he would kill the chief. The bargain was quickly made. When Pontiac entered the forest, the assassin stole close upon his track, and, watching his moment, glided behind him and buried a tomahawk in his brain.

The dead body was soon discovered, and startled cries and wild howlings announced the event. The word was caught up from mouth to mouth, and the place resounded with infernal yells. The warriors snatched their weapons. The Illinois took part with their guilty countryman, and the few followers of Pontiac, driven from the village, fled to spread the tidings and call the nations to revenge. Meanwhile the murdered chief lay on the spot where he had fallen, until St. Ange, mindful of former friendship, sent to claim the body, and buried it with warlike honours near his fort of St. Louis.

Thus basely perished this champion of a ruined race. But could his shade have revisited the scene of murder, his savage spirit would have exulted in the vengeance which overwhelmed the abettors of the crime. Whole tribes were rooted out to expiate it. Chiefs and sachems whose veins had thrilled with his eloquence, young warriors whose aspiring hearts had caught the inspiration of his greatness, mustered to revenge his fate, and from the north and the east their united bands descended on the villages of the Illinois. Tradition has but faintly preserved the memory of the event, and its only annalists, men who held the intestine feuds of the savage tribes in no more account than the quarrels of panthers or wildcats, have left but a meagre record. Yet enough remains to tell us that over the grave of Pontiac more blood was poured out in atonement than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus, and the remnant of the Illinois who survived the carnage remained forever after sunk in utter insignificance.

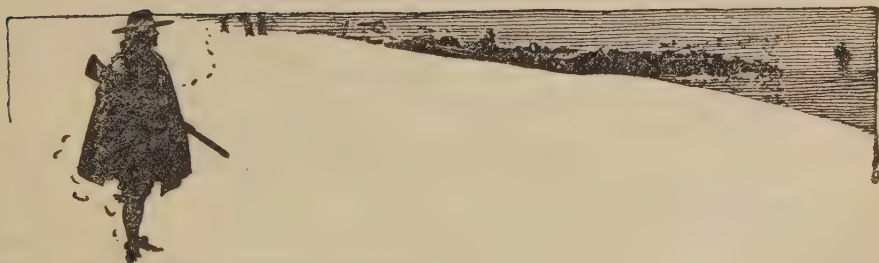
Neither mound nor tablet marked the burial-place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum, a city has risen above the forest hero, and the race whom he

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hated with such burning rancour trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave.^b

As an epilogue to the story of French and Indian dominion in the United States we may quote from another work of Parkman, who has linked his name indissolubly with their history:^a

"The French dominion is a memory of the past, and when we evoke its departed shades they rise upon us from their graves in strange, romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us: an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilisation. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death."^t





CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION OF THE COLONIES

[1763-1783 A.D.]

THE American Revolution was no unrelated event, but formed a part of the history of the British race on both continents, and was not without influence on the history of mankind. As an event in British history, it wrought with other forces in effecting that change in the constitution of the mother country which transferred the prerogatives of the crown to the parliament. It was not a quarrel between two peoples, but, like all those events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries and the liberals in both countries; and some of its fiercest battles were fought in the British parliament. There was a contemporaneous British revolution. But the British revolution was to regain liberty; the American Revolution was to preserve liberty.—MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN.^b

THAT war with the French by which the possession of North America had been confirmed to the English crown had not been carried on without great efforts and sacrifices on the part of the colonists. By disease or the sword, thirty thousand colonial soldiers had fallen in the struggle. An expense had been incurred of upward of sixteen millions of dollars, of which only about five millions had been reimbursed by parliament. The royal and proprietary governors, to obtain the necessary supplies, had been obliged to yield to perpetual encroachments. The expenditure of the great sums voted by the assemblies had been kept, for the most part, in their own hands, or those of their specially appointed agents; and, contrary to what usually happens, executive influence had been weakened instead of strengthened by the war, or, rather, had been transferred from the governors to the colonial assemblies. In the prosecution of hostilities, much of the hardest and most dangerous service had fallen to the share of the colonial levies, employed especially as scouts and light troops.

[1763-1765 A.D.]

With colonies thus taught their strength and their resources, full of trained soldiers accustomed to extraordinary efforts and partial co-operation, the British ministry now entered on a new struggle—one of which all like former contests were but as faint types and forerunners. Four great wars within seventy years had overwhelmed Great Britain with heavy debts and excessive taxation. Her recent conquests, so far from relieving her embarrassments, had greatly increased that debt, which amounted now to £140,000,000. It seemed necessary, therefore, by some exertion of metropolitan authority, to extract from the colonies, for this purpose, a regular and certain revenue.^c

The authorities in England cast about for the means of accomplishing their purpose. There was but one, and this taxation. Now taxation of a certain sort was nothing new to the colonies. They had long borne with taxes for the so-called regulation of trade. But the ministry and their supporters, not content with the old taxes, were for raising new ones—taxes for revenue as well as for regulation of trade. Taxes were taxes, whether laid upon imports or upon anything else; but the colonies were persuaded at the time, and for some time after, that there was a difference, and a vital one. When, therefore, parliament voted, in the beginning of the year (1764), that it had “a right to tax the colonies,” the colonies took alarm. The Massachusetts house of representatives ordered a committee of correspondence with the other colonies. James Otis, in a pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted*, exclaimed that “by this [the British] constitution every man in the dominions is a free man; that no part of his majesty’s dominions can be taxed without their consent.” “The book,” said Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the king’s bench, “is full of wildness.” But it did not satisfy many of the colonists, and wilder still, as the chief justice would have said, became their assertions of independence. It was not long before the right of parliament to lay any taxes whatsoever was discussed and denied.^d The opposition of Massachusetts was speedily re-echoed from Pennsylvania; and strong instructions to oppose the whole scheme of taxation were given to Franklin, about to depart for England as the agent for the colony to solicit the overthrow of the proprietary government.

THE STAMP ACT PASSED

These faint protestations produced no effect on the made-up minds of the British ministers. In spite of remonstrances addressed in February, 1765, to Grenville by Franklin, and other gentlemen interested in the colonies, resolutions for an American stamp tax were brought into parliament. The London merchants concerned in the American trade petitioned against it; but a convenient rule not to receive petitions against money bills excluded this as well as those from the colonial assemblies. In reply to Colonel Barre, who had served in America and who made a speech against the tax, Townshend, one of the ministers, spoke of the colonists as “children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms.” Barre’s indignant retort produced a great sensation in the house. “They planted by your care? No; your oppression planted them in America. They nourished by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them. They protected by your arms? Those sons of liberty have nobly taken up arms in your defence. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal subjects as the king has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them should they ever be violated.” The bill passed, however, in the commons five to one (February

27th); in the lords there was no division nor the slightest opposition. A clause inserted into the annual Mutiny Act carried out another part of the ministerial scheme, by authorising as many troops to be sent to America as the ministers saw fit. For these troops, by a special enactment known as the Quartering Act, the colonies in which they might be stationed were required to find quarters, fire-wood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles.

News of the passage of these acts reached Virginia while the assembly was sitting. Patrick Henry assumed the responsibility of introducing a series of resolutions which claimed for the inhabitants of Virginia all the rights of born British subjects; denied any authority anywhere, except in the provincial assembly, to impose taxes upon them; and denounced the attempt to vest that authority elsewhere as inconsistent with the ancient constitution, and subversive of British as well as of American liberty. Upon the introduction of these resolutions a hot debate ensued. "Cæsar had his Brutus," said Henry, "Charles I his Cromwell, and George III——" "Treason! treason!" shouted the speaker, and the cry was re-echoed from the house. "George III," said Henry, firmly, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it!" In spite of the opposition of all the old leaders, the resolutions passed, the fifth and most emphatic by a majority of only one vote.

Before these Virginia resolutions reached Massachusetts the general court had met at its annual session. The house of representatives appointed a committee of nine to consider what steps the emergency demanded. That committee recommended a convention or congress, to be composed of "committees from the houses of representatives or burgesses in the several colonies," to meet at New York on the first Tuesday of October following. South Carolina was the first to respond by the appointment of delegates¹ (July 25th).

Before the stamps reached America symptoms of a violent ferment appeared. A great elm in Boston, at the corner of the present Washington and Essex streets, under which the opponents of the Stamp Act were accustomed to assemble, soon became famous as "liberty tree." Those persons supposed to favour the ministry were hung in effigy on the branches of this elm (August 15th). A mob attacked the house of Oliver, secretary of the colony, who had been appointed stamp distributor for Massachusetts, pulled down a small building supposed to be intended for a stamp office, and frightened Oliver into a resignation. Later, maddened with liquor and excitement, they proceeded to the mansion of Hutchinson in North square. The lieutenant-governor and his family fled for their lives. The house was completely gutted, and the contents burned in bonfires kindled in the square. The inhabitants of Boston, at a town meeting, unanimously expressed their "abhorrence" of these proceedings, and a "civic guard" was organised to prevent their repetition. Yet the rioters, though well known, went unpunished—a sure sign of the secret concurrence and goodwill of the mass of the community.

Throughout the northern colonies associations on the basis of forcible resistance to the Stamp Act, under the name of "Sons of Liberty"—a title borrowed from Barre's famous speech—sprung suddenly into existence. They

[The subject, by the deliberate resolve of a small majority, was referred to a committee, of which Christopher Gadsden was the chairman. After two legislatures had held back, South Carolina, by "his achievement," pronounced for union. "Our state," he used to say, "particularly attentive to the interest and feelings of America, was the first, though at the extreme end, and one of the weakest, as well internally as externally, to listen to the call of our northern brethren in their distresses. Massachusetts sounded the trumpet, but to Carolina is it owing that it was attended to. Had it not been for South Carolina, no congress would then have happened."—BANCROFT, c.]

[1765 A.D.]

spread rapidly from Connecticut and New York into Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and took up as their special business the intimidation of the stamp officers.¹ In all the colonies those officers were persuaded or compelled to resign, and such stamps as arrived either remained unpacked, or else were seized and burned. The assembly of Pennsylvania on September 21st unanimously adopted a series of resolutions denouncing the Stamp Act as "unconstitutional and subversive of their dearest rights." Public meetings to protest against it were held throughout the colonies. The holding of such meetings was quite a new incident, and formed a new era in colonial history.

MEETING OF THE "STAMP TAX CONGRESS" (1765 A.D.)

In the midst of this universal excitement, at the day appointed by Massachusetts (October 7th, 1765), committees from nine colonies met in New York. The assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina not having been in session since the issue of the Massachusetts circular, no opportunity had occurred of appointing committees. New York was in the same predicament; but a committee of correspondence, appointed at a previous session, saw fit to attend. [Georgia sent a messenger nearly a thousand miles overland to ask for a copy of the proceedings.] The congress was organised by the appointment of Ruggles as president. A rule was adopted, giving to each colony represented one vote.

In the course of a three weeks' session a Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonies was agreed to. All the privileges of Englishmen were claimed by this declaration as the birthright of the colonists—among the rest, the right of being taxed only by their own consent. Since distance and local circumstances made a representation in the British parliament impossible; these representatives, it was maintained, could be no other than the several colonial legislatures. Thus was given a flat negative to a scheme lately broached in England by Pownall and others for allowing to the colonies a representation in parliament, a project to which both Otis and Franklin seem at first to have leaned.

The several colonial assemblies, at their earliest sessions, gave to the proceedings a cordial approval. The first day of November, appointed for the Stamp Act to go into operation, came and went, but not a stamp was anywhere to be seen. Two companies of rioters paraded that evening the streets of New York, demanding the delivery of the stamps, which Colden, on the resignation of the stamp distributor, and his refusal to receive them, had taken into the fort. Colden was hung in effigy. His carriage was seized, and made a bonfire of under the muzzles of the guns.^c

The merchants of New York set the example of the non-importation of British goods by directing their correspondents in England to ship no more goods to them until the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in Philadelphia it was resolved in town-meeting that till the repeal of that act no lawyer should support the suit of an English creditor against an American debtor, nor any American make remittances to England in payment for debt. Instead of wearing British cloth, which was formerly a mark of fashion and gentility,

[The life of the collector of the stamp tax was not an easy one. There is an amusing description of a certain publican who went out on a white horse into the rural districts, and came back hotly pursued by a mob of farmers. As a witness quaintly worded it, he looked like "Death on a pale horse with all hell after him."]

the wealthiest colonists now clothed themselves in homespun habiliments. [Stamped papers were required in judicial proceedings, but the judges openly omitted their use.] The custom-house officers granted clearances to every vessel that sailed, notwithstanding the want of stamped paper.^f

REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT (1766) AND NEW DISCONTENTS

The outbreak in New York led to one result of value. An agreement to suspend importations from Great Britain was fortified by the resolution to encourage manufactures at home, even by such means as eating no lamb or mutton, so that there might be wool enough for the country. All this being communicated by a "committee of correspondence" to the other colonies, there ensued a general though not a universal abstinence from British goods.

Meanwhile the want of stamp officers, and the indisposition of the colonial authorities to enforce the Stamp Act by themselves, had left it in a lifeless condition. Demands that it should be put out of existence altogether came, not from the colonies alone, but from a large number of merchants in England. Conway, Pitt,¹ and Burke, the greatest of English statesmen at the time, took up the opposition. The act had but augmented the expenditures of the kingdom without increasing its revenues. It had cost the treasury £12,000, of which but little more than a twelfth part was returned from duties levied in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Florida, and the West Indies. The ministry, then professing to be a liberal one, listened to the general clamour for repeal. Amidst the throngs of tradesmen and merchants, politicians and statesmen, discussing the question, we see the colonial agents all alive to the interests with which they were charged. Foremost stood Benjamin Franklin, for several years the agent of Pennsylvania, and now called before the house of commons, where he assured his questioners that the colonies would never submit to the Stamp Act, nor to any similar statute, however much they might yield upon the point of duties to regulate commerce. The repeal was carried (March 18th, 1766), accompanied, however, by a Declaratory Act, "for the better securing the dependency of his majesty's dominions in America upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain in all cases whatsoever." This was the answer of England to the congress of America; the Stamp Act was laid aside, but "the power of taxation in all cases whatsoever" was more tightly grasped than ever.

The fact that the rejoicings over the repeal of the Stamp Act were unmingled with any apparent misgivings as to the purpose of the Declaratory Act shows the warmth of the attachment to the mother country. Statues to Pitt and to the king [portraits to Camden, Barre, and Conway], with indemnities to those who had suffered from the riots of the preceding year, were voted amidst a turbulence of congratulations such as no event had ever occasioned in America. Forebodings returned with the following year. The parliament of 1767 created a board of revenue commissioners for America: passed a Tea Act, by which duties were imposed upon tea and other imports into the colonies, for the purpose not only of providing for troops as before, but of securing fixed salaries for the royal governors and the royal judges; then pronounced the New York assembly incapable of legislation until the Quartering Act of 1765 was obeyed by that body, hitherto resisting its execution. Here were

[^f In our history of England we have already recounted the contests in that country over the colonial policy, and have quoted from Pitt's immortal address.]

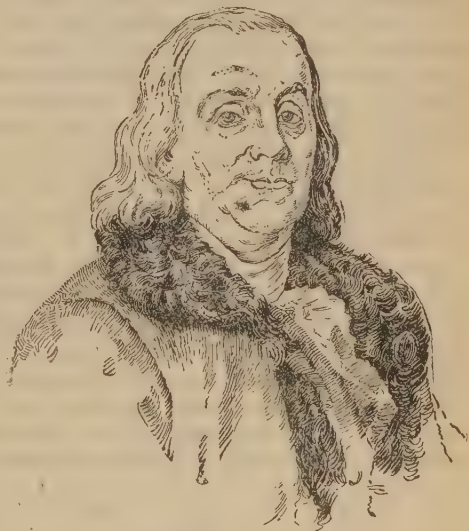
[1768-1769 A.D.]

three measures more comprehensive and more oppressive than any parliamentary legislation had as yet been.

The beginning of the next year (1768) brought out the stern voice of Massachusetts through her representatives, inveighing against all the enactments of parliament, and calling upon the colonies to join in one firm front of resistance. The same spirit showed itself in all classes. The revenue commissioners were soon flying from a riot occasioned by the seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* for a fraudulent entry at the custom house. Such was the prevailing confusion that British troops were ordered to the town (1768). This was too much for Boston. A town-meeting called upon the governor (Bernard) to convene the general court. On his refusal, the meeting advised the people to get their arms ready, on account, it was said, "of an approaching war with France"; then summoned a convention from all Massachusetts. This gathered, and again requested the governor to summon the legislature. He again refused, and hinted at treason in the convention, with reason, indeed, considering the entire novelty of such a body to him and to the colony. The convention, not very full of fire, deprecated the displeasure of the governor, and addressed a petition to the king. Just as the convention was separating, the troops arrived under command of General Gage, but without finding the quarters that were demanded for them from Boston, sturdier as a town than Massachusetts as a colony.

The new year (1769) began with a new provocation, in the shape of an act directing that all cases of treason, whether occurring in the colonies or not, should be tried in the mother country. This was worse than any taxation, worse than any extension of admiralty courts, any demand for quarters, any creation of revenue commissioners, any suspension of assemblies; it struck a blow at the safety of the person as well as the freedom of the subject. The planter at Mount Vernon, hitherto calm, exclaims with indignation that "our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom." "That no man," he writes, "should scruple or hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource." The Virginia assembly, of which Washington was still a member, passed resolutions of kindred spirit. Massachusetts was more than ready to follow. The Suffolk grand jury indicted the governor of Massachusetts, the commander-in-chief of the colonies in general, with the revenue commissioners and officers of the customs, for libelling the province to the ministry. For every fresh provocation was there a fresh resistance, denying more and more of the power that was more and more oppressive.^d

The house of representatives of Massachusetts, at their first coming together (May 31st), resolved that it was inconsistent with their dignity and



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(1706-1790)

freedom to deliberate in the midst of an armed force. They refused to enter upon the business of supplies, or anything else but redress of grievances. They denounced a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of the general court, as an invasion of natural rights and their rights as Englishmen, highly dangerous to the people, without precedent, and unconstitutional. When called upon to refund the expenses already incurred in finding quarters for the troops, and to make provision also for the future, they rose to a still more indignant strain.

The same spirit evinced in Virginia pervaded almost the whole continent. The assembly of South Carolina refused to find quarters for the troops sent to that province, and they adopted the Virginia resolutions, as did also the assemblies of Maryland and Delaware. The North Carolina assembly did the same thing, and was dissolved in consequence; but the members immediately reassembled in their private capacity, as had been done in Virginia, and entered into the non-importation agreement. Party lines throughout the colonies began now to be strictly drawn. The partisans of the mother country were stigmatised as "tories," while the opponents of parliamentary taxation took the name of "whigs"—old names lately applied in England as designations for the "king's friends" and their opponents.

The struggle, indeed, between the two parties in the mother country had reached a high pitch. Towards the close of the session of parliament Pownall had moved the repeal of Townshend's Act, and had supported the motion in an elaborate speech, in which he showed that the total produce of the new taxes for the first year had been less than £16,000; that the expenses of the new custom-house arrangements had reduced the net proceeds of the crown revenue in the colonies to only £295, while the extraordinary military expenses in America amounted for the same period to £170,000; the merchants, meanwhile, loudly complaining of the decline of trade, an evil which the extension of the non-importation agreements threatened to aggravate. Instead of meeting Pownall's motion by a direct negative, the ministers proposed the reference of the subject to the next session.

THE "BOSTON MASSACRE" (1770 A.D.)

The seventeen months during which the British troops had been stationed in Boston, even the agreement of the commanding officer to use only a single drum and fife on Sundays, had by no means reconciled the townspeople to their presence. A mob of men and boys, encouraged by the sympathy of the mass of the inhabitants, made it a constant practice to insult and provoke them. After numerous fights with straggling soldiers, a serious collision at length took place. A picket guard of eight men, provoked beyond endurance by words and blows, fired into a crowd, killed three persons, and dangerously wounded five others. The bells were rung; a cry spread through the town, "The soldiers are rising!" It was late at night; but the population poured into the streets; nor was it without difficulty that a general combat was prevented. The next morning, at an early hour, Faneuil Hall was filled with an excited and indignant assembly.

Finally, upon the unanimous advice of the council, it was agreed that all the troops should be removed. The funeral of the slain, attended by a vast concourse of people, was celebrated with all possible pomp. The story of the "Boston massacre," for so it was called, exaggerated into a ferocious and unprovoked assault by brutal soldiers on a defenceless people, produced every-

[1770-1774 A.D.]

where intense excitement. The officer and soldiers of the picket guard were indicted and tried for murder. They were defended, however, by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two young lawyers, among the most zealous of the popular leaders, and so clear a case was made out in their behalf that they were all acquitted except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter and slightly punished.

The British cabinet meanwhile had undergone great changes. Townshend was dead, the Chatham influence was quite extinct, "the king's friends" were predominant, and Frederick North, eldest son of the earl of Guildford, by courtesy Lord North, had risen, as the leader of that section, to the head of the ministry. As it happened, on the very day of the Boston massacre Lord North brought forward the promised motion to repeal the whole of Townshend's act except the duty on tea. He could have wished to repeal the whole act, could that have been done without giving up the right of taxing the colonies—a right he would contend for to the last hour of his life. Lord North's bill of repeal became law in April, 1770. The obnoxious Quartering Act, limited by its terms to three years, was suffered silently to expire. But the Sugar Act, and especially the tax on tea, as they involved the whole principle of parliamentary taxation, were quite sufficient to keep up the discontent of the colonies.

THE BURNING OF THE GASPEE

The *Gaspee*, an armed schooner in the revenue service, had given great and often unnecessary annoyance to the shipping employed in Narragansett Bay. A plan, in consequence, had been formed for her destruction. Enticed into shoal water by a schooner, to which she had been induced to give chase, she grounded (June 10th), and was boarded and burned by a party from Providence. In consequence of this daring outrage, an act of parliament had passed for sending to England for trial all persons concerned in the colonies in burning or destroying his majesty's ships, dock-yards, or military stores. A reward of £600 and a free pardon to any accomplice was offered for the discovery of the destroyers of the *Gaspee*. But though the perpetrators were well known, no legal evidence could be obtained against them.^c

It has already appeared how small a part of the provocations to the colonies consisted in mere measures of taxation. A signal instance of the comprehensive inflictions from the mother country came up in the midst of the transactions lately occurred. The repugnance of the colonies to the slave-trade, reviving in these times of struggle, brought out renewed expressions of opposition and abhorrence. Virginia attempted by her assembly [on motion by Thomas Jefferson] to lay restrictions on the traffic; but the royal governor was at once directed by the authorities at home to consent to no laws affecting the interests of the slave dealers (1770). The efforts of other colonies met with similar obstacles. Bills of assemblies, petitions to the king, called forth by the startling development of the trade,¹ were alike ineffectual. "It is the opinion of this meeting"—thus ran the resolves of the county of Fairfax, George Washington chairman—"that during our present difficulties and distress no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent, and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade" (1774). Provocations were gathering heavily and rapidly.^d

¹ In less than nine months 6,431 slaves were imported into the single colony of South Carolina from Africa and the West Indies.

THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY

The British government, determined to carry into execution the duty on tea, now attempted to effect by policy what was found to be impracticable by constraint. The measures of the colonies had already produced such diminution of exports from Great Britain that the warehouses of the East India Company contained about seventeen million pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The unwillingness of the company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to lose the revenue from the sale of tea in America, led to a compromise for the security of both. The East India Company were authorised to export their tea, duty free, to any place whatever, by which regulation tea would come cheaper to the American consumer than before it had been made a source of revenue. It was now to be seen whether the colonies would practically support their own principles and meet the consequences, or submit to taxation. The colonies were united as one man. The new ministerial plan was universally considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the people, which it was the duty of all to oppose. Cargoes were sent to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston (South Carolina), and Boston. The inhabitants of the cities of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, and, said John Adams, "they sailed up the Thames to proclaim to all the nation that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved." The inhabitants of Charleston unloaded the tea and stored it in damp cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally was all spoiled.

The vessels containing the tea for Boston lay for some days in the harbour, watched by a strong guard of citizens, who, from a numerous town-meeting, despatched the most peremptory commands to the shipmasters not to land their cargoes. At length the popular rage could be restrained no longer, and the consignees, apprehending violence, took refuge in Castle William, while, on the 16th of December, an assemblage of men dressed and painted like Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels and threw the tea into the dock. In the space of about two hours the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at £18,000, were thus destroyed.^f

Concerning this much-discussed event John Fiske says: "Often as it has been cited and described, the Boston Tea-party was an event so great that even American historians have generally failed to do it justice. This supreme assertion by a New England town-meeting of the most fundamental principle of political freedom has been curiously misunderstood by British writers, of whatever party. The tory historian, Lecky,^g speaks of 'the tea-riot at Boston,' and characterises it as an 'outrage.' The liberal historian, Green,^h alludes to it as a 'trivial riot.' Such expressions betray most profound misapprehension alike of the significance of this noble scene and of the political conditions in which it originated. In this colossal event passion was guided and curbed by sound reason at every step, down to the last moment, in the dim candle-light of the old church, when the noble Puritan statesman quietly told his hearers that the moment for using force had at last, and through no fault of theirs, arrived. They had reached a point where the written law had failed them. It was the one supreme moment in a controversy supremely important to mankind, and in which the common sense of the world has since acknowledged that they were wholly in the right. It was the one moment of all that troubled time in which no compromise was possible. 'Had the tea been landed,' says the contemporary historian Gordon,ⁱ 'the union of the colonies in opposing the ministerial scheme would have been dissolved, and it

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would have been extremely difficult ever after to have restored it.' In view of the stupendous issues at stake, the patience of the men of Boston was far more remarkable than their boldness. For the quiet sublimity of reasonable but dauntless moral purpose the heroic annals of Greece and Rome can show us no greater scene than that which the Old South Meeting-House witnessed on the day when the tea was destroyed."

THE FIVE ACTS; THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON AND THE FIRST CONGRESS (1774 A.D.)

When, presently, the fate of the tea became known in England, ministerial indignation rose to a high pitch. Leave was asked by Lord North to introduce into parliament, then in session, the so-called "Five Acts," including a measure, soon famous as the Boston Port Bill, shutting up the harbour of that town, and removing the seat of government to Salem. The audacity of the Bostonians had silenced the friends of the colonists, and this motion encountered but slight opposition.

Another bill soon followed, "for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay," amounting, in fact, to an abrogation of the charter. This bill gave to the crown the appointment of councillors and judges of the superior court. The appointment of all other officers, military, executive, and judicial, was bestowed on the governor, independently of any approval by the council. All town-meetings, except for elections, were prohibited. A third bill, intended to meet cases like that of the Boston massacre, and to protect the servants of the crown against the verdicts of colonial juries, provided for the trial in England of all persons charged in the colonies with murders committed in support of government. These bills were carried in both houses by a majority of more than four to one. A fourth bill, for quartering troops in America, a new edition of the former act, was also brought in by the ministers. A fifth act, known as the Quebec Act, designed to prevent that newly acquired province from joining with the other colonies, restored in civil matters the old French law and guaranteed to the Catholic church the possession of its ample property, amounting to a fourth part or more of the old French grants, with full freedom of worship. The calling of an assembly was indefinitely postponed, the legislative authority, except for taxation, being committed to a council nominated by the crown. The boundaries of the province were also extended to the Mississippi on the west and the Ohio on the south, so as to include, besides the present Canada, the territory now the five states northwest of the Ohio. In the commons Burke brought forward a motion to repeal the tax on tea. In his speech on this occasion, the earliest of the splendid series of his published parliamentary orations, he reviewed the history of the attempt to tax the colonies, and proposed to go back to the state of things before the passage of the Stamp Act. But the ministers were resolved, by making an example, to terrify the colonies into submission.

Four ships of war were ordered to sail for the proscribed town. General Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson, and he was authorised to remit forfeitures and grant pardons. The Port Bill arriving in different parts of the colonies excited universal indignation. In Philadelphia and other places collections were taken up in aid of the sufferers in Boston. The Virginia assembly, moved by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and resolved to observe the first day of the operation of the

bill as a fast; for which act Governor Dunmore, who had succeeded Lord Botetourt as governor, dissolved them. Previous to their separation, however, they proposed a general congress to deliberate on those measures which the common interest of America might require. On the 1st of June, the day designated by the Port Bill, business was suspended in Boston at noon, and the harbour shut against all vessels. Before that time the people of Massachusetts had received assurances of sympathy and aid from nearly all the other colonies. Emboldened by such support, they determined to act with unabated vigour, and when they met at Salem they resolved on a general congress, to meet on the 1st of September at Philadelphia, nominated five of their members to attend it, voted the sum of £500 for defraying their expenses, and recommended to the several towns and districts of the province to raise this sum, according to their proportion of the last provincial tax; which requisition was readily complied with. On being informed of these proceedings, the governor dissolved the assembly.

The cause of the people of Boston gained ground everywhere, and at length the Boston committee of correspondence, satisfied that they enjoyed the good opinion and confidence of the public, ventured to frame and publish an agreement, entitled a "Solemn League and Covenant." This was couched in such very strong terms that it met with but little favour, and soon sank into oblivion. It was succeeded by a compact of a less exceptionable nature, which was efficacious in preventing commercial intercourse with Great Britain. The necessity of a general congress was soon universally perceived, and the measure was gradually adopted by every colony, from New Hampshire to South Carolina. On the 4th of September delegates appeared at Philadelphia, and the next day the first continental congress was organised at Carpenter's Hall, in Chestnut street. It was resolved that each colony should have one vote, whatever might be the number of its representatives. They made a Declaration of Rights; resolved on an address to the king, a memorial to the people of British America, and an address to the people of Great Britain. These papers had a great effect both in America and England. They inspired the people with confidence in their delegates, and their decency, firmness, and wisdom caused a universal feeling of respect for the congress, which extended even to England. Lord Chatham, speaking of them in the house of lords, said that "for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such complication of circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia."

The appearance of things in Massachusetts was far from being auspicious. Soon after General Gage's arrival several regiments arrived from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec. General Gage excited the jealousy of the townsmen by employing some of the troops in repairing and manning the fortifications on Boston Neck—a measure which the people understood as intended to cut off communication between the town and the country.

Gage had issued writs for the assembling of a convention at Salem on the 5th of October; but, alarmed by the symptoms of increased discontent, he judged it expedient to countermand the writs, by a proclamation suspending the meeting. This proclamation was declared illegal, and ninety representatives assembling, and neither the governor nor his substitute attending, they formed themselves into a provincial congress and adjourned to Concord. Here they appointed a committee to request General Gage to desist from fortifying the entrance into Boston, and to restore that place to its neutral state, as before. The governor expressed the warmest displeasure at the supposition of danger from English troops, to any but enemies of England,

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and warned the congress to desist from their illegal proceedings. The provincial congress then adjourned to Cambridge, where they appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province, gave orders for the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants to be in readiness, "at a minute's warning,"¹ to appear in arms, elected three general officers, Preble, Ward, and Pomeroy, to command these minute-men, and adjourned to the 23rd of November. On their second assembling they passed an ordinance for the equipment of twelve thousand men, to act on any emergency, and the enlistment of one-fourth part of the militia as minute-men, and appointed two more officers, Prescott and Heath. They also secured the co-operation of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in raising an army of twenty thousand men.

The new parliament met on the 30th of November, 1774, and were addressed by the king, who referred in strong terms to the rebellious conduct of the people in Massachusetts and the other colonies. Addresses, echoing the royal sentiments, were made by both houses, though not without much opposition. Massachusetts was soon after declared to be in a state of rebellion, and a bill for the restriction of the colonial commerce and fisheries was also passed by parliament.

That portion of the revolution which could be accomplished in the council-halls may here be considered to have been brought to a close. The colonists had taken their position. They had repeatedly declared their grievances. They had peaceably petitioned for redress, and had met new acts of aggression by unavailing remonstrance. The purpose of resistance had acquired consistency and firmness, and only awaited the resort of tyranny to physical force in order to display its strength. The occasion was soon to arrive when the pen was to be laid aside and the sword unsheathed.

A considerable quantity of military stores having been deposited at Concord, an inland town, about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage resolved to destroy them [also to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who had been warned to escape from Boston]. For the execution of this design, he, on the night preceding the 19th of April, detached Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, who, at eleven o'clock, commenced a silent and expeditious march for Concord. Messengers,² who had been sent from town for that purpose by Dr. Joseph Warren, who had happily received timely notice of the expedition, eluded the British patrols and gave the alarm, which was rapidly spread by church-bells, signal-guns, and volleys. On the arrival of the British troops at Lexington, six miles below Concord, they found about seventy men, belonging to the minute-company of that town, on the parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloping up to them, called out, "Disperse, disperse, ye rebels! damn you! why don't you disperse?" The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying his order, he advanced nearer, fired his pistol, flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire. The troops cheered, and immediately fired;³ several of the provincials fell, and the rest dispersed. The British con-

¹ The militia organised in this manner received the appellation of "minute-men."

² These were Paul Revere and William Dawes, the former of whom is immortal for his "midnight ride." Certain details of the tradition are under dispute.]

³ The question of firing the first shot at Lexington was studiously examined at the time, each side claiming exemption from the charge of being the aggressor, and Frothingham^k and Hudson^l collate the evidence. It seems probable that the British fired first, though by design or accident a musket on the provincial side flashed in the pan before the regulars fired. Stedman,^m who was not present, and most British writers, say the Americans fired first, as did Pitcairn.—JUSſTIN WINSOR.ⁿ]

tinuing to discharge their muskets after the dispersion, a part of the fugitives stopped and returned the fire. Eight Americans were killed, three or four of them by the first discharge of the British, the rest after they had left the parade. Several also were wounded.

The British detachment now pressed forward to Concord. A party of light infantry took possession of the bridge, while the main body entered the town and proceeded to execute their commission. They spiked two twenty-four-pounders, threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and wells, and broke in pieces sixty barrels of flour. Meanwhile the provincial militia were reinforced, and Major Buttrick of Concord assuming the command, they advanced towards the bridge. Not being aware of the transaction at Lexington, and anxious that the British should be the aggressors, he ordered his followers to refrain from giving the first fire. As he advanced, the light infantry retired to the Concord side of the river and commenced pulling up the bridge, and on his nearer approach they fired, and killed a captain and one of the privates. The provincials returned the fire;¹ a severe contest ensued, and the regulars were forced to give ground with some loss. They were soon joined by the main body, and the whole detachment retreated with precipitancy. All the inhabitants of the adjoining country were by this time in arms, and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction. Stone walls and other coverts served the provincial soldiers for lines and redoubts, whilst their superior knowledge of the country enabled them to head off the British troops at every turn of the road. Thus harassed, they reached Lexington, where they were joined by Lord Percy, who, most opportunely for them, had arrived with nine hundred men and two pieces of cannon.² The close firing, by good marksmen, from behind their accidental coverts, threw the British into great confusion, but they kept up a retreating fire on the militia and minute-men. If the Salem and Marblehead regiments had arrived in season to cut off their retreat, in all probability but few of the detachment would ever have reached Boston. Of the Americans engaged throughout the day, fifty were killed and thirty-four wounded. The British loss was sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners. To their wounded prisoners the Americans behaved with the utmost tenderness and humanity, and apprised Gage that he was at liberty to send the surgeons of his own army to minister to them. The affair of Lexington was the signal for war. The provincial congress of Massachusetts met the next day after the battle, and determined the number of men to be raised; fixed on the payment of the troops; voted an issue of paper money; drew up rules and regulations for an army: and all was done in a business-like manner.^f

BANCROFT ON THE AFTERMATH OF LEXINGTON

Darkness closed upon the country and upon the town, but it was no night for sleep. Heralds on swift relays of horses transmitted the war-message from hand to hand, till village repeated it to village; the sea to the back-woods; the plains to the highlands; and it was never suffered to droop, till it had been borne north, and south, and east, and west, throughout the land. It spread over the bays that receive the Saco and the Penobscot. Its loud

[¹ This skirmish inspired Emerson's famous *Concord Ode*, in which he says of this first volley of "the embattled farmers," that they "fired the shot heard round the world."]

[² Colonel Stedman,^m a British historian, says that the fagged-out regulars reached Percy's lines with "their tongues hanging out of their mouths like dogs after a chase."]

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reveille broke the rest of the trappers of New Hampshire, and ringing like bugle-notes from peak to peak, overleapt the Green mountains, swept onward to Montreal, and descended the ocean river, till the responses were echoed from the cliffs of Quebec. The hills along the Hudson told to one another the tale. As the summons hurried to the south, it was one day at New York, in one more at Philadelphia; the next it lighted a watch-fire at Baltimore; thence it waked an answer at Annapolis. Crossing the Potomac near Mount Vernon, it was sent forward without a halt to Williamsburg. It traversed the Dismal Swamp to Nansemond along the route of the first emigrants to North Carolina. It moved onwards and still onwards through boundless groves of evergreen to New Berne and to Wilmington. "For God's sake, forward it by night and by day!" wrote Cornelius Harnett by the express which sped for Brunswick. Patriots of South Carolina caught up its tones at the border, and despatched it to Charleston, and through pines and palmettoes and moss-clad live oaks, still farther to the south, till it resounded among the New England settlements beyond the Savannah. Hillsborough and the Mecklenburg district of North Carolina rose in triumph, now that their wearisome uncertainty had its end. The Blue Ridge took up the voice and made it heard from one end to the other of the valley of Virginia. The Alleghanies, as they listened, opened their barriers that the "loud call" might pass through to the hardy riflemen on the Holston, the Watauga, and the French Broad. Ever renewing its strength, powerful enough even to create a commonwealth, it breathed its inspiring word to the first settlers of Kentucky; so that hunters who made their halt in the matchless valley of the Elkhorn commemorated the nineteenth day of April by naming their encampment Lexington. With one impulse the colonies sprang to arms; with one spirit they pledged themselves to each other "to be ready for the extreme event." With one heart the continent cried, "Liberty or death!"

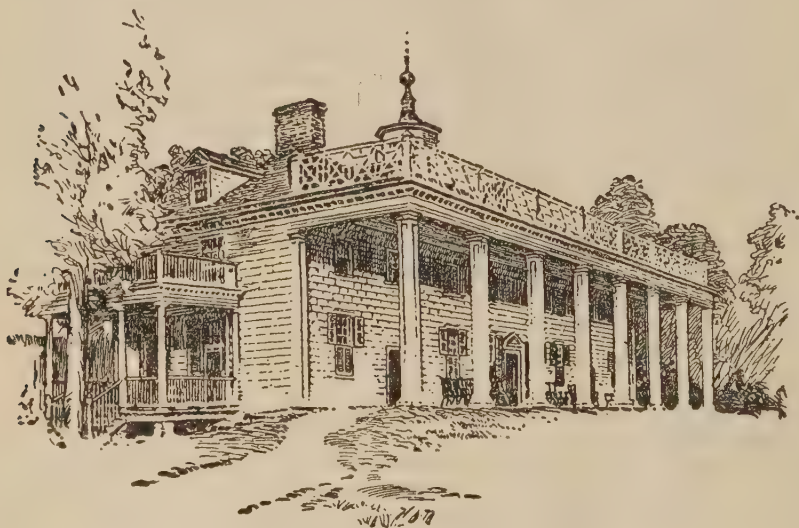
The country people, as soon as they heard the cry of innocent blood from the ground, snatched their firelocks from the walls, and wives and mothers and sisters took part in preparing the men of their households to go forth to the war. The farmers rushed to "the camp of liberty," often with nothing but the clothes on their backs, without a day's provisions, and many without a farthing in their pockets. Without stores or cannon, or supplies even of powder or of money, Massachusetts, by its congress, on the 22nd of April resolved unanimously that a New England army of thirty thousand men should be raised, and established its own proportion at thirteen thousand six hundred. The term of enlistment was fixed for the last day of December.

Boston was beleaguered round from Roxbury to Chelsea by an unorganised, fluctuating mass of men, each with his own musket and his little store of cartridges, and such provisions as he brought with him or as were sent after him or were contributed by the people round about. The British officers, from the sense of their own weakness and from fear of the American marksmen, dared not order a sally. Their confinement was the more irksome, for it came of a sudden before their magazines had been filled. They had scoffed at the Americans as cowards who would run at their sight, and they had saved themselves from destruction only by the rapidity of their retreat.

The news from Lexington surprised London in the last days of May. The Massachusetts congress, by a swift packet in its own service, had sent to England a calm and accurate statement of the events of the 19th of April, fortified by depositions, with a charge to Arthur Lee, their agent, to give it the widest circulation. These were their words to the inhabitants of Britain: "Brethren, we profess to be loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly dealt

with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the person, family, crown, and dignity of our royal sovereign. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will not submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

Granville Sharpe, who was employed in the ordnance department, declined to take part in sending stores to America, and after some delay threw up his employment. Lord Chatham was the real conqueror of Canada for England, and Carleton had been proud to take to Quebec as his aide-de-camp Chatham's eldest son. But it was impossible for the offspring of the elder Pitt to draw his sword against the Americans, and his resignation was offered, as soon as it could be done without a wound to his character as a soldier. Admiral Kessel, one of the most gallant officers in the British navy, asked not to be employed in America. The recorder of London put on a full suit of mourning,



MOUNT VERNON

and being asked if he had lost a relative or friend, answered, "Yes, many brothers at Lexington and Concord."

On the 24th of June the citizens of London, agreeing fully with the letter received from New York, voted an address to the king, desiring him to consider the situation of the English people, "who had nothing to expect from America but gazettes of blood and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow subjects." And again they prayed for the dissolution of parliament, and a dismissal forever of the present ministers. As the king refused to receive this address on the throne, it was never presented, but it was entered in the books of the city and published under its authority. The Society for Constitutional Information, after a special meeting on the 7th of June, raised £100, "to be applied," said they, "to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at Lexington and Concord." Other sums were added, and an account of what had been done was laid before the world by Horne Tooke in the *Public Advertiser*. The publication raised an

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implacable spirit of revenge. Three printers were fined in consequence £100 each, and Horne was pursued unrelentingly.

The people of New England had with one impulse rushed to arms; the people of England, quite otherwise, stood aghast, doubtful and saddened, unwilling to fight against their countrymen; languid and appalled; astonished at the conflict, which they had been taught to believe never would come; in a state of apathy; irresolute between their pride and their sympathy with the struggle for English liberties. The king might employ emancipated negroes, or Indians, or Canadians, or Russians, or Germans; Englishmen enough to carry on the war were not to be engaged. The king's advisers cast their eyes outside of England for aid. They counted with certainty upon the inhabitants of Canada; they formed plans to recruit in Ireland; they looked to Hanover, Hesse, and Russia for regiments. The king rested his confidence of success in checking the rebellion on the ability of his governor to arm Indians and negroes enough to make up the deficiency. This plan of operations bears the special impress of George III.^e

TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT TAKEN; BUNKER HILL LOST

At New York the doubtful tory ascendancy was completely swept away by the current of patriotism occasioned by the battle of Lexington, and the public voice of the colony declared its determination to join in the quarrel. Some of the boldest inhabitants of Connecticut conceived the design of capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, two fortresses which, in the event of a final struggle, would prove of the utmost importance to the Americans. Forty volunteers accordingly proceeded from Connecticut to Bennington. Colonel Ethan Allen joined them with two hundred and thirty men. Here they were all unexpectedly joined by Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had meditated a similar project. He was admitted to act as auxiliary to Allen, who held the chief command. Allen and Arnold with eighty-three men entered the fort abreast at break of day (May 9th).¹ All the garrison were asleep, except one sentinel, whose piece missing fire, he attempted to escape into the fort; but the Americans rushed after him, and, forming themselves into a hollow square, gave three loud huzzas, which instantly aroused the garrison. Some skirmishing with swords and bayonets ensued. De la Place, the commander [who came forth undressed with his breeches in his hands], was required to surrender the fort. "By what authority?" he asked, with no unnatural surprise. "I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the great Jehovah and of the continental congress!" This extraordinary summons was instantly obeyed.^f

Thus was Ticonderoga taken in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May. What cost the British nation £8,000,000, a succession of campaigns, and many lives was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined men, without the loss of life or limb. The Americans gained with the fortress nearly fifty prisoners and more than a hundred pieces of cannon.^e

Colonel Seth Warner was then despatched to Crown Point, and he easily succeeded in gaining possession of this place, in which a sergeant and twelve privates formed the whole of the garrison. A British sloop of war, lying off St. Johns, at the northern end of Lake Champlain, was captured by Arnold, who commenced in this manner a brief but brilliant career, too soon clouded

[^f There has been controversy concerning the relative credit due Allen and Arnold in this affair.]

by private vice, vanity, and prodigality, and finally tarnished by public treachery and dishonour. Thus the Americans, without the loss of a single man, acquired, by a bold and decisive stroke, two important posts, a great quantity of artillery and ammunition, and the command of Lake George and Lake Champlain.

Towards the end of May a considerable reinforcement arrived at Boston from England under generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, who had gained great reputation in the preceding war. General Gage, thus strengthened, prepared to act with more decision. It was recommended by the provincial congress to the council of war to take measures for the defence of Dorchester Neck and to occupy Bunker Hill. The hill, which is high and commanding, stands just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown. Orders were accordingly issued, on the 16th of June, for a detachment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, to take possession of that eminence; but, by some mistake, Breed's Hill was made the scene of the intrenchment. The American troops, who were provided with intrenching tools, immediately commenced their work, and pursued it with such diligence that before the morning arrived they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable dimensions. This was done in such deep silence that, although the peninsula was nearly surrounded by British ships of war and transports, their operations were only first disclosed to the enemy by the return of daylight.

The alarm was given at Boston, at break of day, by a cannonade which the *Lively*, sloop of war, promptly directed against the provincial works. A battery of six guns was soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. Under a continual shower of shot and shells, the Americans persevered in their labour.

At three o'clock the British moved to the attack, three thousand strong. They marched slowly up the hill in two lines. The artillery was used occasionally as they advanced, but did little execution. Meantime the Americans had been reinforced by a body of their countrymen under Joseph Warren and Pomeroy. While the troops were advancing, orders were given by the British to set fire to Charlestown, and in a very short time the town was wrapped in flames. The Americans permitted the enemy to approach unmolested within a hundred yards of their works, and then poured in upon them such a deadly fire of small-arms that the British commanders, who had expected nothing more than a few random shots from militia, soon found their line broken and the soldiers falling back precipitately to the landing-place. By the vigorous exertions of the officers, they were again formed and brought to the attack, though with apparent reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy were within five or six rods, when they gave it with deadly precision, and put them a second time to flight. But by this time the powder of the Americans began to fail, and their fire slackened. The British brought some of their cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field-artillery was redoubled, and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The Americans, though a retreat was ordered, delayed, and made an obstinate resistance with the butts of their guns, until the assailants, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt. The troops had now to make their way over Charlestown Neck, which was completely raked by the Glasgow man-of-war and two floating batteries; but by the skill and address of the officers, and especially of General Israel Putnam, who commanded the rear, the retreat was effected with little loss. General Warren was in the battle, fighting like

[1775 A.D.]

a common soldier, with his musket, in the redoubt, and while the troops were retreating from thence he was shot in the back of the head.

The New Hampshire troops, under Stark, Dearborn, and others, were in the battle, near the rail-fence. They were marching from their native state towards Cambridge, and came upon the battle-ground by their own impulses, having received no orders from the commander-in-chief. The British had over three thousand in the fight, the Americans fifteen hundred [engaged at one time; from three to four thousand took part at some time, though at all points of contact the British were superior in numbers]. The English acknowledged a loss of one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded, with a great proportion of officers. The American loss, previous to the taking of the redoubt, was trifling, but owing to their imprudence in not retreating when ordered the number was increased. They lost in killed one hundred and fifty, and three hundred wounded and missing.

The battle of Bunker, or Breed's, Hill, though a defeat for the Americans, was in a sense a moral victory, since their untrained and ill-managed troops showed that they could hold their fire for effective volleys, and could meet the British regular face to face. This in spite of bad military management. On this matter Charles Francis Adams animadverts with much vigour: "The affair of the 17th of June, 1775, affords one of the most singular examples on record of what might be called the 'balancing of blunders' between opposing sides, and of the accidental inuring of all those blunders to the advantage of one side. So far as the patriot cause was concerned, the operation ought to have resulted in irretrievable disaster, for on no correct military principle could it be defended; and yet, owing to the superior capacity of blundering of the British commanders, the movement was in its actual results a brilliant success. The essential fact is that Prescott was ordered to march across Charlestown Neck and to occupy Bunker Hill, and did so, leaving his rear wholly unprotected. After that, on his own responsibility, he exposed himself to great additional risk by advancing from the summit of Bunker Hill, from which he overlooked both Breed's Hill in his front and his single line of retreat across Charlestown Neck in his rear, to the lower summit before him, at which point he was helplessly in the trap, unless his opponent, by coming at him in front, drove him bodily out of the hole in which he had put himself.

"Twice did Prescott repulse his enemy. Had he done so a third time, he would have won a victory, held his position, and, the next day, in all human probability, the force would have been compelled to surrender, because of properly conducted operations in its rear under cover of the British fleet. A result not unusual in warfare would no doubt have been witnessed—the temporary and partial success of one day would have been converted into the irretrievable disaster of the succeeding day. It was so with Napoleon himself at Ligny and Waterloo. Fortunately for Prescott and the patriot cause, the ammunition within the Bunker Hill redoubt was pretty much consumed before the third assault was made; and so his adversaries drove the patriot commander out of his trap and into the arms of his own friends."^o

THE SECOND CONGRESS; WASHINGTON DRIVES THE BRITISH FROM BOSTON

A second congress was now clearly necessary. Before the battle of Lexington delegates had been appointed by all the colonies, and it assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, when Peyton Randolph was again chosen president.

The crisis had now arrived which required the other colonies to determine whether they would maintain the cause of New England in actual war, or abandon that liberty for which they had so long contended, and submit to parliament. The congress immediately resolved that the colonies should be put in a state of defence. They then voted addresses to the king, to the people of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the assembly of Jamaica. These several papers were written in a masterly style, full of the eloquence so necessary to conciliate goodwill to the common cause. Congress next resolved that twenty thousand men should immediately be equipped, chose George Washington, of Virginia, a member of the congress, to be commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and all the forces now raised or to be raised by them; they organised all the higher departments of the army, and emitted bills of credit, for the payment of which the twelve United Colonies were pledged. On the 6th of July a manifesto was issued.

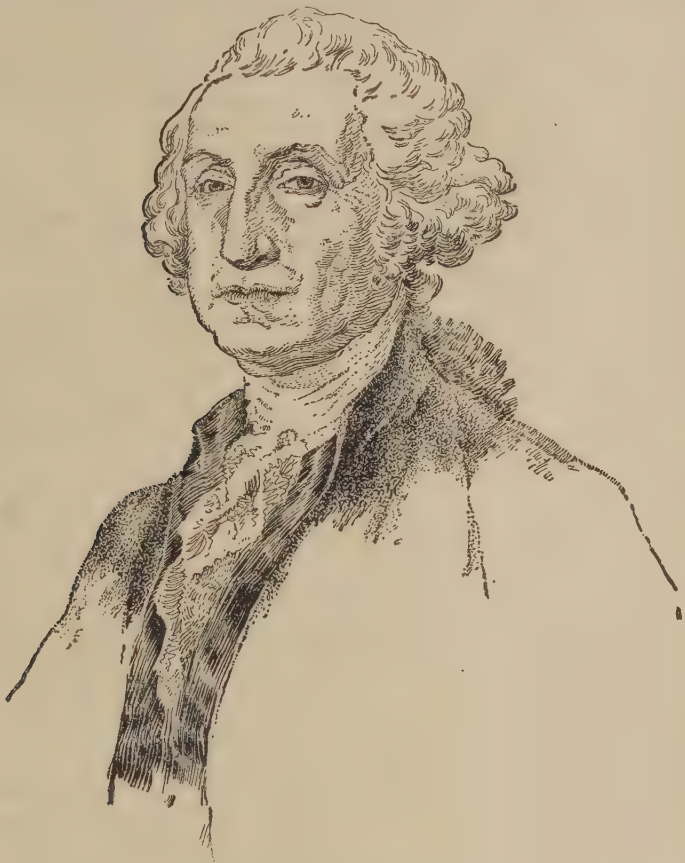
Meantime the news of the battle of Bunker Hill spread through the country, and all New England was in arms. Companies were raised with the utmost despatch, and all hopes of reconciliation were lost. Bands of armed men came flocking to Cambridge from all directions and from remote distances. The British force in New England was fully employed by sea and land. Congress had fitted out several small vessels which had been very successful in capturing store-ships laden with provisions and ammunition for the British army. The British cruisers were sent against them, but with little success. This produced retaliation on defenceless towns along the coast, and on the 17th of October, Falmouth, now Portland, was visited by Captain Mowat, who laid the town in ashes, the inhabitants having escaped during the night. On the 2nd of July General Washington, accompanied by General Lee and several other officers of rank, arrived at Cambridge, the headquarters of the provincial army.^f

Washington at once determined to lay regular siege to Boston. His first object was merely to shut up the British in the town. In August he tried to bring on an attack from the enemy against the American lines. This failing, he formed the purpose of attacking the British in their own lines in September. He deferred to the objections of his officers, and put off the assault, without, however, abandoning his designs. All the while, he had no arms, no ammunition, no pay for his troops from congress; no general support from his officers or men; no obedience even, at times, from the soldiers or from the crews of the armed vessels acting in concert with the army.¹ It was very difficult to fill the ranks to any degree at all proportioned to the operations of the siege. "There must be some other stimulus," he writes to the president of congress, "besides love for their country, to make men fond of the service." "Such a dearth of public spirit," he laments to a personal friend, "and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility to obtain advantages of one kind and another, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. I tremble at the prospect. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command." Such were the circumstances, and such the feelings, in which the commander-in-chief found himself conducting the great operation of the year.

["It is not in the pages of history, perhaps," observed Washington in a letter to congress, "to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without ammunition, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted."]]

[1775 A.D.]

By this time there was not only an army but a government of America. The continental congress took all the measures, military, financial, and diplomatic, which the cause appeared to require. The organisation of the army was continued; that of the militia was attempted. A naval committee was appointed, and a navy—if the name can be used on so small a scale—was called into existence [by the resolution of December 13th, 1775, to fit out thirteen war-ships]. Hospitals were provided. Several millions of continental currency were issued, and a treasury department created. A post-office was



GEORGE WASHINGTON
(1732-1799)

also organised. Several of the colonies who had applied for advice upon the point were recommended to frame governments for themselves. The Indian relations were reduced to system. More significant than all else was the appointment of a committee of secret correspondence with Europe. In short, the functions of a general government were assumed by congress and recognised throughout the colonies. At the beginning of August Georgia signified her accession to the other colonies, thus completing the thirteen. A fourteenth offered itself in Transylvania, the present Kentucky, where one or two small settlements had just been made [under the leadership of the pioneer

Daniel Boone, who first explored it in 1769, following James Robertson's settlement in Tennessee in 1768]. But congress could not admit the delegate of a territory which Virginia claimed as under her jurisdiction. The nation and the government remained as the Thirteen United Colonies.

Military operations, apart from the siege of Boston, were numerous, if not extensive. The landing of a British party at Gloucester was repelled. The fort near Charleston was seized by the Americans, who also drove the British ships out of the harbour. Norfolk, for some time in the hands of the British, was recovered after a gallant action. On the other hand, Stonington, Bristol, and Falmouth were not saved from bombardment, Falmouth (now Portland) being nearly annihilated, as we have seen. The Americans, in return, sent out their privateers; those commissioned by Washington, especially his "famous Manly," as he called one of his captains, doing great execution in Massachusetts Bay. Offensive operations were pursued on land.

A projected expedition against Nova Scotia was given up, chiefly on account of the friendly feeling of that province. But a twofold force, partly from the New York and partly from the Maine side, marched against Canada. St. John's and Montreal¹ were taken by the Americans under the Irish General Montgomery, who fell in an assault on Quebec the last day of the year. Arnold, the same who had gone against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, kept up the show of besieging Quebec through the winter, but in the spring the Americans retreated within their own borders. One of the most successful operations of the period was towards the close of winter, when fifteen hundred Highlanders and Regulators, who had enlisted under the royal banner in North Carolina, were defeated by two-thirds their number of Americans, under Colonel Moore. It saved the province to the country.

All the while Washington was before Boston. But his attention was not wholly concentrated there. On the contrary, his voice was to be heard in all directions, on the march to Canada, in the posts of New York, on board the national cruisers, at the meetings of committees and assemblies, in the provincial legislatures, within congress itself, everywhere pointing out what was to be done, and the spirit in which it was to be done. They who doubt his military ability or his intellectual greatness will do well to follow him through these first months of the war; if they do it faithfully they will doubt no more. The activity, the judgment, the executive power, and above all the moral power of the great general and the great man, are nowhere in history more conspicuous than in those rude lines before Boston.

To add to the difficulties of the siege, the army went through a complete process of disbanding and recruiting, on account of the general unwillingness to serve for any length of time. Without men and without munitions, Washington sublimely kept his post, until, after months of disappointment, he obtained the means to take possession of Dorchester Heights, whence the town was completely commanded. The British, now under General Howe, General Gage having been recalled, had long meditated the evacuation of the place, and they now the more readily agreed to leave it on condition that they should be unmolested. The 17th of March, 1776, eight and a half months from the time that Washington undertook the siege, his generalship and his constancy were rewarded with success. It was certainly an amazing victory. "I have been here months together," he wrote to his brother, "with what will scarcely be believed, not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man. We

[¹ Colonel Ethan Allen was taken prisoner by the British near Montreal, with about thirty-eight of his men. He was cruelly treated, loaded with irons, and sent to England for trial as a rebel.]

[1776 A.D.]

have maintained our ground against the enemy under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army and recruited another within musket-shot of two-and-twenty regiments; the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little, if any, superior to theirs, and at last have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense." Such being the result of the only operation in which the Americans and the British met each other as actual armies, there was reason for Washington and his true-hearted countrymen to exult and to hope. But the country was in danger. An attack was feared at New York, another at Charleston; the whole coast, indeed, lay open and defenceless. The year of warfare ended in greater apprehensions and in greater perils than those in which it began.^d

THE INSURRECTION BECOMES A REVOLUTION

During the winter of 1775-1776 many of the most able writers in America were employed in demonstrating the necessity and propriety of a total separation from the mother country, and the establishment of constitutional governments in the colonies. One of the most conspicuous of these writers was Thomas Paine, an Englishman [a corset-maker], who had lately arrived in America, and who published a pamphlet anonymously under the title *Common Sense*, which produced a great effect. It demonstrated the necessity, advantages, and practicability of independence, and heaped reproach and disgrace on monarchical governments, and ridicule on hereditary succession. Although ignorant of many of the first principles of political economy and a man of no learning, yet Paine had both shrewdness and cunning mixed with boldness in his manner of writing, and to this, perhaps, may be ascribed the uncommon effect of his essays on the inflamed minds of the Americans. [More than one hundred thousand copies of his *Common Sense* were sold in a short time.] The subject had been fully and earnestly discussed in the various provinces, and nearly every member of congress had received instructions on the subject from his constituents.

In May congress directed reprisals to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the mother country found on the high seas, and they declared their ports open to all the world except the dominions of Great Britain. This act was retaliatory to the act passed by parliament prohibiting American commerce. Intelligence was received that it was in contemplation to send forty-two thousand soldiers over to subjugate America; of these, twenty-five thousand were to be English and seventeen thousand Hessians, hired to fight for the king. The employment of these foreign mercenaries gave great offence to the Americans and strengthened the disposition to declare independence.

This measure was brought forward on the 7th of June, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from Virginia. He submitted a resolution declaring the colonies free and independent. The most animated and eloquent debates followed, John Adams of Massachusetts leading the party in favour of independence, and John Dickinson of Pennsylvania the opponents. Dickinson opposed from principle the declaration, and he was therefore removed from his place as member of congress. Perceiving afterwards that his countrymen were earnestly struggling for independence, Dickinson joined with them, and was as zealous in congress in 1780 as any of the members.

On the 8th the resolution was debated in committee of the whole house, and adopted on the 10th, in committee, by a bare majority. It was postponed in the house until the 1st of July, to obtain greater unanimity among the members, as the representatives from Pennsylvania and Maryland were instructed to oppose it, and many members had received no instructions on the subject. During the interval measures were taken to procure the assent of all the colonies, and on the day appointed all assented to the measure except Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The committee who were instructed to prepare a declaration of independence appointed as a sub-committee John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston; the original draft was made by Thomas Jefferson. It was reported by the committee, almost without alteration, to the house, where, after several amendments, it received the sanction of congress. This well-known document was then signed by each of the members of congress, and the thirteen United States were thus severed from Great Britain and a new and great nation was born to the world. The Declaration of Independence was immediately sent to the provinces and proclaimed to the army, and was everywhere received with demonstrations of joy.^f

GEORGE E. ELLIS ON THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE¹

There is a slight conflict of testimony in private records—for we have none that are official—as to some of the details in the preparation of the Declaration. John Adams, trusting to his memory, wrote in his *Autobiography*, twenty-eight years after the transaction, and again in a letter to Timothy Pickering, forty-seven years after it, and when he was in his eighty-eighth year, substantially to the same effect—namely, that Jefferson and himself were appointed by their associates a sub-committee to make the draft. Jefferson, reading this letter, published in 1823, wrote to Madison denying this statement, and making another, relying on notes which he had made at the time. He says there was no sub-committee, and that when he himself had prepared the draft he submitted it for perusal and judgment separately to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams, each of whom made a few verbal alterations in it. These he adopted in a fair copy which he reported to the committee, and on June 28th to congress, where, after the reading, it was laid on the table. On July 1st congress took up for debate Mr. Lee's resolution for independence. On July 2nd, and the two days following, Jefferson's draft was under debate, and was amended in committee of the whole. The author of the instrument leaves us to infer that he sat in an impatient and annoyed silence through the ordeal of criticism and objection passed upon it. The two principal amendments were the striking out a severe censure on "the people of England," lest "it might offend some of our friends there," and the omission of a reprobation of slavery, in deference to South Carolina and Georgia. When the committee reported to congress, such notes of the debates as we have inform us that, with much vehemence, discordance, remonstrance, and pleadings for delay, with doubts as to whether the people were ready for and would ratify the Declaration, it secured a majority of one in the count of the delegates. Jefferson said that John Adams was "the colossus" in that stirring debate.

[^f Reproduced by permission from Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Copyright, 1887, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.]

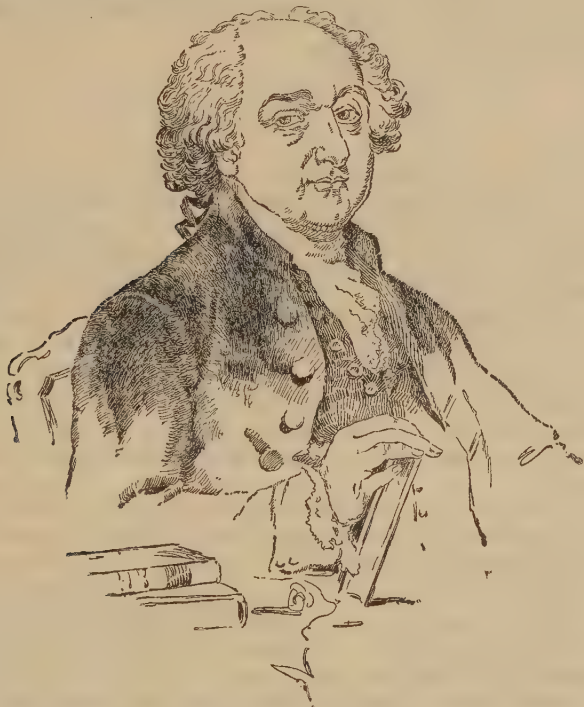


THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
(From the painting by Trumbull)



[1776 A.D.]

There is no occasion here for a critical study or estimate of the Declaration, either as a political manifesto or as a literary production. Its rhetoric, as we know, was at the first reading of it regarded as excessive—needlessly, perhaps harmfully, severe. That has ever since been the judgment of some. But Jefferson, Franklin, and John Adams, men of three very different types of mental energy and styles of expressing themselves, accorded in offering the document. The best that can be said of it is that it answered its purpose, was fitted to meet a crisis and to serve the uses desired of it. Its terse and pointed directness of statement, its brief and nervous sentences, its cumulating gathering of grievances, its concentration of censure, and its resolute avowal of a decided purpose, not admitting of temporising or reconsideration, were



JOHN ADAMS
(1735–1826)

its effective points. Dating from its passage by the congress and its confidently assured ratification by the people, it was to announce a changed relation and new conditions for future intercourse between a now independent nation and a repudiated mother country.⁹

ORGANISATION OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

The day after a committee had been appointed to draw up the Declaration, another, and a larger one, received the charge of preparing a plan of confederation (June 12th). This was reported a week after the adoption of the Declaration, but no action was taken upon it (July 12th). Circumstances

postponed any decision; nor were the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, as they were styled, actually adopted by congress until more than a year later (November 15th-17th, 1777), when they were recommended to the states for adoption. A long time elapsed before all the states complied. Meanwhile congress continued to be the uniting as well as the governing authority. It was imperfectly, as we shall perceive, that congress served the purpose of a central power. Its treaties, its laws, its finances, its armaments, all depended upon the consent and the co-operation of the states. The states were everywhere forming governments of their own. Massachusetts took the lead, as was observed, in the early summer of 1775. As a general thing each had a governor, with or without a council, for an executive; a council, or senate, and a house of representatives, for a legislature, and one or more judicial bodies for a judiciary. Indeed, the states were much more thoroughly organised than the nation.^d

THE COMING OF THE HESSIANS

It is one thing to declare one's self free; it is quite another thing to get free. The Declaration of Independence, put forward with no little timidity by the loosely organised congress of the colonists, was received by the British, not as the classic which it has now become in the world's history, but as an impudent tract hardly to be taken seriously. It has often been claimed that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, issued a declaration of independence, May 20th, 1775, but in spite of the evidence brought to bear in proof, the most cautious opinion seems to be that the claim to priority of the Mecklenburg declaration rests upon a mistake in later crediting to it sentiments of independence not expressed in it. In any case the actual declaration from Philadelphia was the national expression and the gospel that swept the country like wildfire.

To crush this heresy in its cradle and teach the unruly colonists their place, King George needed more troops than he could conveniently send so far from the storm-centre of Europe. He turned to Catherine of Russia, as we have seen, and asked her for aid, but she refused without undue delicacy, and there was for a century a curiously amicable relation between the extreme despotism of Russia and the level democracy of the United States, it being especially noticeable during the severe strain of the Civil War. Rebuffed by Catherine, King George turned to the duke of Hesse, and from him was enabled to purchase thousands of mercenaries. The name "Hessian" has worn a hateful sound ever since to the American ear, due to the roughness of these troops, as well as the fact that they were levelling their muskets at people with whom they had no possible concern. Rather should their memory be visited with special pity. Their brutalities towards the people they encountered were largely due to the difficulty of making their wants known in a language they could not speak and in a country that did not understand their tongue. They must have been embittered, too, by the harshness of their own fate, which had dragged them from their quiet German homes across the ocean into a wild new country. They were treated like dogs by their own officers and like wolves by the natives; and they had been sold to a strange oppressor and were sent to their slaughter like sheep. In fact, the indignant Frederick the Great ordered his customs-officers to collect a cattle-toll on such as passed through his territory. Thirty thousand German soldiers were sent from Hesse and other petty principalities, as Brunswick, Anhalt, Anspach, Bayreuth, and

[1776 A.D.]

Waldeck. Of these, 7,754 died, and 4,800 settled in America after the war. The sale of the Hessians, as Rosengarten^r points out, provoked great indignation in Europe, Mirabeau and Schiller writing against it and Frederick the Great protesting; later, Napoleon used this inhumanity of the ruler as an excuse for annexing Hesse-Cassel to his kingdom of Westphalia and overthrowing the ruling family.^a

THE BRITISH REPULSED AT CHARLESTON, VICTORIOUS AT NEW YORK

The war of Independence naturally divides itself into three periods. Of these, the first has been already described as beginning with the arming of Massachusetts, in October, 1774, and extending to the recovery of Boston, in March, 1776—a period of a year and a half, of which something less than a year, dating from the affrays at Lexington and Concord, was actually a period of war. The second period is of little more than two years—from April, 1776, to July, 1778. The chief points to characterise it are these, namely, that the main operations were in the north, and that the Americans fought their battles without allies.

A brilliant feat of arms had preceded the Declaration. The anticipated descent upon the southern coast was made off Charleston by a British force, partly land and partly naval, under the command of General Clinton and Admiral Parker. The Americans, chiefly militia, were under General Lee. Fort Sullivan, afterwards Fort Moultrie, a few miles below Charleston, became the object of attack. It was so gallantly defended, the fort itself by Colonel Moultrie, and an adjoining battery by Colonel Thomson, that the British were obliged to abandon their expedition and retire to the north, June 28th. A long time passed before the enemy reappeared in the south. Meanwhile Washington had transferred his quarters from Boston to New York (April 13th), which he was busy in fortifying against the expected foe. Troops from Halifax, under General Howe, joined by British and Hessians under his brother Admiral Howe, and by the discomfited forces of the southern expedition, landed at various times on Staten Island.^d General Howe found himself at the head of twenty-four thousand of the finest troops in Europe, well-appointed and supplied,¹ while further reinforcements were expected daily, which would swell his numbers to fifty-five thousand. As Washington had supposed, the intention of the British was to gain possession of New York, and, having command of the Hudson river, open communication with Canada, and thus separate the eastern from the middle states and be able to carry the war into the interior; while Long Island, adjacent to New York, which abounded in grain and cattle, would afford subsistence to the army. By the middle of summer, as we have already seen, the American forces were driven out of Canada and the northern frontier was exposed to attack.

Soon after the landing of the British army Admiral Lord Howe sent a letter containing an offer of pardon to all who would submit. This letter was directed to "George Washington, Esq." Washington, however, declined receiving in his private capacity any communication from the enemies of his country; the style of the address was then changed to that of "George Washington, etc., etc., etc.," and it was requested that the offer of pardon contained in the letter might be made known as widely as possible. Congress ordered it to be published in every newspaper throughout the Union, "that

[¹ Washington reported that he himself had only eleven thousand effectives, and that two thousand of those were without arms.]

everybody might see how Great Britain was insidiously endeavouring to amuse and disarm them," and replied that, "not considering that their opposition to British tyranny was a crime, they therefore could not solicit pardon."

Nothing being gained by this attempt at conciliation, the British now proceeded to the prosecution of the war. Washington, aware that the enemy would advance to New York by way of Long Island, had intrenched a portion of the American army, nine thousand strong, at Brooklyn. On August 22nd the English landed on the southern shore of Long Island, and advanced to within four miles of the American camp. On the 27th the British silently advanced at night by three several roads towards the American army. Clinton, proceeding by the eastern road, having seized an important defile, which through carelessness had been left unguarded, descended with the morning light into the plain and within sight of the American camp. General Sullivan, who had hastened out to meet them with a considerable force, had fallen in with Generals Grant and Heister, whilst Clinton, who by this time was safe on the plain, hastened forward and threw himself between Sullivan's corps and the American camp. The Americans attempted a retreat, but it was too late. The English drove them back upon Heister's Hessians, and thus locked in between two hostile armies, some few managed to escape, but the greater number were killed or taken prisoners. It was a disastrous day. The true number of the Americans killed was never ascertained; about a thousand were taken prisoners. The English lost only about four hundred. The victors, fifteen thousand strong, encamped directly opposite the American lines. Among the prisoners were General Sullivan and General Lord Stirling.

This defeat was more disastrous even than the loss of so much life in the effect which it produced on the American mind. The utmost doubt and depression prevailed, and again regiments which were enlisted only on a short term quitted the service the moment it had expired, and even in some cases deserted before that was the case.*

WAS WASHINGTON A GOOD GENERAL?

It is an undoubted fact that Washington, who, like Napoleon, began by driving the British out of a besieged seaport, was, unlike Napoleon, so badly beaten in his first pitched battle that he was saved from absolute disaster, and perhaps from capture or death, only by the amazing appearance of a fog which blinded a slow enemy to his retreat across a wide, swift river. These facts have led the acute strategical critic Charles Francis Adams^t to try to dispel the "glamour round Washington," and his right to acceptance as a first-rate general. He says:

"An almost amazing element of pure luck saved Washington and the cause of American independence at New York; for not often has a force on which great results depended found itself in a worse position than did the Americans then, and seldom has any force in such a position been afforded equal opportunities for escape. Washington was compelled to violate, and did violate, almost every recognised principle of warfare. Washington divided his inadequate force to such a degree that, even if his enemy through their command of the sea did not, the moment active operations began, cut him completely in two, it was wholly out of the question for one portion of his army, in case of emergency, to support or assist the other portion. When Washington's enemy obliged him by attacking just where he wanted to be attacked,

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in full front, instead of awaiting the assault within his lines, as did Prescott at Bunker Hill, Washington actually went out to meet it, challenging the fate which befell him. And at last even his own excellent management in the moment of disaster could not have saved the patriot cause from irretrievable ruin and himself from hopeless failure and disgrace, had it not been combined with almost miraculous good luck, to which the 'dilatatoriness and stupidity of the enemy' most effectively contributed. At Bunker Hill Howe had been over-confident; at Brooklyn he was too cautious. Probably on the 27th of August, 1776, he remembered the 17th of June, 1775; and, a burnt child, he feared the fire."

Mr. Adams can only compare the fog that saved Washington to the mists which in Trojan times the gods threw round their otherwise helpless favourites. He regrets, however, the fact that the Americans had previously lost the flower of the army, and that even after the successful retreat whose alleged "masterliness" he denies, Washington's prestige had so suffered that he was on the point of being supplanted by General Charles Lee, an Englishman by birth, and proved after his death to have been in treasonable correspondence with the British.

With due respect for the truth of much of Mr. Adams' criticism, it is only fair to place Washington in his true perspective. He was not the only general who won fame in spite of mistakes. In the first place, the best general cannot win battles single-handed, if his troops on outpost duty allow themselves to be silently captured, his minor commanders allow themselves to be flanked right and left, and his main body breaks and runs from the field—all of which happened in this case. Washington's troops were very raw, they were on short-term enlistment, they were doubly outnumbered on Long Island, and of his eleven thousand effectives, "two thousand were entirely destitute of arms"; there was little artillery, no cavalry, and no naval support. He had found the British commanders far from alert at Boston, and, as Napoleon so often did, he took great risks in reliance on the incompetence of his enemy. It was not the enemy that disappointed him; it was his own troops, whom he now saw for the first time capable of the panics that long characterised them.

The rawness of the troops is the only consolation Americans can find when they regard the rapidity with which their forefathers often forgot their watchword of "liberty or death," and preferred to escape the latter in the front by seeking the former well to the rear. The more we remember the untrained, ill-disciplined, weak-kneed material George Washington had under him, the more we shall realize how purely he was a military genius of the first order, a truth which critics of too great acuteness after the event, and of too little perspective, are wont to deny. It is true that luck occasionally saved him from impending disaster, and that his enemies occasionally overlooked the very easy and apparently unavoidable way of crushing him beyond recovery. But this can be said of every other great general from Alexander down to Napoleon. Robert E. Lee is ordinarily pointed to as the best strategist America has ever produced, and not without reason; but even he was at the beginning of his career defeated by inferior numbers at Cheat Mountain, and on more than one occasion he left Richmond unprotected against an easy dash. On more than one occasion, as after Gettysburg, he could have been annihilated by a heavy pressure after victory.

Military prestige is largely a collaboration between common sense and uncommon luck. There have been rarely such combinations as were in Washington's favour during his first retreats. They offered every excuse for a theory as to the direct interposition of providence, if one could only overlook

the other occasions on which his carefully drawn plans were at the last moment sent to the winds of defeat by some unforeseen malice of events, or some almost superhuman stupidity of his inferior officers.

While the amazing and almost Mosaic assistance given Washington in his distress by the pillar of fog in front of him and the broad daylight in his rear offers some excuse to the British general for not making Washington's army an easy prize, this must not be allowed to detract from Washington's genius in taking advantage of the fortuitous weather, and of being ready to turn it to the most immediate account. The English historian of the revolution, Stedman,^m who served with the invading army, says of this Long Island affair, "The circumstances of the retreat were particularly glorious to the Americans." In contrast with the disaster following upon Washington's cautious methods and his narrow escapes in spite of them, there were even more bitter disasters attending upon the American cause in the north, where the troops were driven from Lake George and from Crown Point (October 11th-14th) in spite of that excellent general and firebrand of impetuous valour, Benedict Arnold.^a

Landing a considerable force in the city of New York, Washington, on the 12th of September, removed his headquarters to the heights of Harlem,¹ seven miles above the city. The British fleet sailed up each side of Manhattan, or New York Island, on which New York stands; a battery was erected, and while the attention of the Americans was diverted by the fire from Howe's ships stationed in the East river and the Hudson, he landed his troops at Bloomingdale, about five miles above the city and only two from the American camp. Troops had been stationed to guard this landing; but seeing now the advantage gained by the alacrity of the English, they fled panic-stricken, without even firing a gun, as did also two New England brigades, in company with Washington, who had come down to view the ground. Washington, thus left undefended, except by his immediate attendants, within eighty paces of the enemy, was so distressed and excited by their dastardly conduct that he exclaimed, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" His attendants turned his horse's head and hurried him from the field. The next day, a skirmish taking place at Harlem, the Americans retrieved their character in some degree, though it was with the loss of two able officers.

The loyalists of New York received the British army with the utmost joy. A few nights after, a fire breaking out, which destroyed the largest church and about one third of the city, this disaster was attributed to "the sons of liberty," some of whom, seized on suspicion by the British soldiers, were thrown into the flames. The fire, however, is supposed to have originated in accident. The utmost depression prevailed in the American camp at Harlem. There were no proper hospitals; the sick lay in barns and sheds, and even in the open air under walls and fences. The army was wasting away as a result of desertion and of the expiration of terms of service. To encourage enlistment a bounty of twenty dollars was offered, and grants of land were promised, but the results were discouraging. On the 28th of October a skirmish, the outcome of which was unfavourable to the Americans, occurred at White Plains; Washington then took up a much stronger position on the heights of North Castle.

[¹ It was from here that Washington dispatched Nathan Hale, a captain who was but twenty-one years old, to learn the British strength and dispositions. Disguised as a school-teacher he secured the information and was returning, but was arrested, and, in accordance with the laws of war, was condemned as a spy. Tradition says that the brutal British provost-marshal, Cunningham, refused him a clergyman or a Bible, and destroyed his farewell letters. Hale's last words before he was hanged were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."]

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WASHINGTON DRIVEN ACROSS THE JERSEYS

Discontinuing the pursuit of Washington, Howe now turned his attention to the American posts on the Hudson, with the design of entering New Jersey. Aware of this intention, Washington crossed the Hudson with his army, and joined General Greene at Fort Lee. Fort Washington was assaulted by a strong British force. The commander, Colonel Magaw, made a brave defence and the assailants lost four hundred men in gaining the outworks; but no sooner were the British within the fort, than the garrison, to the number of two thousand, overcome with terror, refused to offer any resistance, and all, together with a great quantity of artillery, fell into the hands of the British. Two days afterwards Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson with six thousand men, against Fort Lee, which also surrendered with the loss of baggage and military stores.

Misfortune was the order of the day. Alarm and distrust increased; Washington and his daily diminishing army fled from point to point. The New York convention moved its sittings from one place to another, the members often sitting with arms in their hands to prevent surprise; when just at this disastrous crisis new alarm arose from the proposed rising of the tories in aid of the British. Many suspected tories, therefore, were seized, their property confiscated, and themselves sent into Connecticut for safety. The gaols were full; so also were the churches, now employed as prisons, while numbers were kept on parole. These resolute measures effected their purpose; the tory party yielded to a force which they were not yet strong enough to control, and deferred active co-operation with the British to a yet more favourable time.

On the last day of November the American army amounted but to three thousand men, and was then retreating into an open country at the commencement of winter, without tents, blankets, or intrenching tools, and but imperfectly clad. The prospect was hopeless in the extreme. The towns of Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, all in New Jersey, were taken possession of by the British. Finally, Washington, on the 8th of December, crossed the Delaware, which was now the only barrier between the English and Philadelphia.

In the mean time the disasters of the Americans were not ended. General Lee, an ambitious and conceited man, who ranked his own military experience as superior to that of the commander-in-chief, instead of hastening across the Hudson to join the main army, as Washington had earnestly requested him to do without loss of time, determined on a brilliant and independent achievement which should at once startle both English and Americans and give him a great reputation. Lingerer, therefore, among the hills of New Jersey, he lodged one night with a small guard at a house some little distance from his army, where he was surprised by a body of British cavalry, and carried prisoner to New York. The command of his troops falling on General Sullivan, the latter conducted them without further delay to join Washington, whose forces were thus increased to seven thousand men.

On the very day also on which Washington crossed the Delaware, a British squadron from New York, under command of Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Newport in Rhode Island, the second city in New England. The American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, was thus blocked up in Providence river, where it lay for a long time useless.

WASHINGTON MADE DICTATOR; WINS AT TRENTON AND PRINCETON

Congress, sitting at that time at Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore, and Washington was invested for six months with unlimited powers. He was further authorised to take whatever he might require for the use of the army at his own price, and to arrest and confine all such as should refuse the continental money—a new trouble which had arisen owing to the vast issue of paper money. The entire power was thus placed in the hands of Washington, and he was worthy of the confidence. Christmas was now at hand, and gloom and despondency pervaded the American mind, when Washington, as it were, rose up and girded his loins for action. Aware that the festivities of the season would be fully enjoyed in the British camp, he resolved to avail himself of the time for an unexpected attack, and selected the Hessians stationed at Trenton as its object. On Christmas eve, therefore, he set out with two thousand four hundred picked men and six pieces of artillery, intending to cross the Delaware nine miles below Trenton, while two other forces, under Generals Cadwallader and Irving, were to cross at other points at the same time. The river was full of floating masses of ice, and it was only after great difficulty and danger that the landing was effected by four o'clock in the morning. [Here, as at Valley Forge, the almost barefooted American troops left bloody footprints on the snow.] Amid a heavy snow-storm Washington's force advanced towards Trenton, the other bodies under Cadwallader and Irving not having been able to effect a landing at all.

It was eight o'clock when Washington reached Trenton, where, as he expected, the Hessians, fast asleep after a night's debauch, were easily surprised. Their commander, Colonel Rahl, was slain, and their artillery taken, together with nine hundred and eighteen prisoners. The entire force, save twenty or thirty killed, was captured. Of the Americans two only were killed, one was frozen to death, and a few were wounded, among whom was Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards president of the United States. Without waiting for any movement on the part of the British, whose forces so far outnumbered the Americans, Washington entered Philadelphia in a sort of triumph with his prisoners.

This unexpected and brilliant achievement created an immediate reaction. Several regiments, whose term of enlistment was about expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, and militia from the adjoining provinces marched in. Nor was the effect on the British less striking. General Howe, astounded by this sudden movement in the depth of winter, in an enemy whom he considered already crushed, detained Lord Cornwallis, then just setting out for England, and despatched him with additional forces to New Jersey, to regain the ground which had been lost. Washington, in the mean time, knowing the importance of maintaining the advantage he had gained, established himself at Trenton. On January 2nd, 1777, Lord Cornwallis, with eight thousand men, the van of the British army, approached.

Washington knew that his position was a very hazardous one. It was a great risk to wait for a battle, with his five thousand men, most of them militia, new to the camp, and that against a greatly superior and well-disciplined force. To recross the Delaware, then still more obstructed with floating ice, was equally dangerous, with the enemy behind him. With great sagacity and courage, therefore, he decided on a bold scheme, which fortunately was executed with equal courage and skill. This was no other than to attack the enemy's rear at Princeton, and, if possible, gain possession of his artillery

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and baggage. Replenishing, therefore, his camp-fires, and silently sending his own heavy baggage to Burlington, and leaving parties still busied at their intrenchments within hearing of the enemy, Washington marched with his army, about midnight, towards Princeton, where three British regiments had passed the night, two of which, marching out to join Cornwallis, were met and attacked about sunrise by the Americans. One division of the British fled to New Brunswick; the rest rallied and continued their march to Trenton. About four hundred of the British were killed and wounded; the American loss was somewhat less.

At dawn, Lord Cornwallis beheld the deserted camp of the Americans and heard the roar of the cannonade at Princeton, on which, discovering Washington's artifice, he reached Princeton when the Americans were about to leave it. Again was Washington in great danger. "His troops," says Hildreth,^c "were exhausted; all had been one night without sleep, and some of them longer; many had no blankets; others were barefoot; all were very thinly clad." Under these circumstances the attack on New Brunswick was abandoned, and Washington retired to strong winter quarters at Morristown. There he remained till spring, having, in fact, repossessed himself, in the most masterly manner, of New Jersey.^s The English historian Hinton adds: "Other causes had a powerful operation upon the minds of the yeomanry of New Jersey. The British commanders tolerated, or at least did not restrain, gross licentiousness in their army. The inhabitants of the state, which they boasted was restored to the bosom of the parent country, were treated not as reclaimed friends but as conquered enemies. The soldiers were guilty of every species of rapine, and the abuse was not limited to the plundering of property. Every indignity was offered to the persons of the inhabitants, not excepting those outrages to the female sex which are felt by ingenuous minds with the keenest anguish, and excite noble spirits to desperate resistance. These aggravated abuses roused the people of New Jersey to repel that army to which they had voluntarily submitted in the expectation of protection and security. At the dawn of success upon the American arms, they rose in small bands to oppose their invaders. They scoured the country, cut off every soldier who straggled from his corps, and in many instances repelled the foraging parties of the enemy."^u

"The recovery of the Jerseys," says Hildreth, "by the fragments of a defeated army, which had seemed just before on the point of dissolution, gained Washington a high reputation not only at home, but in Europe, where the progress of the campaign had been watched with great interest, and where the disastrous loss of New York and the retreat through the Jerseys had given the impression that America would not be able to maintain her independence. The recovery of the Jerseys created a reaction. The American general was extolled as a Fabius, whose prudence availed his country no less than his valour."^c

Though Hopkins and his squadron were blocked up at Providence, privateering had been carried on, principally by New England frigates, to a great extent. The homeward-bound British ships from the West Indies offered rich prizes, and in the year just concluded no less than 350 British ships had been captured. A new foreign trade had also been opened with France, Spain, and Holland, principally by way of the West Indies, and though great risk attended it, still it was the successful commencement of the great American trade, and the national flag of thirteen stars and stripes, as appointed by congress, was now first hoisted in this maritime service. By no European nation was the progress of the war of independence in America watched with

more interest than by France, who still was smarting under the loss of her American possessions; hence the American privateer found ever a ready sale for his prizes in the French ports, and armed French vessels, sailing under American commissions, were secretly fitted out.

Numerous volunteers, the most eminent of whom was the young marquis de la Fayette, offered to risk their fortunes and bear arms in the cause of American liberty. La Fayette fitted out a vessel at his own expense, and in the spring of 1777 arrived in America. He at first enlisted as a volunteer in Washington's army, declining all pay for his services; but congress soon after bestowed upon him the appointment of major-general.

As the spring of 1777 advanced, although as yet the main armies were inactive, various little attacks and reprisals were made. Tryon, late governor of New York, at the head of two thousand men, landed in Connecticut and advanced to Danbury, an inland town, where a large quantity of provisions was collected; having destroyed these, set fire to the town, and committed various acts of atrocity, he departed as rapidly as he had come. Arnold and Wooster, however, pursued him at the head of militia, hastily collected for that purpose. Tryon made good his escape, with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about three hundred, and congress, in acknowledgment of Arnold's bravery, presented him with a horse fully caparisoned, and raised him to the rank of major-general. A small party of Americans under Colonel Meigs landed on Long Island, destroyed twelve vessels, and took a large quantity of provisions and forage collected at Sag Harbour, and carried off ninety prisoners, without himself losing a single man. Another little triumph of the Americans is worth recording. General Prescott, now being stationed at Newport, in Rhode Island, irritated the Americans no little by offering a reward for the capture of Arnold; on which Arnold, in return, offered half the amount for the capture of Prescott. A party of forty men under one Colonel Barton set out with the intention of carrying him off, landed at night on the island, entered his house, and taking the general from his bed hurried away with their prize. Until now the Americans had not been able to ransom their general, Lee, who had been taken much in the same manner, and the two officers were shortly exchanged.^s

In his famous work, Sir Edward Creasy^v places the climax of Burgoyne's campaign at Saratoga among the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." His account of it is distinctly quotable, except that he curiously makes no mention of General Schuyler, who is now generally awarded the glory of the victory, though he was absent from its culmination. It was Schuyler who with a small force, under the greatest disadvantages, adopted the correct policy of avoiding battle, while luring the British along a road whose passage he surrounded with such ingenious and eternal difficulties as exhausted the provisions and morale of the troops, and delayed them while reinforcements could be gathered. The whole plan of the campaign was his; posterity gives him the credit; and while Gates won temporary renown by appearing in time to gather Schuyler's laurels, he later showed how utterly incompetent he was to manage a large campaign. But, at first, Schuyler had to bear all the odium of public disfavour and alarm at the first successes of Burgoyne's irresistible force. He and all his officers were accused of arrant cowardice, and John Adams exclaimed, "We shall never be able to defend a fort till we shoot a general." So Gates was commissioned and ordered north, where he arrived too late to do more than carry out Schuyler's plans, now at their culmination. With this in mind we shall find Creasy's account vivid and true.^a

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CREASY'S ACCOUNT OF BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

The war which rent away the North American colonies of England is, of all subjects in history, the most painful for an Englishman to dwell on. It was commenced and carried on by the British ministry in iniquity and folly, and it was concluded in disaster and shame. But the contemplation of it cannot be evaded by the historian, however much it may be abhorred. Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777, a defeat which rescued the revolted colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia, now see and feel.

In 1777 the British ministry resolved to avail themselves of the advantage which the occupation of Canada gave them for the purpose of striking a vigorous and crushing blow against the revolted colonies. Seven thousand veteran troops were sent out from England, with a corps of artillery abundantly supplied, and led by select and experienced officers. Large quantities of military stores were also furnished for the equipment of the Canadian volunteers who were expected to join the expedition. It was intended that the force thus collected should march southward by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson river. The British army in New York (or a large detachment of it) was to make a simultaneous movement northward, up the line of the Hudson, and the two expeditions were to unite at Albany. By these operations all communication between the northern colonies and those of the centre and south would be cut off. An irresistible force would be concentrated, so as to crush all further opposition in New England, and when this was done it was believed that the other colonies would speedily submit. The Americans had no troops in the field that seemed able to baffle these movements. Without question the plan was ably formed, and had the success of the execution been equal to the ingenuity of the design, the reconquest or submission of the thirteen United States must in all human probability have followed. No European power had as yet come forward, and America would have been suffered to fall unaided.

Much eloquence was poured forth, both in America and in England, in denouncing the use of savage auxiliaries. Yet Burgoyne seems to have done no more than Montcalm, Wolfe, and other French, American, and English generals had done before him. But, in truth, the lawless ferocity of the Indians, their unskilfulness in regular action, and the utter impossibility of bringing them under any discipline, made their services of little or no value in times of difficulty, while the indignation which their outrages inspired went far to rouse the whole population of the invaded districts [including many Tories] into active hostilities against Burgoyne's force.

Burgoyne assembled his troops and confederates near the river Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain. He then, on the 21st of June, 1777, gave his red allies a war-feast, and harangued them on the necessity of abstaining from their usual cruel practices against unarmed people and prisoners. At the same time he published a pompous manifesto to the Americans, in which he threatened the refractory with all the horrors of war, Indian as well as European. Ticonderoga commanded the passage along the lakes, and was considered to be the key to the route which Burgoyne wished to follow.

Burgoyne invested it with great skill, and the American general, St. Clair, who had only an ill-equipped army of about three thousand men, evacuated it on the 5th of July. It seems evident that a different course would have caused the destruction or capture of his whole army. When censured by some of his countrymen for abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair truly replied "that he had lost a post but saved a province." Burgoyne's troops pursued the retiring Americans, and took a large part of their artillery and military stores.

The British moved southward with great difficulty, across a broken country, full of creeks and marshes, and clogged by the enemy with felled trees and other obstacles, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson river, the American troops continuing to retire before them. The astonishment and alarm which these events produced among the Americans were naturally great. The local governments of the New England states, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. General Gates was sent to take command of the army at Saratoga, and Arnold was despatched by Washington to act under him, with reinforcements of troops and guns from the main American army.

When Burgoyne left Canada, General St. Leger was detached across Lake Ontario against Fort Stanwix [now Rome, New York], which the Americans held. St. Leger was obliged [after a battle at Oriskany, August 6th, 1777, where the American leader Herkimer was mortally wounded] to retreat, and to abandon his tents and large quantities of stores to the garrison. At the very time that General Burgoyne heard of this disaster, he experienced one still more severe in the defeat of Colonel Baum with a large detachment of German troops at Bennington,¹ whither Burgoyne had sent them for the purpose of capturing some magazines of provisions, of which the British army stood greatly in need. The Americans, under John Stark, augmented by continual accessions of strength, succeeded, after many attacks, in breaking this corps, which fled into the woods, and left its commander mortally wounded on the field; they then marched against a force of five hundred grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who, after a gallant resistance, was obliged to retreat on the main army. The British loss in these two actions exceeded six hundred men; and a party of American loyalists, on their way to join the army, having attached themselves to Colonel Baum's corps, were destroyed with it. Notwithstanding these reverses, which added greatly to the spirit and numbers of the American forces, Burgoyne determined to advance. Having by unremitting exertions collected provisions for thirty days, he crossed the Hudson by means of a bridge of rafts, and, marching a short distance along its western bank, he encamped on the 14th of September on the heights of Saratoga, about sixteen miles from Albany. The Americans had fallen back and were now strongly posted [on Bemus Heights] near Stillwater, about half way between Saratoga and Albany, and showed a determination to recede no further.

On the 19th of September a sharp encounter took place between part of the English right wing under Burgoyne himself, and a strong body of the enemy under Gates and Arnold. The British remained masters of the field, but the loss on each side was nearly equal (from five hundred to six hundred men). But Burgoyne had overestimated his resources, and in the very beginning of October found difficulty and distress pressing him hard. The

[¹ The remarkable features of Bennington were the facts that the yeomanry of America now ventured to assail regular troops in intrenchments, and that they won an overwhelming victory.]

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Indians and Canadians began to desert him, while, on the other hand, Gates' army was continually reinforced by fresh bodies of the militia.

On the 6th of October Clinton had successfully executed a brilliant enterprise against the two American forts which barred his progress up the Hudson. He had captured them both, with severe losses to the American forces opposed to him; he had destroyed the fleet which the Americans had been forming on the Hudson, under the protection of their forts, and the upward river was laid open to his squadron. All depended on the fortune of the column with which Burgoyne, on the eventful 7th of October, 1777, advanced against the American position. But directly the British line began to advance, the American general, with admirable skill, caused General Poor's and General Leonard's brigades to make a sudden and vehement rush against its left, and at the same time sent Colonel Morgan, with his rifle corps and other troops, amounting to fifteen hundred, to turn the right of the English. The English cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken, Arnold himself setting the example of the most daring personal bravery, and charging more than once, sword in hand, into the English ranks. On the British side General Fraser fell mortally wounded. Burgoyne's whole force was now compelled to retreat towards their camp. The Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in several places with remarkable impetuosity, and captured baggage, tents, artillery, and a store of ammunition, which they were greatly in need of. Burgoyne now took up his last position on the heights near Saratoga, and, hemmed in by the enemy, who refused any encounter, and baffled in all his attempts at finding a path of escape, he there lingered until famine compelled him to capitulate. On the 17th the convention of Saratoga was carried into effect. Five thousand seven hundred and ninety men surrendered themselves as prisoners.¹ The sick and wounded left in the camp when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.^v

WASHINGTON LOSES TWO BATTLES AND THE CAPITAL; THE CONWAY CABAL

The joy of the Americans, especially those of the northern states, was almost beyond bounds, and, as might be expected, the military reputation of Gates stood very high—nay, even for the time outshone that of Washington, whose loss of Philadelphia, of which we have yet to speak, was placed unfavourably beside the surrender of a whole British army. As soon as the surrender of Burgoyne was known, the British garrison at Ticonderoga destroyed the works and retired to Canada. Clinton, with Tryon and his tory forces, on the same intelligence, dismantled the forts on the Hudson, and having burned every house within their reach, and done all the damage in their power, returned to New York.^s

The main army of Great Britain was that which Washington had to deal with in New Jersey and the vicinity. After much uncertainty as to the intentions of the British general, he suddenly appeared in the Chesapeake,

[¹ "Even of those great conflicts in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged and tens of thousands have fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent colonies, but it has modified, for all time to come, the connection between every colony and every parent state."—EARL OF STANHOPE.^w]

and landing, prepared to advance against Philadelphia (August 25th). Washington immediately marched his entire army of about eleven thousand to stop the progress of the enemy. Notwithstanding the superior number—about seventeen thousand—opposed to him, Washington decided that battle must be given for the sake of Philadelphia. After various skirmishes, a general engagement took place by the Brandywine, resulting in the defeat of the Americans (September 11th) with a loss of about one thousand. But so little were they dispirited that their commander decided upon immediately fighting a second battle, which was prevented only by a great storm. Washington then withdrew towards the interior, and Howe took possession of Philadelphia (September 26th). Not yet willing to abandon the city, Washington attacked the main division of the British encamped at Germantown. At the very moment of victory, owing to a heavy fog, a panic seized the Americans, and they retreated (October 4th) with a loss of about a thousand. There was no help for Philadelphia; it was decidedly lost. The contrast between the defeat of Burgoyne and the loss of Philadelphia was made a matter of reproach to the commander-in-chief. Let him make his own defence: "I was left," he says, "to fight two battles, in order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the army of my antagonist. Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighbouring states as the states of New York and New England, we might before this time have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference—that the former would never have been out of reach of his ships, whilst the latter increased his danger every step he took." More than this, Washington conducted his operations in a district where great disaffection to the American cause cut off supplies for the army and intelligence of the enemy. To have done what he did, notwithstanding these embarrassments, was greater than a victory.

One enterprise of the year is not to be passed over. Captain Wickes, of the cruiser *Reprisal*, after distinguishing himself in the West Indies, sailed for France in the autumn of 1776. Encouraged by his success in making prizes in the bay of Biscay, Wickes started on a cruise round Ireland in the following summer. Attended by the *Lexington* and the *Dolphin*, the *Reprisal* swept the Irish and the English seas of their merchantmen. But on the way to America the *Lexington* was captured, and the *Reprisal*, with the gallant Wickes and all his crew, was lost on the coast of Newfoundland. It was for the navy, of which Wickes was so great an ornament, that a national flag had been adopted in the summer of his cruise (June 14th).

"I see plainly," wrote La Fayette to Washington at the close of the year, "that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken; but I begin to fear that she may be lost by herself and her own sons. When I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave. You can conceive my astonishment when I saw that toryism was as apparently professed as whiggism itself." "We must not," replied Washington, "in so great a contest, expect to meet with nothing but sunshine." These mournful complaints, this cheerful answer, referred to an intrigue that had been formed against Washington for the purpose of displacing him from his command. Generals Gates and Mifflin, both members of the board of war, lately organised, with Conway, an Irish general in the service, were at the head of a cabal which was secretly supported by some members of congress. Had their unworthy plots prevailed, had their anonymous letters to the civil authorities and their underhand appeals to military men succeeded, Washington would have been superseded

[1777 A.D.]

by Gates or by Lee, it was uncertain which, both of British birth, both of far more selfishness than magnanimity, of far more pretension than power. Gates, as we shall read hereafter, met the most utter of all the defeats, Lee conducted the most shameful of all the retreats, in which the Americans were involved. Happily for the struggling nation, these men were not its leaders. The cabal in which they were involved fell asunder, yet without crushing them beneath its ruins. They retained their offices and their honours, as well as Washington.

VALLEY FORGE AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

The experience of the past twelvemonth had given Washington more confidence in his soldiers. He had had time to learn their better points, their enthusiasm, their endurance, their devotion. The winter following the loss of Philadelphia was one of cruel sufferings, and the manner in which they

were borne formed a new link between the troops and the commander. His remonstrances against the jealousies of congress are accompanied by representations of the agonies of the army. "Without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth, it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such hardships as ours has done, bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, with-

out blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy, without a house or hut to cover them, till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which, in my opinion, can scarce be paralleled." This story, at once so heroic and so sad, is dated from Valley Forge.^d

However selfish their motives, unless the French had given the Americans encouragement and large financial advances, and finally soldiers and ships, unless they had taken upon themselves the burden of a war with England, it is hard to see how the American cause could ever have won, requiring seven years as it did to succeed. The cordial enthusiasm of the French is vividly contrasted with the apathy of the Americans in a letter from Colonel du Portail, brigadier-general of American troops, written to the French minister of war, in which he says, "There is more enthusiasm for this revolution in any café in Paris than there is in all the United Colonies together."

The diplomats abroad, Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and later John Adams, who were trying to borrow money and excite hostility



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE

towards England, were themselves quarrelling at every step. Of Benjamin Franklin, who was permanently establishing himself in the French heart as one of the greatest minds in all history, and was unconsciously sowing the seeds for the French Revolution that should overthrow the Bourbons who aided his country, John Adams, his eminent colleague, wrote home: "Franklin is a wit and a humourist, I know. He may be a philosopher, for what I know. But he is not a sufficient statesman for all the business he is in. He is too old, too infirm, too indolent and dissipated to be sufficient for all these things, to be ambassador, secretary, admiral, consular agent, etc." When, however, the hopes of the colonists seemed to be at their lowest ebb, there was another tidal wave of good news which, as in the case of Burgoyne's capitulation, lifted the whole country to new efforts. There was to follow another aftermath of distress and despair, but the cause was immeasurably advanced. After a long delay, a treaty was made between France and the United States (January 30th–February 6th, 1778) and ratified May 5th. The news caused even greater dismay in England than it excited joy in America.^a

THE BRITISH EVACUATE PHILADELPHIA; BATTLE OF MONMOUTH; FRENCH CO-OPERATION

For three years had the British armies contended against the rebels. They held New York, Newport, Philadelphia, the lower banks of the Hudson and of the Delaware. This was all. Nothing had been, nothing, it must have almost seemed, could be, gained except upon the coast; the interior was untenable, if not unconquerable. And what had been lost? Twenty thousand troops, hundreds of vessels, millions of treasure; to say nothing of the colonial commerce, once so precious, and now so worthless. It might well strike the ministry that they must win back their colonies by some other means than war, especially if the French were to be parties in the strife. Accordingly, Lord North laid before parliament a bill renouncing the purpose of taxing America, and another providing for commissioners to bring about a reconciliation (February 17th). The bills were passed, and three commissioners were appointed to act with the military and the naval commanders in procuring the submission of the United States. To their proposals congress returned an answer on the anniversary of Bunker Hill, refusing to enter into any negotiations until the independence of the nation was recognised.

Desirous of concentrating his forces before the French appeared in the field, Sir Henry Clinton, now the British commander-in-chief, evacuated Philadelphia (June 18th). Washington instantly set out in pursuit of the enemy. Coming up with them in a few days, he ordered General Lee, commanding the van of the army, to begin the attack in the morning. Lee began it by making a retreat, notwithstanding the remonstrances of La Fayette, who had held the command until within a few hours. But for Washington's coming up in time to arrest the flight of the troops under Lee, and to protect the advance of his own soldiers, the army would have been lost. As it was, he formed his line and drove the British from the field of Monmouth (June 28th). They stole away in the night, and reached New York with still more loss from desertion than from battle.^d

A curious instance of the risk of accepting public tradition is a famous story of this battle of Monmouth and Washington's rebuke to Lee for retreating. According to the popularly accepted legend, Washington denounced Lee's cowardice with a resounding oath, the only one he had ever been heard to

[1779 A.D.]

use. As a matter of fact Washington was by no means an infrequent employer of profanity, and a diligent search of the court-martial records which profess to give Washington's exact words on this battle-field show that, while he was greatly excited, he used no hint of profanity, and it was his manner and not his language that betrayed his intense disgust. This drove Lee to write an indignant letter to Washington. A court-martial was held, and he was suspended for twelve months. Later he wrote a disrespectful letter to congress and was dismissed the service.^a

In the far West there were nothing but border forays until 1778, when Major George Rogers Clark led a regular expedition against the frontier posts of the enemy, in the wilderness in the far Northwest, now the states of Indiana and Illinois. On the 4th of July they captured Kaskaskia. On the 9th they took the village of Cahokia, sixty miles farther up the river; and finally, in August, the stronger British post of Vincennes, on the Wabash, fell into their hands. Acting in the capacity of a peacemaker, Clark was working successfully towards the pacification of the western tribes, when, in the month of January, 1779, the commander of the British fort at Detroit retook Vincennes. With one hundred and seventy-five men Clark penetrated the dreadful wilderness a hundred miles from the Ohio. For a whole week they traversed the "drowned lands" of Illinois, suffering every privation from wet, cold, and hunger. When they arrived at the Little Wabash, at a point where the forks of the stream are three miles apart, they found the intervening space covered with water to the depth of three feet. The points of dry land were five miles apart, and all that distance those hardy soldiers, in the month of February, waded the cold snow-flood in the forest, sometimes armpit deep! They arrived in sight of Vincennes on the 18th (February, 1779), and the next morning at dawn, with their faces blackened with gunpowder, to make themselves appear hideous, they crossed the river in a boat and pushed towards the town. On the 20th the stripes and stars were again unfurled over the fort at Vincennes and a captured garrison. Had armed men dropped from the clouds, the people and soldiers at Vincennes could not have been more astonished than at the apparition of these troops, for it seemed impossible for them to have traversed the deluged country. [The country was organised as part of Virginia under the name of Illinois County.]^x

The third and last period of the war extends from July, 1778, to January, 1784, five years and a half. Its characteristics are the alliance of the French with the Americans and the concentration of the more important operations in the Southern States.

The first minister of France to the United States, M. Gérard, came accompanied by a fleet and army, under D'Estaing (July). "Unforeseen and unfavourable circumstances," as Washington wrote, "lessened the importance of the French services in a great degree." In the first place, the arrival was just late enough to miss the opportunity of surprising the British fleet in the Delaware, not to mention the British army on its retreat to New York. In the next place, the French vessels proved to be of too great draught to penetrate the channel and co-operate in an attack upon New York. Thus disappointing and disappointed, D'Estaing engaged in an enterprise against Newport, still in British hands. It proved another failure, but not through the French alone, the American troops that were to enter the island at the north being greatly behindhand. The same day that they took their place under Sullivan, Greene, and La Fayette, the French left theirs at the lower end of the island in order to meet the British fleet arriving from New York

(August 10th). A severe storm prevented more than a partial engagement; but D'Estaing returned to Newport only to plead the injuries received in the gale as compelling his retirement to Boston for repairs. The orders of the French government had been peremptory that in case of any damage to the fleet it should put into port at once. So far was D'Estaing from avoiding action on personal grounds, that when La Fayette hurried to Boston to persuade his countrymen to return, the commander offered to serve as a volunteer until the fleet should be refitted. The Americans, however, talked of desertion and of inefficiency—so freely, indeed, as to affront their faithful La Fayette.

At the same time large numbers of them imitated the very course which they censured, by deserting their own army. The remaining forces retreated from their lines to the northern end of the island, and, after an engagement, withdrew to the mainland (August 30th). It required all the good offices of La Fayette, of Washington, and of congress to keep the peace between the Americans and their allies. D'Estaing, soothed by the language of those whom he most respected, was provoked, on the other hand, by the hostility of the masses, both in the army and amongst the people. Collisions between his men and the Bostonians kept up his disgust, and, when his fleet was repaired, he sailed for the West Indies in November.

DISCOURAGEMENT OF WASHINGTON

The summer and autumn passed away without any further exertions of moment upon the American side. On the part of the British there was nothing attempted that would not have been far better unattempted. Marauding parties from Newport went against New Bedford and Fairhaven. Others from New York went against Little Egg Harbor. Tories and Indians—"a collection of banditti," as they were rightly styled by Washington—descended from the northern country to wreak massacre at Wyoming and at Cherry Valley. The war seemed to be assuming a new character; it was one of ravages unworthy of any cause.

Affairs were again at a low state amongst the Americans. "The common interests of America," wrote Washington at the close of 1778, "are mouldering and sinking into irretrievable ruin." Was he, who had never despaired, at length despairing? There was reason to do so. "If I were to be called upon," he said, "to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold upon most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect. After drawing this picture, which from my soul I believe to be a true one, I need not repeat to you that I am alarmed, and wish to see my countrymen roused." This gloomy sketch is of the government—congress and the various officials at Philadelphia. What was true of the government was true of the people, save only the diminishing rather than increasing class to which we have frequently referred as constituting the strength of the nation.

[1779 A. D.]

BRITISH SUCCESSES IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH

A border warfare had been carried on during two successive summers (1777-1778) between east Florida and Georgia. At the close of 1778 a serious invasion of Georgia was planned by the British commander. Savannah was taken (December 29th). An American force, under General Ashe, was routed at Brier Creek, and Georgia was lost (March 4th, 1779). A few months later Sir James Wright, the royal governor at the beginning of the war, returned and set up the provincial government once more.

The conqueror of Georgia aspired to become the conqueror of Carolina. With chosen troops and a numerous body of Indians, Prevost set out against Charleston. He was met before that town by the legion under Count Pulaski, the Pole, but Pulaski's men were scattered, and Prevost pressed on. The approach of General Lincoln with his army compelled the British to retire (May 12th). The Americans were by no means disposed to acquiesce in the loss of Georgia. On the reappearance of the French fleet, under D'Estaing, after a successful cruise in the West Indies, he consented to join General Lincoln in an attack on Savannah in September. But he was too apprehensive of being surprised by the British fleet, as well as too desirous of getting back to the larger operations in the West Indies, to be a useful ally. The impatience of D'Estaing precipitated an assault upon the town (October 9th), in which Pulaski fell, and both the French and the Americans suffered great loss. The French sailed southward; the Americans retired to the interior, leaving Savannah to the enemy.

The operations in the north during the year were of altogether inferior importance. Washington could hold only a defensive attitude. A gallant party, under the gallant "Mad Anthony" Wayne, surprised the strong works which the British had constructed at Stony Point (July 15th), and, though obliged to evacuate them, destroyed them, and recovered the Hudson, that is, the part which had been recently taken from the Americans. The fortification of West Point was undertaken as an additional safeguard. Some months later, apprehensions of the French fleet induced the British commander to draw in his outposts on the Hudson and to evacuate Newport in October. These movements, effected without loss, or even collision, were the only ones of any strong bearing upon the issue of the war.^d

EDWARD EVERETT HALE ON THE REVOLUTIONARY NAVY¹

The battles of the Revolution were fought on the sea as often as on the land, and to as much purpose. The losses inflicted on their enemies by the United States in their naval warfare were more constant, and probably more serious, than any losses which they inflicted elsewhere. The captures which the English navy made by no means compensated England for the losses which she sustained. In such a contest, it generally proves that the richer combatant is he who pays the most. The loss of an English Indiaman or a Mediterranean trader was but poorly compensated by the capture of even a dozen American schooners laden with salt fish and clapboards.

It is certain that, as the war went on, many more than seventy thousand Americans fought their enemy upon the sea. On the other hand, the reader

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knows that there was no one time when seventy thousand men were enrolled in the armies of the United States on shore. The magnitude of the injury inflicted upon the English trade by these vessels may be judged by such a comparison as is in our power of the respective forces. In the year 1777 the whole number of officers and men in the English navy was eighty-seven thousand. There were at the same time very considerable naval forces in the employ of the several states and of the United States government. Man for man, the numerical forces engaged by the two parties were not very much unlike. In the Atlantic Ocean the Americans seem to have outnumbered the English.

The French ally D'Estaing was not averse to a contest. On the 10th of August, 1778, with the advantage of a fresh north wind, he had taken his squadron to sea. The English admiral, Howe, slipped his cables and went to sea also. D'Estaing did not avoid a battle, and, in the gale which followed, engaged the rear of the English fleet. But his own flagship, the *Languedoc*, was dismasted in the gale, and, after communicating with Sullivan again, he went round to Boston to refit. Samuel Cooper, in a letter, is well aware that there was some popular disappointment because the count d'Estaing had not done more. But he resumes the whole by saying: "The very sound of his aid occasioned the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; his presence suspended the operation of a vast British force in these states, by sea and land; it animated our own efforts; it protected our coast and navigation, obliging the enemy to keep their men-of-war and cruisers collected, and facilitated our necessary supplies from abroad. By drawing the powerful squadron of Admiral Byron to these seas, it gave security to the islands of France in the West Indies, and equilibrium to her naval power in the Channel, and a decided superiority in the Mediterranean."

When it is remembered that, in the events of the summer and autumn of 1778, the English lost twenty vessels in their collisions with D'Estaing's fleet, it must be granted that its exploits were by no means inconsiderable.^y

NAVAL ENCOUNTERS; PAUL JONES TAKES THE *SERAPIS*

The first commander-in-chief of the navy, or high admiral, was Ezekiel Hopkins, of Rhode Island, whom congress had commissioned as such in December, 1775. He first went against Dunmore, on the coast of Virginia. He also went to the Bahamas, and captured the town of New Providence and its governor. Sailing for home, he captured some British vessels off the east end of Long Island, and with these prizes he went into Narragansett Bay. In the mean while Paul Jones¹ and Captain Barry were doing good service, and New England cruisers were greatly annoying English shipping on the coast. In 1777 Doctor Franklin, under the authority of congress, issued commissions to naval officers in Europe. Expeditions were fitted out in French seaports, and these produced great alarm on the British coasts. While these things were occurring in European waters, captains Biddle, Manly, M'Neil, Hinman, Barry, and others were making many prizes on the American coasts.^z

In 1778, Jones, cruising on the coast of Great Britain, from the Land's End to Solway Firth, where as yet the American flag had never ventured, made a descent on the Scotch coast near Kirkeudbright, and plundered the

[^y John Paul Jones was born in Scotland in 1747, and came to Virginia in boyhood. He entered the American naval service in 1775, and was active during the whole war. He was afterwards very active in the Russian service, against the Turks, in the Black Sea, and was created rear-admiral in the Russian navy. He died in Paris in 1782.^z]

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house of the earl of Selkirk, where, tradition says, he had once lived as servant, and a second by night on the Cumberland coast, at Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns in the fort and burned one or two vessels. For a whole summer he kept the northwestern coast of England and the southern coast of Scotland in a continual state of alarm, and made his name one of terror. The next year he returned to cruise on the eastern coast, no longer with a single ship, but a squadron, manned by French and Americans. This squadron consisted of the *Bonhomme Richard*, of forty guns, which he himself commanded, the *Alliance*, of thirty-six, the *Pallas*, a frigate of thirty-two, and two other smaller vessels. Cruising with these ships, he fell in with a British merchant-fleet on its return from the Baltic, under convoy of Captain Pearson, with the *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and a smaller frigate; and one of the most desperate naval engagements on record took place off Flamborough Head. About seven o'clock in the evening Paul Jones in the *Bonhomme Richard* engaged Captain Pearson in the *Serapis*, the ships advancing nearer and nearer, until at length they dropped alongside of each other, head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns grated. [When at a sudden slacking in the American fire, Pearson called out to Jones, "Have you struck?" Jones made his famous answer, "I have not begun to fight!"] In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury till half past ten, during which time Jones, who had the greater number of men, vainly attempted to board, and the *Serapis* was set on fire ten or twelve times. After a desperate and last attempt to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours, two thirds of his men being killed or wounded, and his mainmast gone by the board. The *Bonhomme Richard* was in little better condition, for, to add to her misfortunes, the *Alliance*, coming up in the darkness and confusion of the night, and mistaking her for the enemy, had fired a broadside into her, not discovering his error till the glare of the burning *Serapis* had revealed it.¹ The next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit his ship, and she sank at sea almost immediately, with, it is said, great numbers of the wounded on board. Of the three hundred and seventy-five men whom she carried, three hundred were killed or wounded. The *Pallas* captured the *Countess of Scarborough*, and Jones, on the 6th of October, succeeded in carrying his shattered vessels into the waters of the Texel.²

Because of his achievement of the apparently impossible, and because of his having been a Scotchman, a British subject by birth, who enlisted with Americans and preyed upon British commerce, English historians like English officers of the time regarded Paul Jones as only a pirate and unjustly accused him of actual theft. The captain of the *Serapis* insulted him even in the moment of surrendering to him; the English historian Stedman^m calls him "a ruffian commander," and has only this praise for his indomitable courage, "None but a desperado would have continued the engagement." And yet it was this desperado who first flung the American flag at a masthead, and who first carried it into an English port.^a

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

A cause of anxiety and distress was the depreciation of the paper currency. At the close of 1778 a dollar in specie could scarcely be obtained for forty in bills. But the very paper was fluctuating in value. Hence a

[¹ The *Alliance* was commanded by Pierre Landais, who was extremely jealous of Jones' whose crew always insisted that Landais fired into them with full intention. Landais shortly after went insane.]

set of men arose, who, speculating on this currency, amassed immense wealth, while honest men and the nation itself were reduced to beggary.^s George Washington vividly expressed the condition of affairs when he wrote that "it required a wagonload of money to buy a wagonload of provisions." But the finances of the colonies would have been in far sadder plight had it not been for the Herculean energies of Robert Morris. According to W. G. Sumner,^z "the only man in the history of the world who ever bore the title of superintendent of finance was Robert Morris of Philadelphia." He ought to have had a peculiar title, for the office he filled has never had a parallel. Among his retrenchments, for instance, was the cutting down of \$10,525 a month in commissary salaries. This saving alone paid for 3,278 rations a day. Robert Morris was, like Washington and everyone else in authority, the victim of opposition and distrust. Although he had been one of the most brilliant financiers in the history of the world, after the war was over he was unable to manage his own affairs and went into bankruptcy, dying very poor. He was of British birth, and was a good offset to the other British contributions to the American cause—Conway, who tried to scheme Washington out of office, and the traitor General Charles Lee, who was very nearly granted the chief command of the army.^a

DISASTERS IN THE SOUTH; GATES AT CAMDEN

The war was gathering fresh combatants. Spain, after vainly offering her mediation between Great Britain and France, entered into the lists on the side of the latter power, June, 1779. There was no thought of the United States in the transaction. John Jay, hastily appointed minister to Spain in September, could not obtain a recognition of American independence. But the United States hailed the entrance of a new nation into the arena. It was so much against their enemy, however little it was for themselves. The beginning of 1780 beheld large detachments from the British at New York, under Clinton, the commander-in-chief himself, on their way southward, Charleston, twice already assailed in vain, was the first object. The siege began April 11th, with five thousand British against fifteen hundred Americans; the numbers afterwards increasing to eight thousand on the British side and three thousand on the American. The naval forces of the attack and the defence were still more unequal. Lincoln, yet in command of the southern army, made a brave resistance, but was of course overpowered. The loss of Charleston (May 12th) was followed by the loss of the state, or the greater part of it. Three expeditions, the chief under Lord Cornwallis, penetrated into the interior without meeting any repulse. So complete was the prostration of South Carolina that Clinton returned to New York in June, leaving Cornwallis to retain and to extend the conquest which had been made.

All was not yet lost. The partisans of South Carolina, like those of Georgia, held out in the upper country, whence they made frequent descents upon the British posts. The names of Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion recall many a chivalrous enterprise. Continental troops and militia were marching from the north under De Kalb, the companion of La Fayette in his voyage, and under Gates, who assumed the command in North Carolina (July). Thence entering South Carolina in the hope of recovering it from its conquerors, Gates encountered Cornwallis near Camden, and, although much superior in numbers, was routed—the militia of North Carolina and Virginia leaving the few continental troops to bear the brunt of the battle in vain.

[1780 A.D.]

The brave De Kalb fell a sacrifice upon the field (August 16th). Two days afterwards Sumter was surprised by the British cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, and his party scattered. Marion was at the same time driven into North Carolina.^d

Gates' popularity, gained by profiting from Schuyler's good work in the Burgoyne campaign, never recovered the shock of Camden when he was beaten by an inferior number. He was accused of cowardice and incompetency, and a court of inquiry proposed but never held, as his successor, the brilliant Nathanael Greene, defended him. He has found a recent advocate in Edward Channing,^{bb} who praises Gates' plans, and says that the defeat was (in the words of Stevens, a Virginia officer) "brought on by the damned cowardly behaviour of the militia."^a

ARNOLD'S TREASON AT WEST POINT (1780 A.D.)

The utmost gloom hung over the American affairs in the north. A scheme of treason, in the very bosom of the American camp, came to light, which fell like a thunderbolt on the country. In September a plot was laid for betraying the important fortress of West Point, and other posts of the Highlands, into the hands of the enemy, the traitor being no other than Arnold, the most brilliant officer and one of the most honoured in the American army. Arnold, however, with all his fine qualities as a soldier, had in many cases shown great want of integrity and disregard of the rights of others; nevertheless his valour and his many brilliant achievements had cast his faults into the shade and placed him in command at Philadelphia. There, however, his conduct had given rise to much dissatisfaction. He lived in so expensive a style as to become involved in debt, to free himself from which he entered into mercantile and privateering speculations. This mode of living and these speculations led to the interference of congress, which required that Washington should deliver him a reprimand.¹ His debts and money difficulties caused him to request, but in vain, a loan from the French minister. The same causes [combined with indignation at the mistakes of congress, with doubt of the possibilities of successfully warring with England, and with jealousy of other officers more favoured] had already led him to open a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton. The strong and very important post of West Point, with its neighbouring dependencies and one wing of the army, were now intrusted to the custody and conduct of General Arnold. An interview was necessary with some confidential British agent, and Major André, with whom Arnold had already carried on a correspondence under the feigned names of Gustavus and Anderson, volunteered for this purpose. The outlines of the project were that Arnold should make such a disposition of the wing under his command as should enable Sir Henry Clinton to surprise their strong posts and batteries, and throw the troops so entirely into his hands that they must inevitably either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces on

[^p Nothing could be more delicate than the form of this reprimand, which was at once a fatherly rebuke and a noble exhortation. Though it has been considered somewhat apocryphal, there are many reasons for accepting it as given by Marbois: *cc* "When Arnold was brought before him," says Marbois, "he kindly addressed him, saying, 'Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favour, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment to your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will myself furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country.'"]

the spot. Such a blow, it was deemed, would be irrevocable. The British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, with Major André on board, ascended the Hudson. A boat was sent off by Arnold at nightfall, which brought André on shore and landed him on the west side of the river, just below the American lines, where Arnold was waiting for him. In the mean time the *Vulture*, having attracted the notice of the American gunners, had found it necessary to change her position. On the second day, assuming an ordinary dress, and being furnished with a pass from Arnold, in the name of John Anderson, André set out on horseback, with Smith for a guide, and passed through a remote part of the camp, and all the guards and posts, in safety. He had now to pass through a district some thirty miles above the island of New York, known as "neutral ground," a populous and fertile region, infested by bands of plunderers called "Cow-Boys and Skinners."

In passing through Tarrytown, André was stopped by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac van Wert, on the lookout for cattle or travellers. André, not prepared for such an encounter—or, as he himself said in his letter to Washington, too little versed in deception to practise it with any degree of success—offered his captors a considerable purse of gold, a valuable watch, or anything which they might name, if they would suffer him to proceed to New York. His offers were rejected;¹ he was searched, suspicious papers were found in his boots, and he was carried before Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines. Although these papers were in the handwriting of Arnold, Jamison, unable to believe that his commanding officer was a traitor, forwarded them by express to Washington at Hartford, and sent to Arnold, informing him of his prisoner, his passport, and that papers of a very suspicious character had been found upon him. Washington's aides-de-camp were breakfasting with Arnold when Jamison's letter arrived. Pretending that it was an immediate call to visit one of the forts on the other side of the river, Arnold rose from table, called his wife upstairs, told her sufficient to throw her into a fainting-fit, mounted a ready-saddled horse, rode to the riverside, threw himself into a barge, passed the forts, waving a handkerchief by way of flag, and ordered his boatmen to row for the *Vulture*. André was examined before a board of officers, and upon the very story which he himself told he was pronounced a spy, and as such was doomed to speedy death. Sir Henry Clinton used the utmost efforts to save him. The public heart sympathised with him, but martial justice demanded his life, and his last prayer that he might be shot rather than hanged was denied. The day after the sentence was passed, October 2nd, it was carried into execution. The sympathy which André excited in the American army is perhaps unexampled under any circumstances. It was said that the whole board of general officers shed tears at the drawing up and signing the report, and that even Washington wept upon hearing the circumstances of his death.²

All historians have felt pity for André's fate, and a few have impugned the justice of his execution, the earl of Stanhope^w especially; he calls it "by far the greatest, and perhaps the only blot in Washington's most noble career." With this numerous of the later British historians strongly disagree, notably Lecky^g and also Massey,^{dd} who even doubts the propriety of burying André in Westminster Abbey for "services of this character."^a

Arnold received £10,000, and was made a brigadier-general in the British army.^s

[The charge has been made, and denied, that the three captors were very near accepting André's offers, but feared difficulty in collecting them.]

[1780 A.D.]

THE GENIUS OF GENERAL GREENE

With Gates in disgrace and Arnold eternally infamous in American history, it was evident that some new genius must arise in support of Washington if the all-necessary work along the line were to be accomplished. The hour and the man came together. In General Nathanael Greene, who was sent to relieve Gates, was found the man, who saw that what was necessary, under the conditions of the country and the people, was to organise and hold together an army that should keep the British troops busy. To make attacks, except under most advantageous circumstances of surprise and safe retreat, was to risk another Camden. General Greene therefore takes his place in history as another Fabius like Washington. His retreats make monotonous reading for the proud American of to-day—they must have been a sore trial to the patriot of that time. But all the while the British troops were being worn out.

As in the case of Washington, it seemed at times that the weather must be in active alliance with him. It would be difficult to credit those almost miraculous instances where General Greene's sorely wearied army just managed to cross a stream ahead of the British when a merciful flood swept down as a barrier for their defence, or to explain many other coincidences in his favour as anything but the direct interference of providence, if this theory would not bring upon that same providence an accusation of fickleness and sloth in aiding those whom it apparently wished so well.^a

Cornwallis, conqueror of South Carolina, prepared to march upon North Carolina. To secure the upper country, he detached a trusted officer, Major Ferguson, with a small band of regular troops and loyalists, in addition to whom large accessions were soon obtained from the tory part of the population. These recruits, like all of the same stamp, were full of hatred towards their countrymen on the American side, and fierce were the ravages of the party as Ferguson marched on. Aroused by the agony of the country, a considerable number of volunteers gathered, under various officers—Colonel Campbell, of Virginia, Colonels Cleaveland, Sevier, and Shelby, of North Carolina, and others. Nine hundred chosen men hastened to overtake the enemy, whom they found encamped in security on King's Mountain, near the frontier of South Carolina. The Americans never fought more resolutely. Ferguson was killed, and his surviving men surrendered at discretion (October 7th). The march of Cornwallis was instantly checked; instead of advancing, he fell back.

The year had been marked by important movements in Europe. The empress Catherine of Russia put forth a declaration of independence, as it may be styled, in behalf of the neutral states, by proclaiming their right to carry on their commerce in time of war exactly as in time of peace, provided they conveyed no contraband articles. This doctrine was wholly at variance with the rights of search and of blockade, as asserted by England in relation to neutral nations. But it prevailed, and a league, by the name of the Armed Neutrality, soon comprehended nearly the whole of Europe. On the accession of Holland to the Armed Neutrality, Great Britain, having just before captured a minister to the Dutch from the United States—Henry Laurens, of South Carolina—declared war at the close of 1780. But Holland no more became an ally of the United States than Spain had done.

In the mean time events were hastening to a crisis in the field. General Greene determined to save the Carolinas. He was confirmed in his purpose by his brigadier, General Morgan, who, distinguished in various actions, won

a decisive victory over Tarleton at the Cowpens, in South Carolina (January 17th, 1781). Later, Greene and Morgan having retreated in the interval, the main bodies of the armies, British and American, met at Guilford, in North Carolina (March 15th). Both retired from the field; the Americans first, but the British with the greater loss. Cornwallis withdrew towards Wilmington, pursued by Greene, who presently dashed into South Carolina. There he was opposed by Lord Rawdon, who at once defeated him in an engagement at Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden (April 25th). This was a cruel blow to Greene's hopes of surprising South Carolina. "This distressed country," he wrote, "cannot struggle much longer without more effectual support." But it was not in Greene's nature to despair. While he advanced against the stronghold of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, he detached a body of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Lee to join a band of Carolinians and Georgians who were besieging Augusta. The result was the surrender of that town (June 5th). But the fort at Ninety-Six held out against repeated assaults, and Greene was obliged to retire before the superior force which Rawdon was leading to raise the siege (June 19th). For a time the war subsided; then Greene reappeared, and fought the action of Eutaw Springs. He lost the field of battle (September 8th); but the British, under Colonel Stuart, were so much weakened as to give way and retreat precipitately towards Charleston. Thus from defeat to defeat, without the intermission of a single victory, in the common sense, Greene had now marched, now retreated, in such a brave and brilliant way as to force the enemy back upon the seaboard. The successes of the militia and of the partisan corps had been equally effective. All the upper country, not only of the Carolinas, but of Georgia, was once more in the American possession.

At the time when things were darkest at the south, greater perils arose at the centre of the country. Virginia was invaded in the first days of 1781 by a formidable force, chiefly of loyalists under the traitor Arnold. He took Richmond, but only to leave it and retire to Portsmouth, where he bade defiance both to the American militia and the French vessels from Newport (January). Soon after, two thousand British troops were sent from New York, under General Phillips, with directions to march up the Chesapeake against Maryland and Pennsylvania (March). This plan embraced the two-fold idea of cutting off the Carolinas from all assistance and of laying the central states equally prostrate. At about the same time Cornwallis, baffled by Greene in North Carolina, set out to join the forces assembled in Virginia. They, meanwhile, had penetrated the interior, swept the plantations and the towns, and taken Petersburg (April). The arrival of Cornwallis completed the array of the enemy (May). The very heart of the country was in danger.

The nation was far from being up to the emergency. A spirit of weariness and selfishness was prevailing among the people. The army, ill-disciplined and ill-paid, was exceedingly restless. Troops of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines had broken out into actual revolt at the beginning of the year. The government was still ineffective, the confederation feeble, congress inert, not to say broken down. When one reads that this body stood ready to give up the Mississippi to Spain, nay, to waive the express acknowledgment of American independence as an indispensable preliminary to negotiations with Great Britain—when one reads these things, he may well wonder that there were any preparations to meet the exigencies of the times. The German baron von Steuben,¹ collecting troops in Virginia at the time of the invasion,

[¹ To Baron Steuben had been due the reform of the drill. It may be instructive to see how the Prussian officer had set about bringing this irregular force into something like military

[1787 A.D.]

was afterwards joined by La Fayette, whose troops had been clad on their march at his expense. By sea, the French fleet was engaged in defending the coasts against the invader. It seemed as if the stranger were the only defender of Virginia and of America. But on the southern border was Greene, with his troops and his partisan allies. At the north was Washington, planning, acting, summoning troops from the states, and the French from Newport, to aid him in an attack upon New York, as the stronghold of the foe, until, convinced of the impossibility of securing the force required for such an enterprise, he resolved upon taking the command in Virginia (August 14th). Thither he at once directed the greater part of his scanty troops, as well as of the French. The allied army was to be strengthened by the French fleet, and not merely by that of Newport, but by another and a larger fleet from the West Indies.

THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN, AND END OF THE WAR

The British under Cornwallis were now within fortified lines at Yorktown and Gloucester (August 1st-22nd). There they had retired under orders from the commander-in-chief at New York, who thought both that post and the Virginian conquests in danger from the increasing activity of the Americans, and especially the French. Little had been done in the field by Cornwallis. He had been most gallantly watched, and even pursued by La Fayette, whose praises for skill, as well as heroism, rang far and wide. Washington and the French general Rochambeau joined La Fayette at Williamsburg (September 14th). A great fleet under Count de Grasse was already in the Chesapeake. As soon as the land forces arrived, the siege of Yorktown was begun (September 28th). The result was certain. Washington had contrived to leave Sir Henry Clinton impressed with the idea that New York was still the main object. Sir Henry, therefore, thought of no reinforcements for Cornwallis, until they were too late, until, indeed, they were out of the question in consequence of the naval superiority of the French. In fact, an expedition to lay waste the eastern part of Connecticut was occupying Clinton's mind. He placed the loyalists and the Hessians despatched for the purpose under the traitor Arnold, who succeeded in destroying New London in September. Thus there were but seven thousand five hundred British at Yorktown to resist nine thousand Americans and seven thousand French; besides the numerous fleet. In less than three weeks Cornwallis asked for terms (October 17th), and two days afterwards surrendered.

The blow was decisive. The United States were transported. Government, army, people were for once united, for once elevated to the altitude of order, with the sanction of Washington. He drafted a hundred and twenty men from the line, as a guard for the chief-in-command. He drilled them himself twice a day. "In a fortnight my company knew perfectly how to bear arms, had a military air, knew how to march, deploy, and execute some little manœuvres with excellent precision." In the course of instruction he departed altogether from the general rule. "In our European armies a man who has been drilled for three months is called a recruit; here, in two months, I must have a soldier. In Europe we had a number of evolutions very pretty to look at when well executed, but in my opinion absolutely useless so far as essential objects are concerned." He reversed the whole system of eternal manual and platoon exercises, and commenced with manœuvres. He soon taught them something better than the pedantic routine which was taught in manuals of tactics. To the objectors against Steuben's system it was answered that "in fact there was no time to spare in learning the minutiae—the troops must be prepared for instant combat." The sagacious German had his men at drill every morning at sunrise, and he soon made the colonels of regiments not ashamed of instructing their recruits.—KAPP.⁶²]

those noble spirits who, like Washington, had sustained the nation until the moment of victory. "The play is over," wrote La Fayette, "and the fifth act is just finished." "O God!" exclaimed Lord North, the English prime minister, on hearing of the event. "It is all over—all over!"

It was Washington's earnest desire to avail of the French fleet in an attack on Charleston. De Grasse refused. Then Washington urged him to transport troops to Wilmington. But De Grasse alleged his engagement in the West Indies, and sailed thither. The French under Rochambeau went into winter quarters at Williamsburg, while the Americans marched, a part to reinforce the southern army, and a part to the various posts in the north. Prospects were uncertain. It was evident that the war was approaching its close, but none could tell how nearly.

A vote of parliament that the king be requested to bring the war to a close (February 27th, 1782) led to a change of ministry. Determining to recognise the independence of the United States, and to concentrate hostilities against the European powers, the new ministry sent out Sir Guy Carleton as commander-in-chief, with instructions to evacuate New York, Charleston, and Savannah—in a word, the entire seaboard. It was the result of past campaigns, not of any present one. The Americans were without armies, without supplies, at least without such as were indispensable for any active operations. When the French under Rochambeau reached the American camp on the Hudson in the autumn, they passed between two lines of troops clothed and armed by subsidies from France. It was a touching tribute of gratitude, and an equally touching confession of weakness. All but a single corps of the French embarked at the close of the year. The remainder followed in the ensuing spring. Peace was then decided upon. It had been brought about by other operations besides those which have been described. The contest in America, indeed, was but an episode in the extended warfare of the period. Upon the sea, the fleets of Britain hardly encountered an American man-of-war. The opposing squadrons were those of France and Spain and Holland. By land, the French opposed the British in the East Indies, upon the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies. They also aided the Spaniards to conquer Minorca, in the Mediterranean, and to assail, but in vain, the great stronghold of Gibraltar. The Spanish forces were also active in the Floridas. Holland alone of the European combatants made no stand against Great Britain. In the Indies, both East and West, and in South American Guiana, the Dutch were immense losers. What was gained from them, however, did not compensate for what was lost to others by the British. The preliminaries of peace, at first with America (November 30th, 1782), and afterwards with the European powers (January 20th, 1783), were signed to the general contentment of Great Britain, of Europe, and of America.

Hostilities soon ceased. In America, Sir Guy Carleton proclaimed their cessation on the part of the British (April 8th). Washington, with the consent of congress, made proclamation to the same effect. By a singular coincidence, the day on which hostilities were stayed was the anniversary of that on which they were begun at Lexington, eight years before (April 19th). Measures, already proposed by the British commander, were at once taken on both sides for the release of prisoners. The treatment and the exchange of these unfortunate men had given rise to great difficulties during the war. Even where actual cruelty did not exist, etiquette and policy were too strong for humanity. The horrors of the British jails and prison ships were by-words, and when their unhappy victims were offered in exchange for the better treated prisoners of the other side, the Americans hesitated to receive them.

[1782 A.D.]

The troops that surrendered at Saratoga, on condition of a free passage to Great Britain, were detained, in consequence of various objections, to be freed only by desertions and slow exchanges after the lapse of years. In short, the prisoners of both armies seem to have been regarded in the light of troublesome burdens, alike by those who had captured them and those from whom they were captured. Individual benevolence alone lights up the gloomy scene. At the close of the war, we find congress, on the recommendation of Washington, voting its thanks to Reuben Harvey, a merchant of Cork, for his humane succours to the American prisoners in Ireland.

Negotiations for peace met with many interruptions. So far as the United States were concerned, the questions of boundary, of the St. Lawrence and Newfoundland fisheries, of indemnity to British creditors as well as to American loyalists, were all knotty points; the more so that the four negotiators—Franklin, John Jay, John Adams, and Henry Laurens—were by no means agreed upon the principles by which to decide them. Some of the envoys, moreover, were possessed of the idea that France was disposed to betray her American allies; and so strong was this feeling that the consent of the French government, the point which had been agreed upon as the essential condition of making peace, was not even asked before the signature of the preliminaries already mentioned. It was before the preliminaries were signed that all these embarrassments appeared, and they continued afterwards. At length, however, definitive treaties were signed at Paris and at Versailles between Great Britain and her foes (September 3rd). The treaty with Holland was not concluded until the following spring. America obtained her independence, with all the accompanying privileges and possessions which she desired. She agreed, however, against her will, to make her debts good, and to recommend the loyalists, whose property had been confiscated, to the favour of the state governments. Spain recovered the Floridas. The other terms of the treaties—the cessions on one side and on the other—have been detailed elsewhere in our history. The treaty between Great Britain and the United States was formally confirmed by congress at the beginning of the following year (January 14th, 1784). After long delays, the British withdrew from their post on the Penobscot. New York was evacuated (November 25th, 1783), and ten days later the remaining forces embarked from Staten Island and Long Island (December 4th-6th). A few western posts excepted, the territory of the United States was free.

MUTINIES IN THE AMERICAN ARMY

The disposal of the American army had long been a serious question. A year before, the army had addressed congress on the subject of the pay, then months, and even years, in arrears (December, 1782). Congress was powerless. The army was incensed. When, therefore, anonymous addresses to the officers were issued from the camp at Newburg, proposing the alternative of redress or of desertion,¹ the worst consequences appeared inevitable. The more so, that the excitement was greatest amongst the better class of soldiers, the "worthy and faithful men," as their commander described them, "who, from their early engaging in the war at moderate bounties, and from their patient continuance under innumerable distresses, have not only deserved well of their country, but have obtained an honourable distinction over those

¹ "If peace [comes], that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that you will retire to some unsettled country."

who, with shorter times, have gained large pecuniary rewards." Washington, and Washington alone, was equal to the crisis. He had repelled with unutterable disdain the offer of a crown from certain individuals in the army a year before (May, 1782). He now rebuked the spirit of the Newburg addresses, and by his majestic integrity quelled the rising passions of those around him. But he entered with all the greater fervour into the just claims of the army. His refusal at the outset of the war, renewed at the close, to receive any compensation for his services to the country, placed him in precisely the position from which he could now appeal in behalf of his officers and soldiers to congress and the nation. His voice was heard. The army obtained a promise of its pay, including the commutation to a fixed sum of the half pay for life formerly promised to the officers at the expiration of the war (March, 1783). All was not yet secure. But three months later, and a body of Pennsylvanian troops marched upon congress itself in Philadelphia. Washington denounced the act with scorn. "These Pennsylvania levies," he says, "who have now



THE LONG ROOM OF FRAUNCES' TAVERN
(Where Washington took formal farewell of his officers)

mutinied, are recruits and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war." He at once sent a force to reduce and to chastise them.

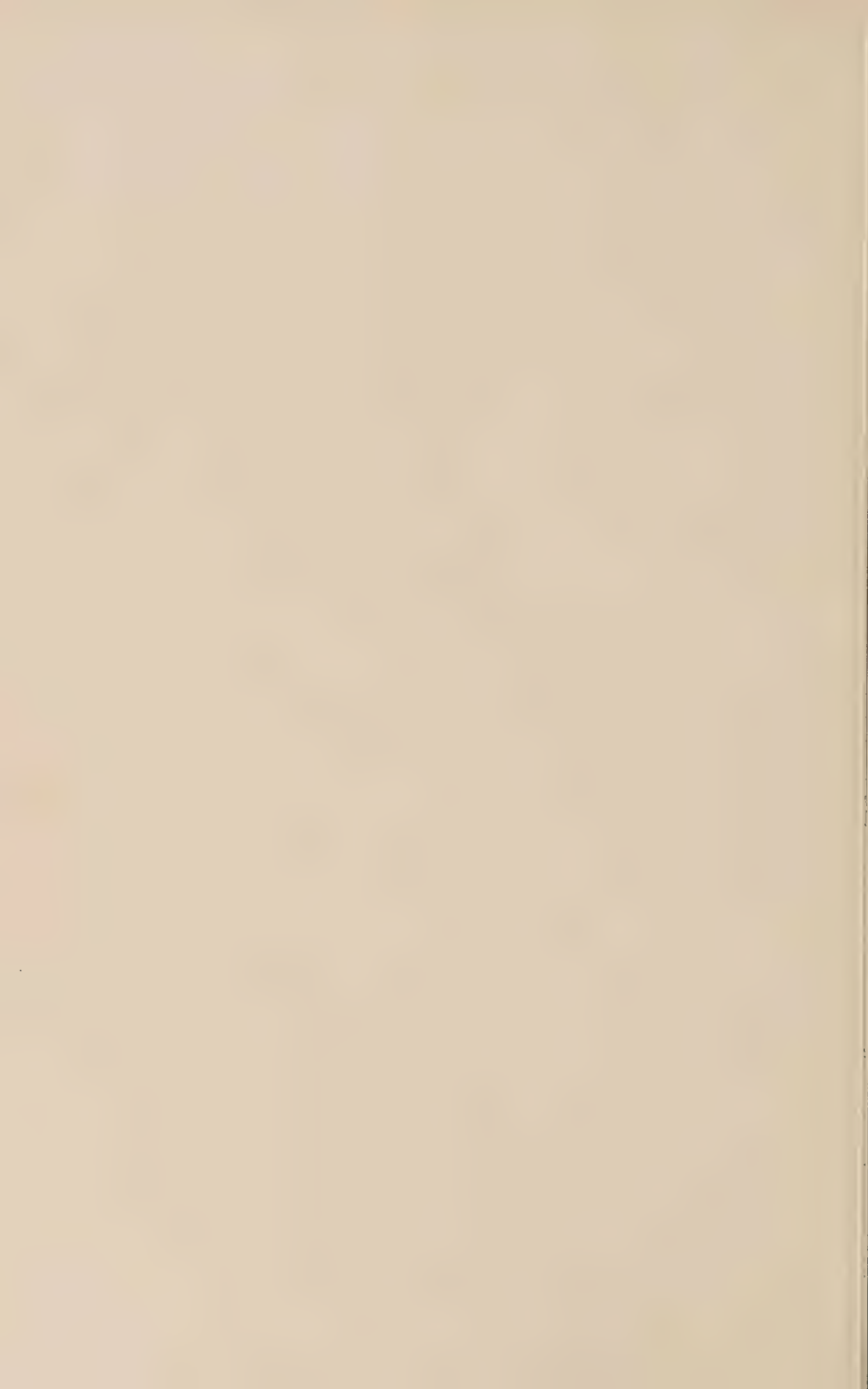
"It is high time for a peace," Washington had written some months previously. The army was slowly disbanded, a small number only being left when the formal proclamation of dissolution was made, November 3rd. A few troops were still retained in arms. Of these, and of his faithful officers, the commander-in-chief took his leave at New York, December 4th. Thence he repaired to Annapolis, where congress was in session, and there resigned (December 23rd) the commission which he had held, unstained and glorious, for eight years and a half.

It seems as if he left no one behind him. The town and the state each had its authorities; but the nation was without a government, at least with nothing more than the name of one. Yet the need of a directing and a sustaining power had never been greater or clearer. If the war itself was over, its consequences, its burdens, its debts, its wasting influences, were but begun. No one saw this more plainly, no one felt it more deeply, than the retiring commander-in-chief. At no time had he been absorbed in his military duties.



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THE PEACE BALL, FREDERICKSBURG, VA.
(From the painting by Jennie Browncombe)



[1783 A.D.]

In his relations to congress, to the states, even to the citizens, as well as in those to foreigners, whether allies or enemies, he had been almost as much the civil as the military head of the country. The arm that had led the nation through the field was now lifted to point out the paths that opened beyond. "According to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment"—thus Washington wrote to the governors of the states, on disbanding the army—"they will stand or fall; and, by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved. There are four things," he continued, "which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent power:

"(1) An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

"(2) A sacred regard to public justice,

"(3) The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And

"(4) The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."^d

John Fiske, in concluding his history of the Revolution, thus sums up its work in both countries: "It was a day of bitter humiliation for George III and the men who had been his tools. It was a day of happy omen for the English race, in the Old World as well as in the New. For the advent of Lord Rockingham's ministry meant not merely the independence of the United States; it meant the downfall of the only serious danger with which English liberty has been threatened since the expulsion of the Stuarts. The personal government which George III had sought to establish, with its wholesale corruption, its shameless violations of public law, and its attacks upon freedom of speech and of the press, became irredeemably discredited and tottered to its fall; while the great England of William III, of Walpole, of Chatham, of the younger Pitt, of Peel, and of Gladstone was set free to pursue its noble career. Such was the priceless boon which the younger nation, by its sturdy insistence upon the principles of political justice, conferred upon the elder. The decisive battle of freedom in England, as well as in America, and in that vast colonial world for which Chatham prophesied the dominion of the future, had now been fought and won. And foremost in accomplishing this glorious work had been the lofty genius of Washington and the steadfast valour of the men who suffered with him at Valley Forge and whom he led to victory at Yorktown."^j



CHAPTER VIII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION

[1783-1814 A.D.]

A GREAT political principle had been strengthened by the success of the Revolution; republican government had been revived in a fashion unknown since ancient times. The territory claimed by Virginia was larger than the island of Great Britain. The federal republic included an area nearly four times as large as that of France. The suffrage was still limited to the holders of land; but the spirit of the Revolution looked towards abolishing all legal distinctions between man and man; and the foundation of later democracy, with its universal suffrage, was thus already laid. The influence of the republican spirit upon the rest of the world was not yet discerned; but the United States had established for themselves two principles which seriously affected other nations. Forty years later not one of the Spanish continental colonies acknowledged the authority of the home government. The other principle was that of the rights of man. The success of the Revolution was a shock to the system of privilege and of class exemptions from the common burdens, which had lasted since feudal times. The French Revolution of 1789 was an attempt to apply upon alien ground the principles of the American Revolution.—ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.^b

JOHN FISKE ON "THE CRITICAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY"¹

"THE times that tried men's souls are over," said Thomas Paine in the last number of the *Crisis*, which he published after hearing that the negotiations for a treaty of peace had been concluded. Paine was sadly mistaken. The most trying time of all was just beginning. It is not too much to say that the period of five years following the peace of 1783 was the most critical moment in all the history of the American people. The dangers from which we were saved in 1788 were even greater than the dangers from which we were saved in 1865. In the war of Secession the love of union had come

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[1783 A.D.]

to be so strong that thousands of men gave up their lives for it as cheerfully and triumphantly as the martyrs of older times, who sang their hymns of praise even while their flesh was withering in the relentless flames. In 1783 the love of union, as a sentiment for which men would fight, had scarcely come into existence. The souls of the men of that day had not been thrilled by the immortal eloquence of Webster, nor had they gained the historic experience which gave to Webster's words their meaning and their charm. The men of 1783 dwelt in a long, straggling series of republics fringing the Atlantic coast, bordered on the north and south and west by two European powers, whose hostility they had some reason to dread. Had there been such a government that the whole power of the thirteen states could have been swiftly and vigorously wielded as a unit, the British, fighting at such disadvantage as they did, might have been driven to their ships in less than a year. The length of the war and its worst hardships had been chiefly due to want of organisation. Congress had steadily declined in power and in respectability; it was much weaker at the end of the war than at the beginning, and there was reason to fear that as soon as the common pressure was removed the need for concerted action would quite cease to be felt, and the scarcely formed Union would break into pieces. There was an intensely powerful sentiment in favour of local self-government. This feeling was scarcely less strong as between states like Connecticut and Rhode Island, or Maryland and Virginia, than it was between Athens and Megara, Argos and Sparta, in the great days of Grecian history. A most wholesome feeling it was, and one which needed not so much to be curbed as to be guided in the right direction.

Unless the most profound and delicate statesmanship should be forthcoming to take this sentiment under its guidance, there was much reason to fear that the release from the common adhesion to Great Britain would end in setting up thirteen little republics, ripe for endless squabbling, like the republics of ancient Greece and mediæval Italy, and ready to become the prey of England and Spain, even as Greece became the prey of Macedonia.

Frederick of Prussia, though friendly to the Americans, argued that the mere extent of country from Maine to Georgia would suffice either to break up the Union or to make a monarchy necessary. No republic, he said, had ever long existed on so great a scale. The Roman Republic had been transformed into a despotism mainly by the excessive enlargement of its area. It was only little states, like Venice, Switzerland, and Holland, that could maintain a republican government. Such arguments overlooked three essential differences between the Roman Republic and the United States. The Roman Republic in Cæsar's time comprised peoples differing widely in blood, in speech, and in degree of civilisation; it was perpetually threatened on all its frontiers by powerful enemies, and representative assemblies were unknown to it. The only free government of which the Roman knew anything was that of the primary assembly or town-meeting. On the other hand, the people of the United States were all English in speech, and mainly English in blood. The differences in degree of civilisation between such states as Massachusetts and North Carolina were considerable, but in comparison with such differences as those between Attica and Lusitania they might well be called slight. The attacks of savages on the frontier were cruel and annoying, but never since the time of King Philip had they seemed to threaten the existence of the white man. A very small military establishment was quite enough to deal with the Indians. And, to crown all, the American people were thoroughly familiar with the principle of representation, having

practised it on a grand scale for four centuries in England, and for more than a century in America. The governments of the thirteen states were all similar, and the political ideas of one were perfectly intelligible to all the others. It was essentially fallacious, therefore, to liken the case of the United States to that of ancient Rome.

But there was another feature of the case which was quite hidden from the men of 1783. Just before the assembling of the first continental congress, James Watt had completed his steam-engine; in the summer of 1787, while the federal convention was sitting at Philadelphia, John Fitch launched his first steamboat on the Delaware river; and Stephenson's invention of the locomotive was to follow in less than half a century. But for the military aid of railroads the government would hardly have succeeded in putting down the rebellion of the Southern states. In the debates on the Oregon Bill in the United States senate in 1843, the idea that the United States could ever have an interest in so remote a country as Oregon was loudly ridiculed by some of the members. It would take ten months, said George McDuffie, the very able senator from South Carolina, for representatives to get from that territory to the District of Columbia and back again. Yet, since the building of railroads to the Pacific coast, we can go from Boston to the capital of Oregon in much less time than it took John Hancock to make the journey from Boston to Philadelphia. Railroads and telegraphs have made that vast country, both for political and for social purposes, more snug and compact than little Switzerland was in the Middle Ages or New England a century ago.

It will be remembered that at the time of the Declaration of Independence there were three kinds of government in the colonies. Connecticut and Rhode Island had always been true republics. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland presented the appearance of limited hereditary monarchies. The other eight colonies were vicerealties, with governors appointed by the king, while in all alike the people elected the legislatures.

The organisation of the single state was old in principle and well understood by everybody. On the other hand, the principles upon which the various relations of the states to each other were to be adjusted were not well understood. There was wide disagreement upon the subject, and the attempt to compromise between opposing views was not at first successful. Hence, in the management of affairs which concerned the United States as a nation, we shall not find the central machinery working smoothly or quietly. We are about to traverse a period of uncertainty and confusion, in which it required all the political sagacity and all the good temper of the people to save the half-built ship of state from going to pieces on the rocks of civil contention.

Until the connection with England was severed the thirteen commonwealths were not united, nor were they sovereign. It is also clear that in the very act of severing their connection with England these commonwealths entered into some sort of union which was incompatible with their absolute sovereignty taken severally. It was not the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and so on through the list, that declared their independence of Great Britain, but it was the representatives of the United States in congress assembled, and speaking as a single body in the name of the whole. Three weeks before this declaration was adopted, congress appointed a committee to draw up the "articles of confederation and perpetual union," by which the sovereignty of the several states was expressly limited and curtailed in many important particulars.

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A most remarkable body was the "continental congress." For the vicissitudes through which it passed, there is perhaps no other revolutionary body, save the Long Parliament, which can be compared with it. The most fundamental of all the attributes of sovereignty—the power of taxation—was not given to congress. The states shared with congress the powers of coining money, of emitting bills of credit, and of making their promissory notes a legal tender for debts. Such was the constitution under which the United States had begun to drift towards anarchy even before the close of the Revolutionary War, but which could only be amended by the unanimous consent of all the thirteen states.^c

THE CHAOS AFTER THE REVOLUTION (1783 A.D.)

There was hardly a political principle upon which the entire country agreed. There was not one political power by which it was governed. Interests were opposed to interests, classes to classes; nay, men to men. When the officers of the army, for instance, formed into a society, under the name of the Cincinnati, for the purpose of keeping up their relations with one another, and more particularly of succouring those who might fall into distress, a general uproar was raised, because the membership of the society was to be hereditary, from father to son or from kinsman to kinsman. It was found necessary to strike out this provision, at the first general meeting of the Cincinnati (1784). Even then, though there remained nothing but a charitable association, it was inveighed against as a caste, as an aristocracy—as anything, in short, save what it really was. It is easy to say that all this is a sign of republicanism; of a devoted anxiety to preserve the institutions for which loss and sufferings had been endured. But it is a clearer sign of the suspicions and the collisions which were rending the nation asunder.

The states were absorbed in their own troubles. The debts of the confederation lay heavy upon them, in addition to those contracted by themselves. Their citizens were impoverished, here and there maddened by the calamities and the burdens, private and public, which they were obliged to bear together. At Exeter, the assembly of New Hampshire was assailed by two hundred men with weapons, demanding an emission of paper money. All day the insurgents held possession of the legislative chamber; but in the early evening they were dispersed by a rumour that Exeter was taking up arms against them (1786). The same year occurred Shays' Rebellion, in which the courts of Massachusetts were prevented from holding their usual sessions by bodies of armed men, under Captain Daniel Shays, whose main object it was to prevent any collection of debts or taxes. Nearly two thousand were in arms at the beginning of the following year (1787). The horror excited in the rest of the country was intense. Congress ordered troops to be raised; but, as it had no power to interfere with the states, the pretext of Indian hostilities was set up. Massachusetts was fortunate in having James Bowdoin for a governor. One or two thousand militia, under the command of General Lincoln, marched against the insurgents, who were put to rout. Of all the prisoners, fourteen alone were tried and condemned, not one being executed. The insurrection had lasted about six months.

Nor were such insurrections the only ones of the time. A body of settlers in Wyoming, principally emigrants from New England, held their land by grants from Connecticut, long the claimant of the territory. When Connecticut gave way to Pennsylvania, and the latter state insisted upon the

necessity of new titles to the settlements of Wyoming, the settlers armed themselves, and threatened to set up a state of their own (1782-1787). What was threatened there was actually executed elsewhere. The western counties of North Carolina, excited by being ceded to the United States, organised an independent government, as the state of "Franklin" or "Frankland" (1784). But the people were divided, and the governor, Colonel Sevier, of King's Mountain fame, was ultimately compelled to fly by the opponents of an independent organisation (1788). Meanwhile old projects of independence had been revived in the Kentucky counties of Virginia. Petitions and resolutions led to acts of the Virginia legislature consenting to the independence of Kentucky on certain conditions. Kentucky soon after petitioned congress for admission to the Union, but without immediate effect. Maine again and again strove to be detached from Massachusetts (1786). The case of Vermont was one apart. The inhabitants of that district, then known as the New Hampshire grants, declared it the state of Vermont (January, 1777), and asked admission to the Union in July. The request was denied, on account of the claims of New York to the territory. Overtures were then made to the British authorities in Canada, with whom the Vermonters might well wish to be on good terms, so long as they were excluded from the Union. Congress took alarm, but still kept Vermont at a distance (1782). So Vermont remained aloof, contented, one may believe, to be free from the troubles of the United States.

Partially settled at the time when the confederation was completed, the question of the unoccupied lands was still undecided. It united the smaller states, as a general rule, against the larger ones, by whom the western regions were claimed. Besides these great divisions between north and south, and between the larger and the smaller states, there were boundary questions.

The general government continued in the same feeble state. If there was any change, it was that the confederation and its congress had sunk to a still lower degree of inefficiency. There was even less attention to its wants on the part of the states; its requisitions went almost unanswered, their obligations almost unregarded. The superintendent of finance, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, by whose personal exertions and advances the country had been forced through the last years of the war, laid down his office in despair, after a year of peace. His creation of a bank—the Bank of North America (1781)—was recommended by congress to the states, with the request that branches should be established; but in vain. Congress, in 1783, renewed its petition, as it may be styled, for power to lay a duty on imports, if only for a limited period. After long delay, a fresh appeal was made with really piteous representations of the national insolvency. New York refused to comply upon the terms proposed, and congress was again humiliated in 1786. During its efforts on this point, congress had roused itself upon another, and asked for authority over foreign commerce. But the supplications of congress to the states were once more denied.

On one point alone was congress worthy to be called a government. It organised the western territory, after having prevailed upon the states, or most of them, to abandon their pretensions to regions so remote from themselves. Virginia having followed the earlier example of New York, a plan was brought forward by one of her delegates, Thomas Jefferson, for the division and constitution of the western territory. The plan, at first, embraced the organisation of the entire western territory, out of which seventeen states, all free, were to be formed. The proposed prohibition of slavery was at once voted down; otherwise the project was adopted, in April, 1784. But the

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cessions of the states not yet covering the whole of the region thus apportioned, its organisation was postponed until the national title to the lands could be made complete. Massachusetts, in 1785, and Connecticut, in 1786, ceded their claims, the latter state, however, with a reservation. Treaties with various tribes disposed in part of the Indian titles to the western territories (1784-1786). All these cessions completing the hold of the nation upon the tract northwest of the Ohio, that country was definitely organised as the Northwest Territory, by an ordinance of congress (July 13th, 1787).¹ This intrusted the government of the territory partly to officers appointed by congress, and partly to an assembly to be chosen by the settlers as soon as they amounted to five thousand. Articles provided for the equal rights and responsibilities of the new states and the old, and for the division of the territory. Under liberal organisation, surveys, sales, and settlements followed fast. A colony from Massachusetts was the first to occupy Ohio, at Marietta (1788).

Singular enough, while congress was taking these steps to preserve the western domains, it was taking others to endanger them. Eager to secure a treaty of commerce with Spain, the northern and central states assented to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi to that power (1786). In this they had no less an authority upon their side than Washington, who appears to have attached more importance to internal communication between the west and the east alone than to that wider intercourse which the west would possess by means of its mighty river. Jefferson, then the American minister at Paris, was farther-sighted. "The act," he wrote, "which abandons the navigation of the Mississippi, is an act of separation between the eastern and western country" (1787). Suppose the right to the Mississippi waived, even for a limited period, and the probability is that a large number of the western settlers, conceiving themselves sacrificed, would have separated from their countrymen [as the Kentuckians actually threatened to do], and gained a passage through the stream either in war or in alliance with Spain.

Relations with Great Britain were still more disturbed than those with Spain. Nor were they less threatening to the west. The treaty of peace exacted the surrender of the western posts by Britain. But America was required at the same time to provide for the debts of great magnitude due to British merchants. This, however, was not done. Congress was unable, and the states were unwilling, to effect anything—five states, indeed, continuing or commencing measures to prevent the collection of British debts. When, therefore, John Adams, the first minister to Great Britain, entered into a negotiation for the recovery of the posts which the British still held, he was met at once by the demand that the American part in the treaty should be fulfilled (1786). A remonstrance which congress addressed to the states was altogether in vain (1787).

"The consideration felt for America by Europe," wrote La Fayette, "is diminishing to a degree truly painful; and what has been gained by the Revolution is in danger of being lost little by little." Amid this tottering of the national system the old foundations stood secure. The laws that had been laid deep in the past, the institutions, political and social, that had been reared above them, remained to support the present uncertainties. Every strong principle of the mother country, every broad reform of the colonies, contributed to the strength and the development of the struggling nation. The claim of the eldest son to a double share of his father's property, if not to all

[¹ A. B. Hart ^b says of this ordinance that "it was inferior in importance only to the Federal constitution."]

the prerogatives of primogeniture, was gradually prohibited, Georgia taking the lead. Suffrage was extended in several states, from holders of real or personal property to all tax-paying freemen. Personal liberty obtained extension and protection. The class of indented servants diminished. That of slaves disappeared altogether in some of the states. Massachusetts, declaring men free and equal by her Bill of Rights, was pronounced by her supreme court to have put an end to slavery within her limits (1780-1783). Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut forbade the importation of slaves, and the bondage of any persons thereafter born upon their soil. Other states declared against the transportation of slaves from state to state, others against the foreign slave trade; all, in fine, moving with greater or less energy in the same direction, save only South Carolina and Georgia. Societies were formed in many places to quicken the action of the authorities. In making exertions, and in maintaining principles like these, the nation was proving its title to independence.

Nothing, however, was more full of promise than the religious privileges to which the states consented. Rhode Island struck out the prohibitory statute against Roman Catholics (1784). But Rhode Island was no longer alone in her glory. The majority of the state constitutions allowed entire religious liberty. The only real restrictions upon it were those to which the Puritan states still clung, in enforcing the payment of taxes and the attendance upon services in some church or other—the old leaven not having entirely lost its power. Particular forms of faith were here and there required, if not from the citizens, at any rate from the magistrates; Roman Catholics being excluded from office in several states of the north, the centre, and the south.

A CONVENTION DEVISES THE CONSTITUTION (1787 A.D.)

It was time for the nation to profit by the examples and the principles that have been enumerated—time for it to guard against the conflicts and the perils that have been described. Alexander Hamilton conceived the idea of a convention for forming a national constitution as early as 1780. Other individuals, including Thomas Paine, advocated the same measure, in private or in public. The legislature of New York supported it in 1782. The legislature of Massachusetts supported it in 1785.

A convention of five states at Annapolis recommended a national convention at Philadelphia in the ensuing month of May.

The first to act upon this proposal from Annapolis was the state so often foremost in the cause of the country, Virginia. The example thus set was at once followed by New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware. By the time these states declared themselves (February, 1787), congress, after many doubts as to the propriety of the course, came out with a call of its own, but limited its summons to a convention “for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation.”

The state house at Philadelphia was chosen for the sessions of the convention. The day fixed for the opening arrived, only two states being represented, namely, Virginia and Pennsylvania. At length, eleven days after the appointed time, the representatives of seven states—a bare majority—assembled and opened the convention. As a matter of course, George Washington was elected president (May 25th).

The United States of America never wore a more majestic aspect than in the convention, which gradually filled up with the delegates of every state except Rhode Island. The purpose of the assembly was sufficient

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to invest it with solemnity. To meet in the design of strengthening instead of enfeebling authority, of forming a government which should enable the nation to fulfil instead of eluding its obligations alike to the citizen and the stranger—to meet with these intentions was to do what the world had never witnessed. It is scarcely necessary to say that lower motives entered in; that the interests of classes and of sections, the prejudices of narrow politicians and of selfish men, obtruded themselves with ominous strength. Many of the members were altogether unequal to the national duties of the convention. But they were surrounded by others of a nobler mould, including the venerable Franklin, lately returned from his French mission, the representative of the later colonial days; and by several representatives of the younger class of patriots, notably by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

The rules of the convention ordered secrecy of debate and the right of each state to an equal vote. Governor Randolph, of Virginia, then opened the deliberations upon a constitution by offering a series of resolutions proposing a national legislature of two branches, a national executive, and a national judiciary of supreme and inferior tribunals. Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, offered a sketch of government, based on the same principles as Randolph's, but developed with greater detail. Both the plans were referred to a committee of the whole; but Randolph's, or the Virginia plan, as it was rightly called, engrossed the debate. At the end of a fortnight the committee reported in favour of the Virginia system. On the report of the committee, a new plan was offered by William Patterson, of New Jersey. This New Jersey plan, so styled, proposed a government of much more limited powers than that of the Virginia pattern. The two were referred to a committee of the whole.

Parties were by this time but too distinctly defined. The federal side was taken, as a general rule, by the representatives of the small states, the national by those of the large. Whatever was upheld by the large states, especially Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and, above all, Virginia, was, as if for this simple reason, opposed by the small ones. There was a constant dread of the dominion which, it was supposed, would be exercised by the superior states to the disadvantage and the disgrace of those of inferior rank. Perhaps the tone assumed by the large states was such as reasonably to inspire suspicion. Certain it is, that the breach between the two parties grew wider and wider, particularly when the committee and the convention pronounced in favour of the national plan. Within ten days afterwards, Franklin [who was by no means a pious man], shocked by the altercations around him, moved that prayers should be said every morning. The motion was parried, partly, it was said, to prevent the public from surmising the divisions of the convention.¹

The starting-point, so far as theory was concerned, of the two parties, was the government by states. In this, the federal members argued, resides the only principle of sovereignty, and to this recourse must be had for the life and breath of a government for the nation. Hence the name of Federal, implying the support of a league—that is, a league between the states—as the true form of a general government. All this the national party opposed. We are not met, they reasoned, to fashion a constitution out of the states or for the states, but to create a constitution for the people; it is the people, not the states, who are to be governed and united; it is the people, moreover,

[¹ The actual reason why they did not engage a chaplain was because they had no money to pay him.—J. S. LONDON.^d]

from whom the power required for the constitution is to emanate. At the same time, the national members, with a few exceptions, were far from denying the excellence of state governments.

But the votes to be taken in the legislative branches of the new government are not, it was asserted, the votes of the states, but the votes of the people; let them, therefore, be given according to the numbers of the people, not of the states. Not so, replied the federal members—and they had reason to be excited, for it was from apprehension on this very point that they had opposed the national plan—not so, they replied, or our states, with their scanty votes, will be utterly absorbed in the larger states. One of the small states, Delaware, sent her representatives with express instructions to reserve her equal vote in the national legislature. But the federal party, already disappointed, found itself doomed to a fresh disappointment. Abandoning, or intimating that it was willing to abandon, the claim of an equal vote in both branches of the legislature, it stood the firmer for equality in one of the branches—the senate of the constitution. Even this more moderate demand was disregarded by the majority, intent upon unequal votes in both the branches.

Great agitation followed. “We will sooner submit to foreign power!” cried a representative from one of the small states. But for the reference of the matter to a committee, who, at the instance of Franklin, adopted a compromise, making the votes of the states equal in the senate, the work of the convention would have come to a sudden close. As it was, the report of the committee but partly satisfied the small states, while it kindled the wrath of the large. “If no compromise should take place,” asked Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, “what will be the consequence? A secession will take place, for some gentlemen seem decided on it.” It was the federal party that talked of secession. The national party, no wiser, as a whole, spoke of the dismemberment and absorption of the smaller states, hinting at the sword. Fortunately, peace prevailed. The compromise was accepted, and both national and federal members united in determining on an equal vote in the senate and an unequal vote in the house that were to be.

Another division besides that between the large and the small states had now appeared. Slavery separated the North from the South. The first struggle upon the point arose with respect to the apportionment of representation. Upon this subject all other questions yielded to one, namely, whether slaves should be included with freemen, not, of course, as voting, but as making up the number entitled to representation. The necessity for compromise was again evident. The moderate members of either side came together, and agreed that three-fifths of the slave population should be enumerated with the whole of the white population in apportioning the representatives amongst the different states.

A graver point was raised. In the draft of the constitution now under debate, there stood a clause forbidding the general government to lay any tax or prohibition upon the migrations or the importations authorised by the states. This signified that there was to be no interference with the slave trade. The opposition to the claims of the extreme South came from the central states, especially from Virginia, not from the North. The North, intent upon the passage of acts protective of its large shipping interests, was quite ready to come to an understanding with the South. The consequence was that, instead of imitating the example of earlier years and declaring the slave trade at an end, the convention protracted its existence for twenty years (till 1808). At the same time, the restriction upon acts relating

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to commerce was stricken from the constitution. Dark as this transaction seems, it was still a compromise. To extend the slave trade for twenty years was far better than to leave it without any limit at all. It was at the close of these discussions that the draft of the clause respecting fugitive slaves was introduced, and accepted without discussion. The word "slaves," however, was avoided here, as it had been in all the portions of the constitution relating to slavery.

At length, after nearly four months' perseverance through all the heat of summer, the convention agreed to the constitution (September 15th). As soon as it could be properly engrossed, it was signed by all the delegates, save Gerry, of Massachusetts—who hinted at civil war being about to ensue—Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia (September 17th). As the last members were signing, Franklin pointed to a sun painted upon the back of the president's chair, saying, "I have often and often, in the course of the session and the vicissitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun." The dawn was still uncertain. Presented to congress, and thence transmitted to the states, to be by them accepted or rejected, the constitution was received with very general murmurs. Even some members of the convention, on reaching home, declared, like Martin, of Maryland, "I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty, if on those terms only I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it." It was thought that the constitution was too strong, that it exalted the powers of the government too high, and depressed the rights of the states and the people too low. This was the opinion of the anti-federalists—a name borne rather than assumed by those who had constituted, or by those who succeeded to, the federal party in the convention. They opposed, not the union, but what they called the subjection of the states proposed by the constitution.

The constitutional writings, as they may be called, of the twelvemonth succeeding the convention, were far in advance of any preceding productions of America. The greatness of the cause called forth new powers of mind, new powers of heart. Washington's letters upon the subject overflow with emotions such as his calm demeanour had seldom betrayed before. Under the signature of Publius, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay united in the composition of *The Federalist*. It was a succession of essays, some profound in argument, others thrilling in appeal, and all devoted to setting forth the principles and foretelling the operations of the constitution. Under the signature of Fabius, John Dickinson—the same whose *Farmer's Letters* had pleaded for liberty twenty years before—now pleaded for constitutional government. It was not merely the constitution that was thus rendered clear and precious. The subject was as wide as are the rights of man.

So strong and so wise exertion was not in vain. State after state, beginning with Delaware (December 7th, 1787), assented to the constitution, some by large, some by exceedingly small majorities. But, actuated by different motives, the large states, or rather the parties in the large states, opposing the unconditional adoption of the constitution, were unable to combine with any effect. The generous impulses and the united exertions of their opponents carried the day. Only North Carolina and Rhode Island stood aloof, and the former but partially, when congress performed the last act preliminary to the establishment of the constitution by appointing days for the requisite

elections and for the organisation of the new government (September 13th, 1788). Thus was completed the most extraordinary transaction of which merely human history bears record. A nation enfeebled, dismembered, and dispirited, broken by the losses of war, by the dissensions of peace, incapacitated for its duties to its own citizens or to foreign powers, suddenly bestirred itself and prepared to create a government. It chose its representatives without conflicts or even commotions. They came together, at first only to disagree, to threaten, and to fail. But against the spells of individual selfishness and sectional passion, the inspiration of the national cause proved potent. The representatives of the nation consented to the measures on which the common honour and the common safety depended. Then the nation itself broke out in clamours. Still there was no violence, or next to none. No sort of contention arose between state and state. Each had its own differences, its own hesitations; but when each had decided for itself, it joined the rest and proclaimed the constitution.

The work thus achieved was not merely for the nation that achieved it. In the midst of their doubts and their dangers, a few generous spirits, if no more, gathered fresh courage by looking beyond the limits of their country. Let Washington^e speak for them: "I conceive," says he, "under an energetic general government, such regulations might be made, and such measures taken, as would render this country the asylum of pacific and industrious characters from all parts of Europe—a kind of asylum for mankind."^f

A. B. HART, ON THE CONSTITUTION ¹

Americans have become accustomed to look upon the constitution as a kind of political revelation; the members of the convention themselves felt no sense of strength or inspiration. They had no authority of their own. Their work must be submitted for the ratification of states which had been unable to agree upon a single modification of the articles.

Another popular delusion with regard to the constitution is that it was created out of nothing; or, as Mr. Gladstone^g puts it, that "it is the greatest work ever struck off at any one time by the mind and purpose of man."² The radical view on the other side is expressed by Sir Henry Maine,^h who informs us that the "constitution of the United States is a modified version of the British constitution which was in existence between 1760 and 1787." The real source of the constitution is the experience of Americans. They had established and developed admirable little commonwealths in the colonies; since the beginning of the Revolution they had had experience of state governments organised on a different basis from the colonial; and, finally, they had carried on two successive national governments, with which they had been profoundly discontented. The general outline of the new constitution seems to be English; it was really colonial. The president's powers of military command, of appointment, and of veto were similar to those of the colonial governor. National courts were created on the model of colonial courts. A legislature of two houses was accepted because such legislatures had been common in colonial times. In the English parliamentary system as it existed before 1760 the Americans had had no share; the later English system of parlia-

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² Gladstone^g at the same time called "the British constitution the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history."]

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mentary responsibility was not yet developed, and had never been established in colonial governments; and they expressly excluded it from their new constitution.

They were little more affected by the experience of other European nations. Just before they assembled, Madison drew up an elaborate abstract of ancient, mediæval, and existing federal governments, of which he sent a copy to Washington. It is impossible to trace a single clause of the constitution to any suggestion in this paper. The chief source of the details of the constitution was the state constitutions and laws then in force. Thus the clause conferring a suspensive veto on the president is an almost literal transcript from the Massachusetts constitution. In fact, the principal experiment in the constitution was the establishment of an electoral college; and of all parts of the system this has worked least as the framers expected. The constitution represents, therefore, the accumulated experience of the time: its success is due to the wisdom of the members in selecting out of the mass of colonial and state institutions those which were enduring.

The real boldness of the constitution is the novelty of the federal system which it set up. For the first time in history an elaborate written constitution was applied to a federation; and the details were so skilfully arranged that the instrument framed for thirteen little agricultural communities works well for many large and populous states. A second novelty was a system of federal courts skilfully brought into harmony with the state judiciary. Even here we see an effect of the twelve years' experience of imperfect federation. The convention knew how to select institutions that would stand together; it also knew how to reject what would have weakened the structure.

It was a long time before a compromise between the discordant elements could be reached. To declare the country a centralised nation was to destroy the traditions of a century and a half; to leave it an assemblage of states, each claiming independence and sovereignty, was to throw away the results of the Revolution. The convention finally agreed that while the Union should be endowed with adequate powers, the states should retain all powers not specifically granted, and particularly the right to regulate their own internal affairs.

These difficult points out of the way, the convention arranged the details of the new government. One of the principal minor questions was the method of presidential election. Many members inclined towards an executive council; instead, it was agreed that there should be a president elected by congress; but almost at the last moment, on September 7th, 1787, the better plan of indirect election by the people was adopted. At one time the convention had agreed that congress should have the right of veto upon state laws; it was abandoned, and instead was introduced a clause that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and powerful courts were created to construe the law.

In making up the list of the powers of congress, the convention used brief but comprehensive terms. Thus all the difficulties arising out of the unfriendly commercial legislation of states, and their interference with foreign treaties, were removed by the simple clause: "The congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." The great question of taxation was settled by fourteen words: "The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." In a few respects the constitution was deficient. It did not profess to be all-comprehensive, for the details of the government were to be worked out in later statutes. There was, however, no provision

for future annexations of territory. No safeguards were provided for the proper appointment and removal of public officers. The growth of corporations was not foreseen, and no distinct power was conferred upon congress either to create or to regulate them. Above all, the convention was obliged to leave untouched the questions connected with slavery which later disrupted the Union. On September 17th, 1787, the convention finished its work. To the eloquent and terse phraseology of Gouverneur Morris we owe the nervous English of the great instrument. As the members were affixing their signatures, Franklin remarked, pointing to the picture of a sun painted behind the president's chair: "I have often, in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears, looked without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun." The new constitution was, strictly speaking, unconstitutional; it had been ratified by a process unknown to law. The situation was felt to be delicate, and the states were for the time being left to themselves. North Carolina came into the Union by a ratification of November 21st, 1789. It was suggested that the trade of states which did not recognise congress should be cut off, and Rhode Island yielded May 29th, 1790; her ratification completed the Union.

Was the new constitution an agreement between eleven states, or was it an instrument of government for the whole people? Upon this question depends the whole discussion about the nature of the Union and the right of secession. The first theory is that the constitution was a compact made between sovereign states. Thus Hayne in 1830 declared that "before the constitution each state was an independent sovereignty, possessing all the rights and powers appertaining to independent nations. After the constitution was formed, they remained equally sovereign and independent as to all powers not expressly delegated to the federal government. The true nature of the federal constitution, therefore, is a compact to which the states are parties." The importance of the word "compact" is that it means an agreement which loses its force when any one of the parties ceases to observe it; a compact is little more than a treaty. Those who framed the constitution appeared to consider it no compact; for on May 30th, 1787, they voted that "no treaty or treaties among the whole or part of the states, as separate sovereignties, should be sufficient." In fact, the reason for the violent opposition to the ratification of the constitution was that when once ratified the states could not withdraw from it. Another view is presented by Webster in his reply to Hayne: "It is, sir, the people's constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this constitution shall be the supreme law." It is plain that the constitution does not rest simply upon the consent of the majority of the nation. No popular vote was taken or thought of; each act of ratification set forth that it proceeded from a convention of the people of a state.

The real nature of the new constitution appears in the light of the previous history of the country. The articles of confederation had been a compact. The new constitution was meant to be stronger and more permanent. The constitution was, then, not a compact, but an instrument of government similar in its origin to the constitutions of the states. Whatever the defects of the confederation, however humiliating its weakness to the national pride, it had performed an indispensable service: it had educated the American people to the point where they were willing to accept a permanent federal union.^b

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A GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE CONSTITUTION (H. VON HOLST¹)

When we consider the situation of the thirteen colonies and their relations to one another; when we follow the development which, in consequence of this situation and these relations, their political affairs and political theories received during the Revolutionary War and the following years, and endeavour to express the result in a few words, we are compelled to say, with Justice Story,² that we ought to wonder, not at the obstinacy of the struggle of 1787 and 1788, but at the fact that, despite everything, the constitution was finally adopted. The simple explanation of this is that it was a struggle for existence, a struggle for the existence of the United States; and that after the dissolution of the Philadelphia convention it could be saved only by the adoption of the proposed constitution, no matter how well grounded the objections that might be made to it.

The masses of the American people in their vanity and too great self-appreciation are fond of forgetting the dreadful struggle of 1787 and 1788, or of employing it only as a name for the "divine inspiration" which guided and enlightened the "fathers" at Philadelphia. In Europe this view of the case has been generally accepted as correct. Much eloquence has been lavished in laudation of the "isolated fact in history" that thirteen states, loosely bound together as one confederate body, did not see in the sword the only engine to weld together their political machinery, which was falling to pieces, but met in peaceful consultation and agreed to transform a confederacy of states into a federal state of masterly construction. In America this is an inexhaustible theme for Fourth-of-July orations, and in Europe it is only too frequently used as a text for doctrinarian politico-moral discussions. With history, however, it has nothing to do. The historical fact is that "the constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people."

"Mr. Cobb the other night said it [the government of the Union] had proven a failure. A failure in what? Why, we are the admiration of the civilised world, and present the brightest hopes of mankind. No, there is no failure of this government yet." In these words Alexander H. Stephens expressed his judgment concerning the constitution and the political history of the Union, on the eve of the four years' civil war. Four weeks later he accepted the position of vice-president of the Confederate states, a position which he retained until the close of the war. A few years after the restoration of the Union, he published a comprehensive treatise, which is at once an emphatic reiteration and explication of that declaration and a justification of the rebellion, as well as of his personal participation in it. Only a thorough study of American history can solve the enigma how a man of so much acuteness as a thinker and of so much intelligence, one who has spent his whole life in the study of political questions, could honestly say that his views and his actions were in complete harmony.

It is possible for us to trace the earliest beginnings of the worship of the constitution. At first it was looked upon as the best possible constitution for the United States. By degrees it came to be universally considered as a masterpiece, applicable to every country. For four years the people of the United States tore one another to pieces in the most frightful civil war recorded in history, each camp thinking, in the best of faith, that it was following the standard of the constitution. A model constitution—so far as it is allowable

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at all to speak of such a one—would have done poor service for the United States. Besides, it is very probable that it would not have been ratified.

Almost from the very day on which the new order of things was inaugurated the conflict between the opposing tendencies broke out anew, and before the close of the century it attained a degree which suggested very serious fears. Were it not that the letter of the constitution permitted all parties to verge upon the actual dissolution of the Union, without feeling themselves responsible for a breach of the constitution, it is likely that long before 1861 a serious attempt in that direction would have been made. Calhoun and his disciples were not the authors of the doctrine of nullification and secession. That question is as old as the constitution itself, and has always been a living one, even when it has not been one of life and death. Its roots lay in the actual circumstances of the time, and the constitution was the living expression of these actual circumstances.¹

JUDSON S. LANDON ON THE EXECUTIVE AND THE SUPREME JUDICIARY ¹

The duties of the president were prescribed. As the first officer of the nation, it was agreed that he ought to be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia, when called into the actual service of the United States. He was permitted to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and could therefore make peace; but he was not permitted to declare war, lest his ambition should lead the nation into useless wars. That power was vested in congress. Vast and almost unlimited executive powers were conferred by the provisions, "The executive power shall be vested in a president" and "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

The only expressions in the constitution authorising a cabinet are "the principal officer in each of the executive departments," whose opinion the president may require in writing, "and heads of departments" and "any department." His independence of congress and influence over legislation were provided for by giving him a qualified veto power. His fidelity was secured by his oath of office and liability to impeachment. Great as is the presidential office by reason of the powers and duties intrusted to it by the constitution, it has become still greater, because congress has intrusted it with many discretionary powers which it can limit, or prescribe the means and methods of performance. Its greatness is partly of constitutional and partly of legislative creation. It is often said that the president has greater power than any constitutional monarch; if this is so, it is largely because congress has made it so. It is our pleasure, not our obligation, that makes him so great.

The federal judiciary was the subject of the careful attention of the very able lawyers of the convention. The power of the confederacy to enforce the decrees of its courts was dependent upon the support of the states. There was need of a uniform rule of decision upon federal cases in the several state courts. There should be one ultimate power of decision and enforcement, and that must be the judicial power of the Union. That power, having no will of its own, should utter the will of the supreme law. Behind it should be the power of the nation, but the wisdom and moral influence of the judicial power should be so pre-eminent that the sword which was ready to support it

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should rust in its scabbard. Thus too the Union should pledge its justice against the danger of its power.

To make this department as independent as possible, it was agreed that the judges should hold office during good behaviour. It was also agreed that it should not have any jurisdiction over cases arising in a state, between its citizens, in respect to matters wholly controlled by state laws. But the court should have jurisdiction over cases controlled by the laws of the United States, its constitution, and treaties.

It was resolved to provide a supreme court and inferior courts. To the supreme court was given appellate jurisdiction. All this seems very simple. But in these simple regulations lies the most admirable and important feature of the whole constitution. Without it the system might have failed. The appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court has, more than any other agency, composed dissensions, settled conflicting claims, and defined the powers by which the nation has developed into its stable greatness.

Under these happy provisions, whatever law any state may pass, no matter how much it conflicts with the constitution of the United States, it may go upon the statute-book of the state without exciting the least apprehension or alarm. There it will quietly repose until somebody seeks to assert or deny the right or duty which this law purports to confer or enjoin. The opposite party then challenges the state law as contrary to the supreme law of the constitution of the United States. Under the practice adopted, if the state courts hold the state law to be unconstitutional, no appeal is necessary to vindicate the national power; but if the state courts sustain the validity of the state law, an appeal lies to the supreme court of the United States, and that court will decide whether the state law is valid or void.

If it decide that it is void, it is to all intents and purposes not merely practically repealed, but declared never to have existed. In like manner, if congress enact any law in conflict with the constitution of the United States, whether by violating the rights reserved to the states, or by exercising powers not conferred by the constitution, the supreme court, whenever a case comes before it in which the question is raised—and its determination is decisive of the case—declares the act of congress void.^d

WASHINGTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION; HAMILTON'S FINANCES

The name of Washington was almost a part of the constitution. "The constitution would never have been adopted"—thus Edmund Randolph, by no means a strong adherent to Washington, wrote to him afterwards—"but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it." The presidential electors gave in their votes without a single exception in favour of Washington; and he consented to what he had reason to call "this last great sacrifice."

The two houses of congress had been organised in New York, after a month's delay, March 4th being the appointed day; and the house not having a quorum till March 30th, the senate none till April 6th. A day or two before Washington's arrival, John Adams took his place as vice-president. The inauguration of the president, postponed a few days after he was ready for the ceremony, at length completed the organisation of the government (April 30th, 1789). Whatever has been said of the solemnity of former periods, or of former duties, must be repeated with stronger emphasis of the work now before Washington and his coadjutors. Of far greater difficulty than the

formation of the constitution was the setting it in operation. Its principles were to be applied to a nation now numbering nearly four millions. The census of 1790 gave, whites, 3,172,464; free blacks, 59,466; slaves, 697,897; total, 3,929,827. This was the population of all the thirteen states.

The great feature of the opening years of Washington's administration was the work of congress, the body upon whose laws the government depended for movement, if not for life. The departments were organised: one of state, one of the treasury, and one of war, each being under the control of a secretary. The three secretaries, with an attorney-general, constituted the cabinet of the president; the postmaster-general not being a cabinet officer until a later period. Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson the first secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton the first secretary of the treasury, Henry Knox the first secretary of war, Edmund Randolph the first attorney-general, and Samuel Osgood the first postmaster-general (September, 1789). At the same time he made his appointments for the offices of the judiciary, congress having created a supreme court, with circuit and district courts appended. John Jay was the first chief justice of the United States.

Congress had already launched into constitutional discussions. The amendments to the constitution, proposed by the different states, were numerous enough—fifty and upwards—to call for early attention. It was not suggested either by the states or by their congressional representatives to make any fundamental alterations in the constitution. They were contented with a few articles, declaring the states and the people in possession of all the powers and all the rights not expressly surrendered to the general government. These articles, to the number of ten, were adopted by congress, and accepted by the states.

A far more vital matter was the revenue. To this congress addressed itself in the first weeks of the session. The result of long and difficult debates was the enactment of a tariff, intended to serve at once for revenue and for protection of domestic interests. A tonnage duty, with great advantages to American shipping, was also adopted. Some time afterwards, indeed towards the close of the first congress, an excise was laid on domestic spirits. These measures were modified at intervals. But beneath them, in all their forms, there continued the principle, that the duties upon imports were to provide for government in the shape of a revenue, and for the nation in the shape of protection.

It fell to the first congress, likewise, to provide for the public credit. The debts of the confederation amounted to \$54,000,000, or to \$80,000,000 if the debts of the states, incurred for general objects, were added. It was the plan of Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, that these debts should be taken as a whole to be assumed and funded by the new government. Those who, like the proposer of the system, desired to see the national government strong, advocated its being made the centre of the public credit; while those who inclined to the rights of the states preferred to have the debt remain in state rather than in national stocks.

The question was not decided upon any abstract grounds. It had been a bone of contention where the seat of the general government should be located, some going for one place and some for another. When the house of representatives decided against assuming the state debts, the advocates of the assumption hit upon the plan of securing the necessary votes from some of the Virginian or Maryland members by consenting to fix the projected capital on the Potomac, Philadelphia to be the capital until 1800. The bait was snapped at, and a measure on which the honour of the states,

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if not of the nation, depended passed by means of unconcealed intrigue.¹ The state debts were then assumed, not in mass, but in certain proportions. This being the chief object of alteration, the funding of the domestic and foreign debt of the general government was rapidly completed (August 4th, 1790). The transaction was by no means to the satisfaction of the entire nation.

The public creditors, on the other hand, were delighted, All the moneyed interests of the country, indeed, were quickened, the public bonds being so much additional capital thrown into the world of industry and of commerce. The creation of a national bank, with the design of sustaining the financial operations of government, took place in the early part of the following year (1791). On the opening of the subscription books, a signal proof of the confidence now placed in the national credit was given, the whole number of shares offered being taken up in two hours.^f

JOHN FISKE'S ESTIMATE OF HAMILTON

Of all the young men of that day, save perhaps William Pitt, the most precocious was Alexander Hamilton. He had already given promise of a great career before the breaking out of the war. He was born on the island of Nevis, in the West Indies, in 1757. His father belonged to that famous Scottish clan from which have come one of the most learned metaphysicians and one of the most original mathematicians of modern times. His mother was a French lady, of Huguenot descent, and biographers have been fond of tracing in his character the various qualities of his parents. To the shrewdness and persistence, the administrative ability, and the taste for abstract reasoning which we are wont to find associated in the highest type of Scottish mind, he joined a truly French vivacity and grace. His earnestness, sincerity, and moral courage were characteristic alike of Puritan and of Huguenot. In the course of his short life he exhibited a remarkable many-sidedness.

So great was his genius for organisation that in many essential respects the American government is moving to-day along the lines which he was the first to mark out. As an economist he shared to some extent in the shortcomings of the age which preceded Adam Smith, but in the special department of finance he has been equalled by no other American statesman save Albert Gallatin. He was a splendid orator and brilliant writer, an excellent lawyer, and a clear-headed and industrious student of political history. He was also eminent as a political leader, although he lacked faith in democratic government, and a generous impatience of temperament sometimes led him to prefer short and arbitrary by-paths towards desirable ends, which can never be securely reached save along the broad but steep and arduous road of popular conviction.^g

J. B. MCMASTER ON THE FUNDING OF THE DEBT

Such were the powers of his mind that Hamilton at thirty-two was as well fitted for the place as any man of his time at fifty-two. As a politician he was believed by his contemporaries to have been not over-scrupulous,

[¹ The whole compromise was a bargain between the North and the South. The "geographical" and "sectional" character of the parties was a matter of frequent mention and lament. It is well to call special attention to this, because the erroneous view largely prevailed afterwards that the mischievous political division of the country by a geographical line dates back only to the Missouri Compromise.—VON HOLST.]

and to have sometimes followed dark and crooked ways. But as a public servant his zeal, his industry, his ability were never attacked even by Jefferson, who hated him with an animosity more implacable than the animosity of Burr. The new secretary had not been many days in office before he was hard at work on a report on the state of the national debt and the best way to pay it. But while his work was still unfinished the houses met and began a session singularly eventful, a session from which dates that financial policy which has been so fruitful of wonders, a session in which some questions, long afterwards set at rest by an appeal to the sword, were for the first time long and fiercely debated.

The funded debt of the United States amounted, on the 1st of January, 1791, to \$75,463,476. The Civil War raised this to \$2,844,649,626, the largest sum the country has ever owed. Thus, in the space of seventy-five years, the debt which the anti-federalists declared would ruin the country if funded was paid off, and a new one, thirty-seven times as great, created and borne with perfect ease.^k

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM; THE WHISKY INSURRECTION

New states were presenting themselves for admission into the line of the thirteen. The consent of New York having been obtained, Vermont was admitted (March 4th, 1791). Provision was already made for the entrance of Kentucky in the following year (June 1st, 1792). The territory south of the Ohio was subsequently admitted as the state of Tennessee (June 1st, 1796). The general government itself was concentrated in Washington. Jefferson, the head of the republicans, wrote to him: "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and South will hang together, if they have you to hang on." "It is clear," wrote Hamilton, the leader of the federalists, "that if you continue in office nothing materially mischievous is to be apprehended; if you quit, much is to be dreaded." Thus urged, Washington could do no less than accept the unanimous summons to another term of labour for his country. Adams was again chosen vice-president (1792-1793).

There was one thing over which Washington had no influence. The animosity of parties had spared him, but without being checked by him. He vainly exerted himself to keep the peace, even in his own cabinet. Jefferson and Hamilton were at swords' points, and at swords' points they remained until Jefferson retired (1794). In congress all was uproar. The slightest question sufficed to set the northerner against the southerner, the federalist against the republican. Out of congress the tumult was increasing. A new party, chiefly from the republican ranks, had gathered under the name of democrats, in societies of which the model was taken from abroad, and which, as Washington wrote, might "shake the government to its foundation."

The fearful passion of the time at length broke out in insurrection. In consequence of the excise upon domestic spirits, some parts of the country where distillation was common had been greatly discontented. North Carolina and Pennsylvania, or rather the interior counties of those states, had been agitated to such a degree that the president deemed it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow citizens to support the laws (1792). The excitement gradually subsided, except in Pennsylvania, where, after various acts of violence, an armed convention, seven thousand strong, met at Brad-

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dock's Field (August, 1794). The president of this assembly was a Colonel Cook; the secretary, Albert Gallatin, a Swiss emigrant, and the commander of the troops a lawyer named Bradford. Of course the objects of so large a body were various; some being intent merely upon suspending the collection of the excise, while others meditated the possession of the country and separation from the Union. The president at once put forth a proclamation announcing the march of fifteen thousand militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. The president himself took the field for a few days; but finding that the insurgents had disappeared before the approach of his troops, he left his officers—General Henry Lee, governor of Virginia, being commander-in-chief—to complete the work that was no sooner begun than it was ended. A considerable number of prisoners was taken in November, but no executions followed. Enough had been done to decide "the contest," as Washington described it, "whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union."

The same year (1794) witnessed the suppression by Anthony Wayne of a danger, half domestic and half foreign—a long-continued Indian war, in which two expeditions had been defeated in 1790 and 1791. No part of Washington's administration, domestic or foreign, was more original or more benign than the policy which he constantly urged towards the Indians of the United States. To save them from the frauds of traders, a national system of trade was adopted. To protect them from the aggressions of borderers, as well as to secure them in the rights allowed them by their treaties, a number of laws were prepared.

A far more savage foe than the Indian was appeased at the same period, but with much less credit, it must be added, to the nation. This was the dey of Algiers, who, with a number of neighbours like himself, was wont to sweep the seas with piratical craft. Singular to say, the sway of these buccaneering potentates was acknowledged by the European states, who paid an annual tribute on condition of their commerce being spared. Ten years before the present date the freebooters of the dey of Algiers had captured two American vessels and thrown their crews into bondage. He now (1795) consented to release his captives and to respect the merchantmen of the United States, on the reception of a tribute like that received from the powers of Europe. Three-quarters of a million were paid down, an annual payment of full fifty thousand dollars being promised in addition. Other treaties of the same sort with Tripoli and Tunis were under way.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE; CITIZEN GENÈT

A special envoy, Thomas Pinckney, was sent to Spain. It took him nearly a year to bring about a treaty defining the Florida boundary and opening the Mississippi to the United States (1795). Britain continued to wear the aspect of an antagonist, keeping her troops upon the United States territory until her demands were satisfied, while on the other side of the sea she laid one restraint after another upon commerce, as if she would have kept the Americans at a distance from her shores. France, on the contrary, was still the friend of the rising nation, and not only as its patron but as its follower. The same year that Washington entered the presidency the French Revolution began. Its early movements, professedly inspired by those that had taken place in America, kindled all the sympathies of American hearts. Hitherto the bond between them and the French was one of gratitude and of dependence; now it was one of sympathy and of equality. But the nation was by no means unanimous against Great Britain, by no means unanimous for France.

Many paused, and turning with distrust from the scenes of which France was the unhappy theatre, looked with kinder emotions towards the sedate Britain. It would be too much to say that this led to a British party; but it did lead to a neutral one, while, on the other hand, a French party applauded the license as well as the liberty of the Revolution. This party was the republican, its more impetuous members being the democratic-republicans. Their opponents were the federalists. France declared war against Britain. The nation was again close upon the breakers, when Washington—never greater, never wiser—issued his proclamation of neutrality, making it known “that the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers” (April 22nd, 1793). It is a memorable act in history. Its purpose is not always rightly estimated. Look at the nation, tasked to its utmost, one may almost say, to subdue a few Indian tribes, obliged to pay tribute to the Algerines, unable to keep the Spaniards to their obligations, and we shall not behold a power that could enter safely into European wars. If such a thing were attempted, it would be at the hazard of the independence that had been achieved.

France, having baptised herself a republic in the blood of her king, Louis XVI, sent a new minister to the United States in the person of “Citizen” Genêt. An enthusiastic representative of his nation, Genêt excited a fresh enthusiasm in the French party of America. Feasted at Charleston, where he landed (April, 1793), and at all the principal places on the route northward, he was led to imagine the entire country at his feet, or at those of the French Republic. He began at Charleston to send out privateers and to order that their prizes should be tried and condemned by the French consuls in the United States. It was a part of the treaty of commerce between the two nations that the privateers and prizes of the French should be admitted to the American ports. But Genêt was soon to be checked. He did battle for his privateers and his courts; appealed from the executive to congress and the people, and pursued so extreme a course as to set his supporters and his opponents bitterly at variance. The French party now went openly for war against England. “Marat, Robespierre, Brissot, and the Mountain,” says Vice-President Adams,¹ “were the constant themes of panegyric and the daily toasts at table. Washington’s house was surrounded by an innumerable multitude from day to day, huzzaing, demanding war against England, cursing Washington, and crying, ‘Success to the French patriots and virtuous republicans!’” “I had rather be in my grave,” exclaimed Washington one day in great excitement, “than in my present situation.” He was equal, however, and more than equal, to his duty, and, supported by his cabinet, in August he sent to request the recall of Genêt. As the party by which Genêt had been commissioned had sunk to ruin, their successors readily appointed a minister of their own—“Citizen” Fauchet.

THE JAY TREATY; WASHINGTON’S UNPOPULARITY

But the troubles of the time were too complicated to be reached by a mere change of ministers. France had pronounced against the neutrality of America—not, indeed, by direct menace or violence, but by ordering that neutral vessels, containing goods belonging to her enemies, should be captured (May 1st, 1793). An embargo was then laid upon the shipping at Bordeaux. Both these measures were decided violations of the treaty with America. The most that France did, however, was as nothing compared with the extremes

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to which her chief enemy, Great Britain, resorted. France had ordered that the goods of an enemy were liable to capture. In June, Great Britain ordered that the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for the enemy, were to be captured or bought up, unless shipped to a friendly port. This was followed in November by an order that all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony, or with supplies for the same, were lawful prizes—a decree so arbitrary that it was soon modified by the nation that issued it (January, 1794). Worse than all, Great Britain claimed the right to impress into her service every seaman of British birth, wherever he might be found; so that the ships of the United States would be stopped, searched, and stripped of their crews, at the pleasure of the British cruisers. It often happened that American sailors as well as British were the victims of this impressment. A thrill of indignation and of defiance against such proceedings ran through the Americans. They would have been less than freemen, less, even, than men, to have borne with such injuries in silence.

The very party most opposed to France was earnest in sustaining the necessity of preparations for war, defensive, indeed, but still war with Great Britain. A temporary embargo upon the American ports was voted by congress, for the purpose of suspending commercial intercourse (March, 1794). One hint that Washington, the still trusted though still slandered magistrate, was in favour of arming, and the nation would have armed.

It was proposed to send a special mission to Great Britain. Washington selected Chief-Justice Jay (April, 1794). It was a fitting choice. Amongst all the prominent figures of the time, Jay's is almost, perhaps altogether, the only one that stands close to Washington's, aloof from the tarnishes and the collisions of opposing parties. No other man was so fit to join with Washington in rescuing the nation from its present perils. Accordingly, Jay proceeded to England and after some months of anxious diplomacy obtained a treaty (November). It was not much to obtain. The United States agreeing to indemnify their British creditors, Great Britain consented to surrender the posts which she had so long held in the west, the surrender to take effect June 1st, 1796. A few concessions to the claims of American commerce were made; but the rigid policy of Britain, especially in relation to her colonial trade, was strongly maintained. In short, the treaty did not acknowledge the rights of the Americans as neutrals, or their privileges as traders—both matters of the highest importance to their commercial interests. At the same time, the earlier points of controversy were determined, and from the later ones the sting was taken away, at least in some degree. So Jay thought, so Washington, though neither considered the treaty decidedly satisfactory. It was better at any rate, they reasoned, than war. Thus, too, reasoned the senate, who, convened in special session (June, 1795), advised the ratification of the treaty.

Not thus, however, the nation. If the necessity of the treaty, even as it stood, needed to be proved, the proof was the general insanity which it provoked. Meetings were held everywhere; harangues were made, resolutions passed; copies of the treaty were destroyed; Jay was burned in effigy. The French and the American flags waved together over these scenes; while the British ensign was dragged through the dirt and burned before the doors of the British representatives.

The example of Virginia was imitated in congress, where the phrase of "undiminished confidence" was also stricken from an address of the house to the president (December). As the session progressed, a fierce struggle arose with respect to the bills for carrying out the British treaty.

A three weeks' debate terminated in a call upon the president for the specified documents. He and his cabinet being alike of opinion that the house had transgressed its powers, the call was refused. After a fortnight's debate, in which Fisher Ames distinguished himself above all his colleagues in defending the treaty, a vote, by a bare majority, determined that the house would proceed to its duty (March, April, 1796). By this time the frenzy out of doors had died away.

Thus terminated the great event of Washington's administration. The proclamation of neutrality was the first decisive step; the treaty with Great Britain was the second, and, for the present, the last. The point thus gained may be called the starting-point of the infant nation in its foreign relations. But if the French party of the United States, if the minister of the United States to France, James Monroe, were indignant at the British treaty, it was but natural that France should be the same. The French government announced to Mr. Monroe that they considered their alliance with the United States to be at an end (February, 1796). To prove that they were in earnest, the authorities of France, in addition to their previous orders of capture and embargo, decreed that neutral vessels were to be treated exactly as they were treated by the British; that is, stopped, searched, and seized upon the seas (July). This was subsequently made known to the United States by a communication from the French envoy, Adet, who improved the opportunity by appealing to the people to take part with France and against Great Britain. To restore matters, as far as possible, to a better position, Washington had sent out Charles C. Pinckney as minister to France, in the place of Monroe (September).

The parties—northern and southern, federalist and republican, anti-French and French—that racked the nation were never so much agitated. Newspapers, especially those published at Philadelphia, carried the hostile notes from congress to the nation, and echoed them back to congress. It is difficult, without having room for extracts, to convey any idea of the virulence of political writing at the time. Both the administration and its head were objects of the fiercest assault. Washington wrote with natural indignation of the abuse which he, "no party man," as he truly called himself, had received, "and that, too, in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket."¹ It was amidst these outrages that Washington sent forth his farewell address to the people of the United States (September 17th, 1796). Soon afterwards congress came together, and showed that many of its members were violent against the retiring president. On the proposal of an address of grateful acknowledgments from the house of representatives, a man from Washington's own state, William B. Giles, of Virginia, took exception to the more expressive passages. The same attitude was taken by a considerable number, and amongst them Andrew Jackson, of Ten-

[¹ Forged letters purporting to show Washington's desire to abandon the revolutionary struggle were published; he was accused of drawing more than his salary; hints of the propriety of a guillotine for his benefit began to appear; some spoke of him as the "stepfather of his country." The attacks embittered the close of his term of service; he declared, in a cabinet-meeting in 1793, that "he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since." Indeed, the most unpleasant portions of Jefferson's *Ana* are those in which, with an air of psychological dissection, he details the storms of passion into which the president was hurried by the newspaper attacks upon him. These attacks, however, came from a very small fraction of the politicians; the people never wavered in their devotion to the president, and his election would have been unanimous in 1796, as in 1789 and 1792, if he had been willing to serve. —ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.]

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nessee. "Although he is soon to become a private citizen," wrote Washington of himself (January, 1797), "his opinions are to be knocked down, and his character reduced as low as they are capable of sinking it."

If Washington could thus excite animosity and wrong, what must it have been with ordinary men? The country seemed unwilling to be pacified, unwilling to be saved.

Washington retired. He had done even greater things at the head of the government than he had done at the head of the army. But it was beyond his power to change the character of the nation. He left it as he found it—divided and impassioned. Yet he left it as he had not found it—with a constitution in operation, with principles and with laws in action—on the road to increase and to maturity.

At the close of the century which he adorned Washington died (December 14th, 1799). His retirement, to which he had looked forward so longingly, had been disturbed. He had been greatly occupied with the organisation of the provisional army, of which he had been appointed chief—the last of his many services to his country. He had been still more harassed by the party passions of the time; himself inclined to the support of federalist principles, he had been to some degree drawn into the whirl of political movements. Perhaps it was not too soon for his peace or for his fame that he was taken away. Beside his grave his countrymen stood united for an instant, then returned to their divisions and their strifes. His memory continued to plead, and not unavailingly, for love of country and of countrymen.

VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF WASHINGTON.

It has been our custom to give varying characterisations of great historical characters. Among these Washington stands in the front rank as patriot, soldier, statesman, and man. In none of these qualities is he exceeded in history; in the purity of his lifelong patriotism he is perhaps unequalled. On these points, aside from certain contemporary attacks of faction, there is no divergence of opinion among authorities of any country or creed. The only point of dispute is his rank as a general. His soldiership is not questioned nor his abilities as a tactician and man of resource and courage in action. It is as a strategist that he has been criticised—and also eulogised. We have previously quoted some animadversions on his battle plans. We can only emphasise the fact that, after all, he kept his force together, that he would not accept defeat, and that he won what he fought for, and left it as his monument. He was undoubtedly no epoch-making general, but as a man of honour, a lover and benefactor of his kind, a man whose works live after him in increasing glory, he makes such self-maniacs as Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon dwindle into insignificance or loom up only as monstrosities. Alexander left an empire of chaos; Cæsar, assassinated by his own friends, marked the end of a republic; Napoleon left France smaller than he found it. Indeed, the very republic which gave birth to Napoleon and which he overthrew only for a few years—that very republic was largely the result of Washington's successes and his ideals.

We shall give only foreign estimates: British, German, and French. The American opinion need not be quoted; it amounts perhaps to as near an approach to the apotheosis of deification as a nation can ever make; and it finds its summing-up in the phrase, "The Father of his Country." He is the standard by which all other statesmen and patriots are tested—and found wanting.

Lord Brougham

The relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character [Napoleon I], his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age! It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.//

The Earl of Stanhope

In the mind of Washington punctuality and precision did not, as we often find them, turn in any degree to selfishness. Nor yet was his constant regularity of habits attended by undue formality of manner. In one of his most private letters there appears given incidentally, and as it were by chance, a golden rule upon that subject: "As to the gentlemen you mention, I cannot charge myself with incivility, or—what in my opinion is tantamount—ceremonious civility." In figure Washington was strongly built and tall (above six feet high), in countenance grave, unimpassioned, and benign. An inborn worth, an unaffected dignity, beamed forth in every look as in every word and deed. No man, whether friend or enemy, ever viewed without respect the noble simplicity of his demeanour, the utter absence in him of every artifice and every affectation.

Mark how brightly the first forbearance of Washington combines with his subsequent determination; how he who had been slow to come forward was magnanimous in persevering. When defeat had overtaken the American army, when subjugation by the British rose in view, when not a few of the earliest declaimers against England were, more or less privately, seeking to make terms for themselves, and fitting their own necks to the yoke, the high spirit of Washington never for a moment quailed; he repeatedly declared that if the colonies were finally overpowered he was resolved to quit them forever, and, assembling as many people as would follow, go and establish an independent state in the West, on the rivers Mississippi and Missouri. There is a lofty saying which the Spaniards of old were wont to engrave on their Toledo blades, and which with truth and aptness might have adorned the sword of Washington: "Never draw me without reason; never sheath me without honour!"

Nor was Washington in any measure open to the same reproach as the ancient Romans, or some of his own countrymen at present—that while eager for freedom themselves they would rivet the chains of their slave. To him at least could never be applied Doctor Johnson's taunting words: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The views of Washington on this great question are best shown at the close of the Revolutionary War, and at a period of calm deliberation, in one of his letters to La Fayette: "Your late purchase of an estate in Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country!"

There was certainly no period in his career when he would not have joyfully exchanged—had his high sense of duty allowed him—the cares of public for the ease of private life. And this wish for retirement, strong and sincere as it was in Washington, seems the more remarkable since it was not

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with him, as with so many other great men, prompted in any degree by the love of literature. He was not like Cicero, when shrinking in affright from the storms which rent the commonwealth, and reverting with fond regret to the well-stored library of Atticus, and to his own favourite little seat beneath the bust of Aristotle; he was not like Clarendon at Montpellier, when he turned from an ungrateful age, not worthy of his virtue, and indited for all time to come his immortal history. Neither reading nor writing as such had any charms for Washington. But he was zealously devoted to the earliest and most needful of all the toils of man—he loved to be a feeder of flocks and a tiller of the ground.

It has been justly remarked that of General Washington there are fewer anecdotes to tell than perhaps of any other great man on record. There were none of those checkered hues, none of those warring emotions, in which biography delights. There was no contrast of lights and shades, no flickering of the flame; it was a mild light that seldom dazzled, but that ever cheered and warmed. His contemporaries or his close observers, as Jeffersonⁿ and Gallatin,^o assert that he had naturally strong passions, but had attained complete mastery over them. In self-control, indeed, he has never been surpassed. If sometimes on rare occasions, and on strong provocation, there was wrung from him a burst of anger, it was almost instantly quelled by the dominion of his will. He decided surely, though he deliberated slowly; nor could any urgency or peril move him from his serene composure, his calm, clear-headed good sense. Integrity and truth were also ever present in his mind.

Not a single instance, as I believe, can be found in his whole career when he was impelled by any but an upright motive, or endeavoured to attain an object by any but worthy means. Such are some of the high qualities which have justly earned for General Washington the admiration even of the country he opposed, and not merely the admiration but the gratitude and affection of his own. Such was the pure and upright spirit to which, when its toils were over and its earthly course had been run, was offered the unanimous homage of the assembled congress, all clad in deep mourning for their common loss, as to “the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens.” At this day in the United States the reverence for his character is, as it should be, deep and universal, and not confined, as with nearly all English statesmen, to one party, one province, or one creed. Such reverence for Washington is felt even by those who wander farthest from the paths in which he trod. Thus may it be said of this most virtuous man what in days of old was said of Virtue herself, that even those who depart most widely from her precepts still keep holy and bow down to her name.^p

John Richard Green

No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life. His silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery; but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul which lifts his figure, with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, the meaner impulses of the world around him. It was only as the weary fight went on that the colonists learned little by little the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck, the lofty

and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to Washington with a trust and faith such as few other men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in presence of his memory.⁹

Sir Archibald Alison

Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent and dignified, without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent. Accordingly, after having signalised his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition; a Sulla without his crimes; and, after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed.

If it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst transatlantic wilds, to such a man, and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself, and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection that that vast empire which neither the ambition of Louis XIV nor the power of Napoleon could dismember received its first shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring, and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that nation alone which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.^r

Henri Martin

The Declaration of Independence was the birth-act of a society the most untrammelled and soon to be the vastest that the world has ever known. In the union of Protestant Christianity with eighteenth-century philosophy lay the germ of this gigantic progeny. Two men of the first order were to be its defenders and its guides during its early years, and each was the particular

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representative of one of its parent sources: Washington, of tradition, but tradition transformed, and of progressive Protestantism enlightened and tolerant; Franklin, type of the age, of the movement of Locke and Rousseau—philosophy, but philosophy with a religious element.

Washington shook off ill-fortune by prodigies of constancy. He was a mingling of Fabius and Epaminondas, though he lacked the artistic and poetic *élan* that marked Epaminondas and all the Greeks. As Théodore Fabas^s has so well phrased it, he was like those monuments whose grandeur does not at first strike the eye, precisely because of the perfect harmony of their proportion and because no one feature seizes the attention. "The sanest of great men," he was the very personification of the most rationalist of peoples, and his "august good sense," to use the happy expression of Eugène Pelletan,^t was nothing but the distinctively Anglo-American quality exalted to the sublime.

During this time Franklin, America's other glory, had quitted his country the better to serve her. After having changed the immortal Declaration, he had gone to obtain the French alliance. The United States had made admirable choice of a plenipotentiary. Risen from the working classes; enlightened and uplifted in opinion by Diderot; not Protestant, like the majority, but deist philosopher of a shade intermediary between Voltaire and Rousseau; a physicist of the first order in that century; passionately devoted to the natural sciences, simple in dress and manners like Jean Jacques and his heroes, and yet the most spiritual and refined of men; of a mind altogether French in its grace and elasticity; at one and the same time a man of antiquity in certain phases and the most modern product of his day; redeeming his lack of ideality by the excellent moral equilibrium which he possessed in common with Washington, though in a degree at once wider, more comprehensive, and less severe—it was natural that he should appeal to France in all his sentiments, in all his ideas. He conquered the learned by the good sense of his genius; the enthusiastic by the dramatic aspect of his rôle; the frivolous by the originality of his position and his physiognomy. At the end of but a few days he was as popular at Paris as at Boston and Philadelphia.^u

Charles von Rotteck

America had placed herself between magnificence and ruin in 1776. In this position, in which such a great destiny was involved, she needed a great man, who would gain the victory for her. And she found him, put him at her head, and showed herself worthy of him. With newly levied soldiers, hardly provided with suitable arms, generally without experience and discipline, he undertook the contest against the best-disciplined and the best-equipped troops of the world, under able generals, and aided by all the resources with which it was easy for England to supply them, whilst he, afflicted by great want of money, was often unable to furnish his troops with provisions, still oftener unable to pay them, in constant danger of losing all with one blow, also not seldom persecuted by misfortune, in a situation almost desperate, but always of high courage and of unbent power of soul, provident, vigilant, and at suitable times ardent and heroically bold, but never rash, never intoxicated by success. But in order that no species of glory might not be his, he combined, as the most celebrated of the great ancients, the talents of the statesman with those of the warrior, all the private virtues of the noblest man with the public virtues of the patriot and republican. As long as civilisation and humanity have an empire or a place on earth, as long as the ideas

of freedom and fatherland retain a worth and historical recollections live among men, so long will Washington's name stand resplendent in the temple of glory.^v

Friedrich von Raumer

Few men who have earned for themselves a celebrated name in the history of the world exhibit such a harmony, such a concordant symmetry of all the qualities calculated to render himself and others happy, as Washington, and it has been very appropriately observed that, like the masterpieces of ancient art, he must be the more admired in the aggregate the more closely he is examined in detail. His soul was elevated above party spirit, prejudice, self-interest, and paltry aims; he acted according to the impulses of a noble heart and a sound understanding, strengthened by impartial observation. To the greatest firmness he united the mildness and patience equally necessary in the then state of affairs; to prudence and foresight he joined boldness at the right moment; and the power intrusted to him he never abused by the slightest infraction of the laws. Although it is impossible that an American can ever again perform such services for his country as were then rendered by Washington, his noble, blameless, and spotless image will remain a model and a rallying-point to all, to encourage the good and to deter the bad. How petty do the common race of martial heroes appear in comparison with Washington!

Washington, the founder of the great American republic, proved in an affecting and exalted manner that the fame which had been won by the sword, without crimes and ambition, could also be maintained in private life without power or outward pomp. Happier than Timoleon and Brutus, no dark shadows of memory flitted across the cheerful serenity of his existence. Washington was unanimously chosen president of the new and renovated republic. This second founding of the state, this call to the head of a people recent in origin but sensible of true greatness, the modest and unsurpassed merit of Washington, and his solemn oath to support and maintain the constitution, form one of the brightest and most truly delightful pictures in modern history. The admiration with which Washington was regarded by all civilised nations showed him to be one of the few among mankind to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished to the latest posterity.^w

PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS; WAR WITH FRANCE; "X. Y. Z.:"

During the closing months of Washington's administration the first great struggle among the people of the United States for ascendancy between the federalists and republicans took place. The only man on whom the nation now could possibly unite was about to retire to private life. There was very little time for preparation or electioneering, for a new choice must be made in November following. Activity the most extraordinary appeared among politicians in every part of the Union. The federalists nominated John Adams for the high office of chief magistrate, and the republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for the same. The contest was fierce, and party spirit, then in its youthful vigour, was implacable. The result was a victory for both parties—Adams being elected president, and Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, vice-president. On March 4th, 1797, Washington retired from office, and Adams was inaugurated the second president of the United States.^x

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The contrast between the administration of Washington and the administrations of his successors is as wide as that between a nation and a party. He was the head of the nation; they have been the heads of parties, as well as of the nation. It was what foreign powers were doing, rather than what the United States had to do, which formed the staple of political action for the fifteen years (1797-1812) following the retirement of Washington.^f

Chief amongst the combatants in Europe and the aggressors against America were Great Britain and France. For the moment the relations with France occupied the foreground. Charles C. Pinckney, accredited by Washington to negotiate with the French government, was refused an audience at Paris; and not only that, but was ordered to depart the French territory (December, 1796-February, 1797). Notwithstanding this, notwithstanding the rapidly following decrees against American ships and American crews, President Adams sent out a new mission, consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, with moderate instructions, which, however, availed nothing. Pinckney and Marshall, incensed by the intrigue as well as the insolence of which they were the objects (October, 1797-April, 1798), shook off the dust of France from their feet, being followed in a few months by Gerry, who had undertaken to do alone what he had not been able to do with his colleagues.^f

A. B. Hart thus describes the mission: "It was nearly a year before news of the result was received. On April 2nd, 1798, the president communicated the despatches revealing the so-called 'X. Y. Z. affair.' It appeared that the envoys, on reaching Paris in October, 1797, had been denied an official interview, but that three persons, whose names were clouded under the initials X. Y. Z., had approached them with vague suggestions of loans and advances; these were finally crystallised into a demand for £50,000 'for the pockets of the Directory.' The despatch described one conversation: 'Gentlemen,' said X., 'you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money.' We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly, that we had given an answer. 'No,' he replied, 'you have not. What is your answer?' We replied, 'It is No, no, no; not a sixpence.' The president concluded with a ringing paragraph which summed up the indignation of the American people at this insult. 'I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.' The republican opposition in congress was overwhelmed and almost silenced. For the first and last time in his administration Adams found himself popular. There was built up a compact federal majority. It proceeded deliberately to destroy its own party."^b

The president leaned to the side of his party. He had no mind to declare war, but he recommended congress to put the country in a state of defence (March, 1798). The recommendation was at once opposed by the republican leaders. According to Vice-President Jefferson, indeed, the president was aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchical government. But the federalists upheld the president, and carried a series of measures providing for the organisation of a provisional army, as well as of a naval department, by which the existing navy might be more efficiently managed (May). Orders were issued directing the national ships to seize all armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping, while merchantmen were authorised to arm themselves and capture their assailants upon the seas. But to prevent hostilities, as far as possible, commercial intercourse with France and her colonies was formally prohibited in June.

Soon after, Washington was appointed to the command of the provisional army. The United States were fairly in arms.

War followed at sea. No declaration was made; the most that was done being to proclaim the treaties with France void, and then to authorise the president to send out national and to commission private vessels for the purpose of capturing any armed ships of the French, whether participating or not in hostilities. The seas were at once overrun with American ships, by which the French privateers were taken or driven from the coast. No actual engagement between national vessels, however, occurred, until the beginning of the following year, when Commander Truxton, in the *Constellation*, forced the French frigate *L'Insurgente* to strike (February, 1799). Hostilities were continued chiefly by privateers, the profits to whose owners were the principal results of the war. Still it pleased the party by whom it was favoured. "A glorious and triumphant war it was!" exclaimed Adams in after years "The proud pavilion of France was humiliated."

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS, KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, AND NULLIFICATION

But against the deeds of battle must be set the measures of government. These alone show the strain upon the nation. To provide ways and means, stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves were voted, besides the loans that were procured. To keep down party opposition, the Alien and Sedition acts, as they were called, were passed. The first authorised the president to banish all aliens suspected of conspiracy against the United States. This was more of a party manœuvre than appears on the face of it, inasmuch as many of the most ardent spirits of the republicans, especially the democratic republicans, were aliens. The Sedition Act denounced fine and imprisonment upon all conspiracies, and even all publications, "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any lawful act of the president." Both these acts, however, were to be but temporary, the Alien to be in force for two years, the Sedition until March 4th, 1801, the end of Adams' administration. It was at midsummer that party spirit rose so high as to demand and to enact these urgent laws (June-July, 1798). The Alien Act was never put in operation. But the Sedition Act was again and again enforced, and almost if not altogether invariably upon party grounds. It may safely be said that the nation was straining itself too far.

So thought the party opposing the administration and the war. Strongest in the south and in the west, the republican leaders threw down the gauntlet to their opponents, nay, even to their rulers. The legislature of Kentucky, in resolutions drawn up for that body by no less a person than Vice-President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force" (November, 1798). The note thus sounded was taken up in the Virginia legislature, whose resolutions, drafted by James Madison, declared the obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution." Both sets of resolutions, as they came from the hands of their framers, were stronger still. Jefferson had written, "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison had made his resolutions declare the acts in question "null, void, and of no force or effect." But it

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was an early day for nullification; and neither Kentucky nor Virginia went the length prescribed for them. They went far enough, as has been seen, to excite very general opposition from their sister states, especially those of the centre and the north, where legislature after legislature came out with strong and denunciatory denials of the right of any state to sit in judgment upon the national government.

Things were in this seething state, the factions on both sides being at the height of their passions, when the president nominated a minister to France in the person of William Vans Murray, to whom he afterwards joined Oliver Ellsworth, then chief justice, and William R. Davie, as colleagues (February, 1799). They were to insist upon redress for the decrees and the captures of the French; yet, unless received on their arrival at Paris, they were not to linger, but to demand their passports and abandon the mission. In all this, one finds it difficult to detect anything unworthy of the nation. But the din upon the nomination of the embassy was tremendous. All the more active federalists, conspicuous amongst whom were the principal members of the cabinet, Timothy Pickering and Oliver Wolcott, cried out against the treachery of the president. It was treachery against their party rather than against their country, even in their own eyes; but they were blinded by the political animosity that dazzled and bewildered almost all around them. The president himself was suspected of urging the mission, in some degree, out of spite against the federal party, by whom, or by whose extreme members, he considered himself badly used. "The British faction," he wrote afterwards, "was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then president of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason." "This transaction," he exclaimed in relation to the appointment of a new mission, "must be transmitted to posterity as the most disinterested, prudent, and successful conduct in my whole life!"

The envoys to France reached their destination in the beginning of the following year (1800).¹ They found Napoleon Bonaparte first consul. With his government, after some difficulty, they concluded a convention, in October, providing in part for mutual redress, but leaving many of the questions between the two nations for future settlement. The effect was soon seen in claims for French spoliations. The treaty sufficed to restore peace.

THE MISSISSIPPI AND INDIANA TERRITORIES; THE SLAVERY QUESTION

France was not the only foreign power with which there had been difficulties. Spain, aggrieved, as she professed herself to be, by the same British treaty that had offended France, regarded the United States not only as an unimportant but as an untrustworthy ally. The former troubles in connection with the Florida territory continued, especially upon the subject of a boundary between it and the United States. New troubles, too, arose. Vague projects to get possession of the Mississippi valley, by dint of intrigue amongst the western settlers, were ascribed, and not without reason, to the Spaniards. Thus, on both sides there were suspicions, on both contentions.

The country at which Spain appeared to be aiming was rapidly organised by the United States. The Mississippi Territory was formed, including at first the lower part of the present Alabama and Mississippi (1798). This organisation excited a debate concerning slavery, which, as the organising

[¹ During the summer of 1800 the seat of government was removed to the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, according to Hamilton's previous arrangement.]

act provided, was not to be prohibited in the territory. Here was no such plea as had existed in the case of the territory south of the Ohio. No cession from a state, no conditions laid any restraint upon congress. Yet but twelve votes were given in favour of an amendment proposed by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the territory. The most that congress would agree to was to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; a concession, inasmuch as the slave trade, it will be remembered, was still allowed by the constitution. So, for the second time, and this time without its being required by terms with any state,¹ the decision of the national government was given in favour of slavery. Let it be borne in mind, when we come to the controversies of later years.

But congress took the other side likewise. The western portion of the Northwest Territory soon needed to be set off as the territory of Indiana, embracing the present Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan (1800). There slavery was already prohibited. But this went against the interests of the inhabitants, as they thought, and they petitioned congress, within three and again within seven years after the organisation of the territory, to be allowed to introduce slaves amongst them. Twice a report was made in favour of the petition. Reports and petitions, however, were alike fruitless. Congress would not authorise slavery where it had been prohibited.^f

THE PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON; THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Adams had been elected by the predominance of federal principles, but several things had occurred in his administration which had not only weakened his personal influence, but tended greatly to the overthrow of the federal party.²

The federalists supported for the approaching election Adams and General Thomas Pinckney, the democratic party Thomas Jefferson and Colonel Aaron Burr. The two latter were found to have a small majority, the whole of the republican party having voted for them, with the intention of making Jefferson president and Burr vice-president. On counting the votes, however, it was discovered that both were equal; the selection, therefore, of the president devolved upon the house of representatives, who, voting by states, according to the constitution, should decide between the two. Again and again, and yet again, the balloting was repeated in the house, and the result always the same; nor was it until the thirty-sixth balloting that one altered vote turned the scale in Jefferson's favour. He became president, and Aaron Burr vice-president. To guard against the recurrence of such a difficulty, Article XII was added to the constitution.

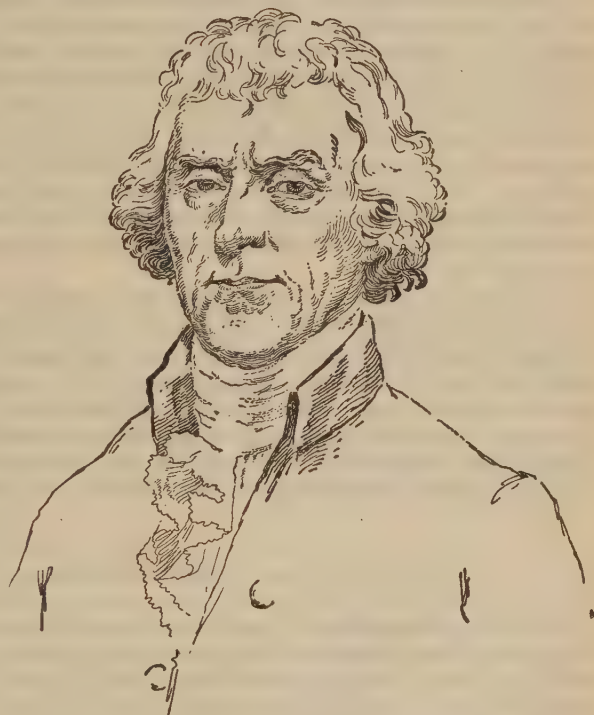
¹ The part of the territory at this time organised was claimed by the United States as a portion of the old Florida domain. Georgia likewise claimed it as hers; and when she surrendered what was allowed to be hers, that is, the upper part of the present Alabama and Mississippi, she made it a condition that slavery should not be prohibited (1802).

² It was impossible to realise that there never again would be a federalist president. The reasons for this downfall are many. However popular the French war had been, the taxes made necessary by it had provoked great dissatisfaction; and in 1799 a little insurrection, the so-called Fries Rebellion, had broken out in Pennsylvania. The Sedition prosecutions were exceedingly unpopular. They had governed well; they had built up the credit of the country; they had taken a dignified and effective stand against the aggressions both of England and of France. Yet their theory was of a government by leaders. Jefferson, on the other hand, represented the rising spirit of democracy. It was not his protest against the over-government of the federalists that made him popular; it was his assertion that the people at large were the best depositaries of power. Jefferson had taken hold of the "great wheel going uphill." He had behind him the mighty force of the popular will.—A. B. HART.^b

[1801-1802 A. D.]

On the election of Jefferson, all the principal offices of the government were transferred to the republican party; Madison was appointed to the department of state; the system of internal duties was abolished, together with several unpopular laws which were enacted during the last administration. A second census of the United States was taken in 1801, giving a population of 5,319,762, presenting an increase of 1,400,000 in ten years. During the same time the exports had increased from \$19,000,000 to \$94,000,000, and the revenue from \$4,771,000 to \$12,945,000—a wonderful increase, which has scarcely a parallel in the history of the progress of nations, excepting it may be in some extraordinary cases, like those of California and Australia under the gold impulse.

The right of depositing merchandise at New Orleans, which had been granted to the citizens of the United States by the Spanish governor of Louisiana, in a late treaty, and which was absolutely necessary to the people of the Western states, was withdrawn this year, and caused a general agitation. A proposal was made in congress to take forcible possession of the whole province of Louisiana; but milder measures were adopted, and the right of deposit was restored. In the year 1800 Louisiana had been secretly ceded to France, and Jefferson, in 1802, opened a private correspondence with Robert R. Livingston, in Paris, on the subject of this cession. The United States had hitherto, he said, considered France as their natural friend, but the moment she became possessed of New Orleans, through which three-eighths of the produce of the Americans must pass, she would become their natural enemy. The case was different with a feeble and pacific power like Spain; but it would be impossible that France and the United States could continue friends when they met in so irritating a position; that the moment France took possession of New Orleans, the United States must ally themselves with Great Britain; and, he asked, was it worth while for such a short-lived possession of New Orleans for France to transfer such a weight into the scale of her enemy? He then artfully suggested the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas; but adds, and even that they would consider as no equivalent while she possessed Louisiana.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

(1743-1826)

In January, 1803, James Monroe was sent over to aid Livingston in the purchase of Florida; but instead of the purchase merely of New Orleans and the Floridas, as had been planned, they were able to effect that of all Louisiana, equal in extent to the whole previous territory of the United States. They owed their good fortune to the war which was so suddenly renewed between France and England, when the government of France, convinced that the possession of Louisiana would soon be wrested from her by the superior naval power of England, readily consented to make sale of it to a third power, and the rather, as the money was very acceptable at that time.

For the trifling sum of \$15,000,000 the United States became possessed of that vast extent of country embracing the present state of Louisiana, which was called "the territory of Orleans," as well as of "the district of Louisiana," embracing a large tract of country extending westward to Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The treaty was concluded at Paris in 1803.¹ The area of the country thus ceded was upwards of one million square miles, but all, excepting a small proportion, occupied by the Indians, its natural proprietors. Its inhabitants, chiefly French, or the descendants of the French, with a few Spanish creoles, Americans, English, and Germans, amounted to between eighty thousand and ninety thousand, including about forty thousand slaves.

In 1803 an appropriation was made by congress for defraying the expenses of an exploring party across the continent to the Pacific. This was a scheme which the president had much at heart, and under his auspices it was carried out; Captain Meriwether Lewis being at the head of the expedition, while second in command was Captain Jonathan Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and under them twenty-eight well-selected individuals, with an escort of Mandan Indians. The expedition set out on May 14th, 1804. Since 1801 war had existed between the United States and Tripoli.²

WAR WITH TRIPOLI

In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent into the Mediterranean, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, he appeared before Tripoli with most of his squadron. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, being sent into the harbour to reconnoitre, struck upon a rock, and was obliged to surrender to the Tripolitans. The officers were considered prisoners of war, but the crew were treated as slaves.

Early in February of the following year, Lieutenant Decatur, under the cover of evening, entered the harbour of Tripoli, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, with the design of destroying the *Philadelphia*, which was then moored near the castle, with a strong Tripolitan crew. By the aid of his pilot, who understood the Tripolitan language, Decatur succeeded in bringing his vessel in contact with the *Philadelphia*, when he and his followers leaped on board, and in a few minutes killed twenty of the Tripolitans and drove the rest into the sea. Under a heavy cannonade from the surrounding vessels and batteries, the *Philadelphia* was set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when Decatur and

[¹ Jefferson came into power as a stickler for a limited government, confined chiefly to foreign and commercial affairs. He now entered upon the most brilliant episode of his administration—the annexation of Louisiana; and that transaction was carried out and defended upon precisely the grounds of loose construction which he had so much contemned.—A. B. HART.⁶]

[1804-1805 A.D.]

his gallant crew succeeded in getting out of the harbour without the loss of a single man. During the month of August, Tripoli was repeatedly bombarded by the American squadron, under Commodore Preble, and a severe action occurred with the Tripolitan gunboats, which resulted in the capture of several, with little loss to the Americans.

At the time of Commodore Preble's expedition to the Mediterranean, Hamet, the legitimate sovereign of Tripoli, was an exile, having been deprived of his government by the usurpation of a younger brother. Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, concocted with Hamet an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and obtained from the government of the United States permission to undertake it. With about seventy men from the American squadron, together with the followers of Hamet and some Egyptian troops, Eaton and Hamet set out from Alexandria towards Tripoli, a distance of a thousand miles across a desert country. After two successful engagements had occurred with the Tripolitan army, the reigning bashaw offered terms of peace, which, being considered much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorised agent of government.²

Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, together with an agreement to withdraw all support from Hamet.

In July, 1804, Alexander Hamilton, the present head of the federalist party, fell in a duel fought with the vice-president, Aaron Burr, who, having lost the confidence of the republicans, and despairing of re-election either as president or vice-president, had offered himself as candidate for the office of governor of New York. He was not elected, and attributing his unsuccess to the influence of Hamilton with his party, sent him a challenge, and Hamilton's death was the result. [Hamilton had simply fired into the air. So great was the popular desire to lynch Burr that he was forced to go into hiding for a time.]

This autumn closed Jefferson's first presidential term, and the general prosperity which prevailed gained for him the national favour. Summing up in short the events of his administration, we find that, by a steady course of economy, although he had considerably reduced the taxes, the public debt was lessened by \$12,000,000, the area of the United States about doubled, and the danger of war with both France and Spain averted, the Tripolitans were chastised, and a large and valuable tract of Indian land was acquired. Jefferson was re-elected president, and George Clinton, late governor of New York, vice-president.

JEFFERSON'S SECOND TERM; AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY

The new state of Ohio was already admitted to the Union (November 29th, 1802). New territories—Michigan (1805) and Illinois (1809)—were subsequently formed from out of the Indiana Territory. The signs of expansion were written everywhere, but nowhere so strikingly as along the western plains. There they were such as to kindle projects of a new empire. Aaron Burr, vice-president during Jefferson's first term, but displaced in the second term by George Clinton (1805)—branded, too, with the recent murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel—was generally avoided amongst his old associates. Turning his face westward, he there drew into his net various men, some of position and some of obscurity, with whose aid he seems to have intended making himself master of the Mississippi valley, or of Mexico, one

or both (1806). Whatever his schemes were, they miscarried. A handful only of followers were gathered round him on the banks of the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above New Orleans, when he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory (January, 1807). Some months afterwards he was brought to trial for high treason before Chief-Justice Marshall, of the supreme court, with whom sat the district judge for Virginia; the reason for trying Burr in that state being the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organised a military expedition was within the Virginian limits. The trial, like everything else in these days, was made a party question; the administration and its supporters going strongly against Burr, while its opponents were disposed to take his part. He was acquitted for want of proof; and for the same reason he was again acquitted when tried for undertaking to invade the Spanish territories.

BRITISH AGGRESSIONS

Frowning high above all these domestic events were the aggressions from abroad. If they sank in one direction, they seemed sure to rise the more threateningly in another. It was now the turn of Great Britain. The system of impressment, though protested against by the United States, had never been renounced by Great Britain. On the contrary, it had been extended even to the American navy, of which the vessels were once and again plundered of their seamen by British men-of-war. Another subject on which Great Britain set herself against the claims of the United States was the neutral trade, of which the latter nation engrossed a large and constantly increasing share during the European wars. After various attempts to discourage American commerce with her enemies, Great Britain undertook to put it down by condemning vessels of the United States on the ground that their cargoes were not neutral but belligerent property; in other words, that the Americans transported goods which were not their own, but those of nations at war with Great Britain. It must be allowed that the American shippers played a close game, importing merchandise only to get a neutral name for it, and then exporting it to the country to which it could not be shipped directly from its place of origin. But the sharper the practice, the more of a favourite it seemed to be (1805). A cry went up from all the commercial towns of the United States, appealing to the government for protection. The government could do but little. It passed a law prohibiting the importation of certain articles from Great Britain—the prohibition, however, not to take immediate effect.^f

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RIGHT OF SEARCH ¹

Great Britain's doctrine was "once a subject always a subject." On the other hand, the United States maintained that any foreigner, after five years' residence within her territory, and after having complied with certain forms, became one of her citizens as completely as if he was native-born. Great Britain contended that her war-ships possessed the right of searching all neutral vessels for the property and persons of her foes. The United States, resisting this claim, asserted that "free bottoms made free goods," and that consequently her ships when on the high seas should not be molested on

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[1806 A.D.]

any pretext whatever. Finally, Great Britain's system of impressment, by which men could be forcibly seized and made to serve in her navy, no matter at what cost to themselves, was repugnant to every American idea.

Such wide differences in the views of the two nations produced endless difficulties. To escape the press-gang, or for other reasons, many British seamen took service under the American flag; and if they were demanded back, it is not likely that they or their American shipmates had much hesitation in swearing either that they were not British at all, or else that they had been naturalised as Americans. Equally probable is it that the American blockade-runners were guilty of a great deal of fraud and more or less thinly veiled perjury. But the wrongs done by the Americans were insignificant compared with those they received. Any innocent merchant vessel was liable to seizure at any moment, and when overhauled by a British cruiser short of men was sure to be stripped of most of her crew. The British officers were themselves the judges as to whether a seaman should be pronounced a native of America or of Britain, and there was no appeal from their judgment. If a captain lacked his full complement, there was little doubt as to the view he would take of any man's nationality. The wrongs inflicted on our seafaring countrymen by their impressment into foreign ships formed the main cause of the war.

There were still other grievances which are thus presented by the British Admiral Cochrane: "Our treatment of its (America's) citizens was scarcely in accordance with the national privileges to which the young republic had become entitled. There were no doubt many individuals among the American people who, caring little for the federal government, considered it more profitable to break than to keep the laws of nations by aiding and supporting our enemy (France), and it was against such that the efforts of the squadron had chiefly been directed; but the way the object was carried out was scarcely less an infraction of those national laws which we were professedly enforcing. The practice of taking English (and American) seamen out of American ships without regard to the safety of navigating them when thus deprived of their hands has been already mentioned. To this may be added the detention of vessels against which nothing contrary to international neutrality could be established, whereby their cargoes became damaged; the compelling them, on suspicions only, to proceed to ports other than those to which they were destined; and generally treating them as though they were engaged in contraband trade."

The principles for which the United States contended in 1812 are now universally accepted, and those so tenaciously maintained by Great Britain find no advocates in the civilised world. That England herself was afterwards completely reconciled to our views was amply shown by her intense indignation when Commodore Wilkes, in the exercise of the right of search for the persons of the foes of his country, stopped the neutral British ship *Trent*; while the applause with which the act was greeted in America proves pretty clearly another fact—that we had warred for the right, not because it was the right, but because it agreed with our self-interest to do so.^{bb}

AN AMERICAN WAR-SHIP SEARCHED

In April, 1806, a mission, consisting of James Monroe and William Pinkney, was sent to London, to negotiate a new treaty, in which the disputed points should be included. But the mission proved a total failure. In the

first place, the envoys could obtain no satisfaction on the subject of impressment, and next to none on that of the neutral trade. In the next place, the treaty which they signed, notwithstanding these omissions, was at once rejected by President Jefferson, without even a reference to the senate (March, 1807). The tumult of party that ensued was immense. The president was charged with sacrificing the best interests of the country, as well as with violating the plainest provisions of the constitution. Was it he alone who held the treaty-making power—he, too, the republican, who had insisted upon restraining the powers of the executive? But looking back upon the action of Jefferson, we see little in it to have provoked such outcries. He sent envoys to form a new treaty; they had merely reformed an old one. It might be rash to sacrifice the advantages which they had gained; but might it not be ignominious to surrender the claims which they had passed by?

If the nation needed to be convinced of the necessity of some definite understanding with Great Britain on the subjects omitted in the rejected treaty, it soon had an opportunity. The United States frigate *Chesapeake*, sailing from Hampton Roads, was hailed off the capes of Chesapeake Bay, June 22nd, 1807, by the British frigate *Leopard*, the captain of which demanded to search the *Chesapeake* for deserters from the service of Great Britain. Captain Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, refused; whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire. As Barron and his crew were totally unprepared for action, they fired but a single gun, to save their honour, then, having lost several men, struck their flag. The British commander took those of whom he was in search, three of the four being Americans [previously impressed but escaped], and left the *Chesapeake* to make her way back dishonoured, and the nation to which she belonged dishonoured likewise.

The president issued a proclamation ordering British men-of-war from the waters of the United States. Instructions were sent to the envoys at London, directing them not merely to seek reparation for the wrong that had been done, but to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to a right of search and of impressment, from which the wrong had sprung. The British government recognised their responsibility by sending a special minister to settle the difficulty at Washington. It was four years, however, before the desired reparation was procured. The desired renunciation was never made. One can scarcely credit his eyes when he reads that the affair of the *Chesapeake* was made a party point. But so it was. The friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and commercial classes, generally, murmured at the course of their government, as too decided, “too French,” they sometimes called it; as if the slightest resistance to Great Britain were subordination to France.

The aspect of the two nations was very much changed of late years. Bonaparte, the consul of the French Republic, had become Napoleon, the emperor of the French Empire. Regarded by his enemies as a monster steeped in despotism and in blood, he excited abhorrence, not only for himself but for his nation, amongst a large portion of the Americans. On the other hand, Great Britain, formerly scouted at as the opponent of liberty, was now generally considered its champion in Europe. There was but a faint comprehension of the principles involved in the struggle between Great Britain and France, of the real attitude taken by the former in warring against the chosen sovereign of the latter, or of the remorseless ambition by which the one government was quite as much actuated as the other. But there was still a very considerable number in America to sympathise with France, if with either of the contending powers. To these men, the aggressions of

[1807 A.D.]

Great Britain were intolerable; while to the supporters of the British the French aggressions were far the more unendurable.

Both parties had their fill. Before the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the lists had been opened between France and England, to see not merely how much harm they could do to each other, but how much they could inflict upon all allied or connected with each other. Connected with both were the Americans, who were now assailed by both. Great Britain led off by declaring the French ports, from Brest to the Elbe, closed to American as to all other shipping (May 16th, 1806). France retorted by the Berlin Decree, so called because issued from Prussia, prohibiting any commerce with Great Britain (November 21st). That power immediately forbade the coasting trade between one port and another in the possession of her enemies (January 7th, 1807). Not satisfied with this, she went on, by the famous Order in Council, to forbid to neutrals all trade whatsoever with France and her allies, except on payment of a tribute to Great Britain, each vessel to pay in proportion to its cargo (November 11th). Then followed the Milan Decree of Napoleon, prohibiting all trade whatsoever with Great Britain, and declaring such vessels as paid the recently demanded tribute to be lawful prizes to the French marine (December 17th). Such was the series of acts thundering like broadsides against the interests of America. It transformed commerce from a peaceful pursuit into a warlike one, full of peril, of loss, of strife. It did more. It wounded the national honour, by attempting to prostrate the United States at the mercy of the European powers.

There was but one of two courses for the United States to take: peace, or preparation for war. War itself was impossible in the unprovided state of the country; but to assume a defensive, and if need were to get ready for an offensive position, was perfectly practicable. Jefferson thought it enough to order an additional number of gunboats—very different from the gunboats of our time, and yet considered by the administration and its supporters to constitute a navy by themselves.¹

JOHN T. MORSE ON JEFFERSON'S WAR POLICY¹

Obviously Jefferson had forgotten something of what he had once learned concerning the British character. It has been often said that if he had refrained from his prattle about peace, reason, and right, and instead thereof had hectoring and swaggered with a fair show of spirit at this crucial period, the history of the next ten years might have been changed and the War of 1812 might never have been fought. Probably this would not have been the case, and England would have fought in 1807, 1808, or 1809 as readily as in 1812. But, however this may be, the high-tempered course was the only one of any promise at all, and, had it precipitated the war by a few short years, at least the nation would have escaped a long and weary journey through a mud slough of humiliation. But it is idle to talk of what might have been had Jefferson acted differently. He could not act differently. Though the people would probably have backed him in a warlike policy, he could not adopt it. A great statesman amid political storms, he was utterly helpless when the clouds of war gathered. He was as miserably out of place now as he had been in the governorship of Virginia during the Revolution. He could not bring himself to entertain any measures looking to so much as preparation for serious conflict.

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A navy remained still, as it had always been, his abhorrence. His extremest step in that direction was to build gunboats. Everyone has heard of and nearly everyone has laughed at these playhouse flotillas, which were to be kept in sheds out of the sun and rain until the enemy should appear, and were then to be carted down to the water and manned by the neighbours, to encounter, perhaps, the fleets and crews which won the fight at Trafalgar, shattered the French navy at the Nile, and battered Copenhagen to ruins. It almost seemed as though the very harmlessness of the craft constituted a recommendation to Jefferson. At least they were very cheap, and he rejoiced to reckon that nearly a dozen of them could be built for \$100,000. So he was always advising to build more, while England, with all her fighting blood up, inflicted outrage after outrage upon a country whose ruler cherished such singular notions of naval affairs.^{cc}

THE EMBARGO REVIVES SECESSION DOCTRINES; MADISON'S PRESIDENCY

Jefferson at last hit upon the most self-denying of plans. The aggressions of the European powers were directed against the commerce of America, the rights of owners and of crews. That these might be secured, the president recommended, and congress adopted, an embargo upon all United States vessels and upon all foreign vessels with cargoes shipped after the passage of the act in United States ports (December 22nd, 1807). The date shows that the embargo was laid before the news of the last violent decrees of France and Great Britain. In other words, as commerce led to injuries from foreign nations, commerce was to be abandoned. There was also the idea that the foreign nations themselves would suffer from the loss of American supplies and American prizes. It was a singular way, one must allow, of preserving peace, to adopt a measure at once provoking to the stranger and destructive to the citizen. The latter eluded it, and it was again and again enforced by severe and even arbitrary statutes. The former laughed it to scorn. France, on whose side the violent federalists declared the embargo to be, answered by a decree of Napoleon's from Bayonne, ordering the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports (April 17th, 1808). Great Britain soon after made her response, by an order prohibiting the exportation of American produce, whether paying tribute or not to the European continent (December 21st). So ineffective abroad, so productive of discontent at home, even amongst the supporters of the administration, did the embargo prove that it was repealed (March, 1809).

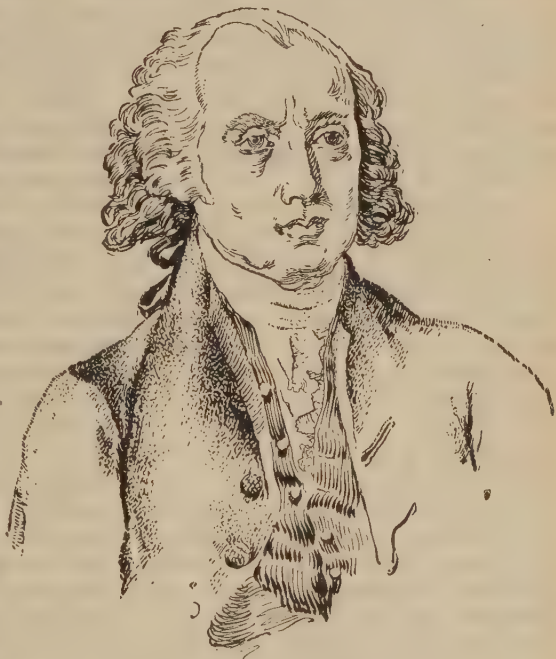
Thus neither preserving peace nor preparing for war, Jefferson in 1809 gave up the conduct of affairs to his successor, Madison, who kept on the same course. [George Clinton was re-elected vice-president.] In place of the embargo were non-intercourse or non-importation acts in relation to Great Britain and France, as restrictive as the embargo, so far as the designated nations were concerned, but leaving free the trade with other countries. These successors of the embargo, however, were nowise more effectual than that had been. They were reviled and violated in America; they were contemned in Europe. The administration amused itself with suspending the restrictions, now in favour of Great Britain (1809), and now in favour of France (1810), hoping to induce those powers to reciprocate the compliment by a suspension of their own aggressive orders. There was a show of doing so. Napoleon had recently issued a decree from Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes (March 23rd, 1810).

[1810 A.D.]

But on the news from America, willing to involve the young nation in hostilities with Great Britain, he intimated his readiness to retract the decrees of which the United States complained. But he would not do so, and America, mortified, but not yet enlightened, returned to her prohibitions. They were scoffed at by her own people.

It is not so difficult to describe as to conceive the hue and cry, on the part of the opposition, against the embargo and the subsequent acts. Whatever discontent, whatever nullification had been expressed by the republicans against the war measures of Adams, was rivalled, if not outrivalled, by the federalists against the so-called peace measures of Jefferson and Madison. Town-meetings, state legislatures, even the courts in some places, declared against the constitutionality and the validity of the embargo statutes. The federalists of Massachusetts were charged with the design of dissolving the Union. It was not their intention, but their language had warranted its being imputed to them.

Many causes were accelerating the progress of events towards war. Among these, the hostile position of the Indian tribes on the north-western frontier of the United States was one of the most powerful. They, too, had felt the pressure of Bonaparte's commercial system. In consequence of the exclusion of their furs from the continental markets, the Indian hunters found their traffic reduced to the lowest point. The rapid extension of settlements north of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game, and the introduction of whisky by the white people was spreading demoralisation, disease, and death among the Indians. These evils, combined with the known influence of British emissaries, finally led to open hostilities. In the spring of 1811 it became certain that Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, who was crafty, intrepid, unscrupulous, and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader almost equal to those of Pontiac, was endeavouring to emulate that great Ottawa by confederating the tribes of the Northwest in a war against the people of the United States. Those over whom he and his twin-brother, the Prophet, exercised the greatest control, were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miami, Kickapoos, Winnebagos, and Chippewas. During the summer the frontier settlers became so alarmed by the continual military and religious exercises of the savages that General Harrison, then governor of the Indiana



JAMES MADISON

(1751-1836)

Territory, marched with a considerable force towards the town of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, in the upper part of Tippecanoe county, Indiana. The Prophet appeared and proposed a conference, but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms that night (November 6th, 1811). At four o'clock the next morning the savages fell upon the American camp, but after a bloody battle until dawn the Indians were repulsed. The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most desperate ever fought with the Indians, and the loss was heavy on both sides. Tecumseh was not present on this occasion, and it is said the Prophet took no part in the engagement.

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and throughout the entire West, and in the Middle and Southern states, there was a desire for war. Yet the administration fully appreciated the deep responsibility involved in such a step; and having almost the entire body of the New England people in opposition, the president and his friends hesitated. The British orders in council continued to be rigorously enforced; insult after insult was offered to the American flag; and the British press insolently boasted that the United States "could not be kicked into a war." Forbearance was no longer a virtue.^x

In March, 1811, Pinkney, the American minister, was suddenly recalled from London; and, British ships being stationed before the principal harbours of the United States for the purpose of enforcing the British authority, open acts of hostility took place in May of the same year. The British frigate *Guerrière*, exercising the assumed right of search, carried off three or four natives of the states from some American vessels, whereupon orders came down from Washington to Commodore Rodgers to pursue the British ship and demand their own men. Rodgers sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of May, in the frigate *President*, and, not meeting with the offending *Guerrière*, fell in with a smaller vessel, the *Little Belt*, towards evening of the 16th of May. The *President* was a large ship, the *Little Belt* a small one; the *President* hailed, and in return, the Americans declared, a shot was fired. The British, on the other hand, declared that the *President* fired first; however that might be, a severe engagement took place, the guns of the *Little Belt* were silenced, and thirty-two of her men killed and wounded. Through the night the two ships lay at a little distance from each other to repair their damages, the British ship being almost disabled.^y

It was plain that war was becoming popular in the United States. As for that, it had always been so; when Washington opposed it, he was abused; when Adams favoured it, he was extolled; when Jefferson avoided it, he risked even his immense influence over the nation. Congress now took up the question, and voted one measure after another, preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain (December-March, 1812). The president hesitated. He was no war leader by nature or by principle; the only tendency in that direction came to him from party motives. His party, or at any rate the more active portion of it, was all for arms: when he doubted, they urged; when he inclined to draw back, they drove him forward. It being the time when the congressional caucus was about to nominate for the presidency, Madison received the intimation that if he was a candidate for re-election he must come out for war. Whether it was to force or to his own free will that he yielded, he did yield, and sent a message to congress, recommending an embargo of sixty days. Congress received it, according to its intention, as a preliminary to war, and voted it, though far from unanimously, for ninety days (April 4th, 1812).^f

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ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DISCREPANCIES

The English historians have, as a class, little disagreement with the American upon the justice and the conduct of the War of Independence. They accept it as indirectly redounding to their own real benefit, and their pages glow with praise of Washington and other patriots. But in the accounts of what has been called "the second War of Independence" there is such fundamental discrepancy between the historians of the two countries that it seems hardly possible they are treating the same conflict. To the Americans the War of 1812 was a combat in which they had no choice; they were goaded into the struggle for very existence. The English historian remembers only the stupendous threat of Napoleon to convert all Europe into one empire; he remembers the overwhelming success of this personified ambition, up to the point where England alone offered up resistance; he remembers the life-and-death struggle of his country. And when he thinks of the United States at all, he can only remember that at this crisis of British existence the United States turned against its own mother country, and threw its armies and its ships into the scale on Napoleon's side.

This very natural feeling colours the whole attitude of the British historians and renders them untrustworthy. Unfortunately, most of the American historians are equally unreliable; largely, no doubt, because the humiliations of the war were such that it was for many years difficult for an historian to resist the temptation to make as respectable a picture as possible, even if the cold facts had to be somewhat coloured. An exception, however, may be made of their accounts of the warfare on the sea, where some of the most notable naval engagements in the world's history took place, and in which the superiority of the American seamen was beyond question.

As to the justification of the war there can hardly be any doubt, unless it be based on a theory that the people who had so long postponed their duties to command self-respect, and had endured unflinchingly such insolent overriding of the laws of common decency, had lost every right of resistance. Some historians maintain that America's real injustice lay not in the declaration of war, but in its declaration against England, it being maintained that it should have been declared either against France alone, or against both England and France, and under no circumstances against England alone. But this theory has little practical basis; for, as events proved, the United States was hardly capable of maintaining war against England alone, to say nothing of bringing upon its shoulders the united weight of England and France; in the second place, England was the ancient enemy of the United States, and France had saved its very existence; in the third place, since the British navy ruled the seas, the British were far the greater sinners against the dignity and commerce of the United States.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was not by any means a struggle between a ruthless oppressor and a nation whose hands were entirely clean of oppression. All around the world there were evidences of British land-hunger. The United States had cause enough to declare war against both countries; but such an act would have been mere suicide. Lacking the power to wage a successful combat against both, it was only reasonable that it should choose for an adversary the nation which had done it much the greater injury. The true disgrace of the United States lay in the fact that it had been so long declaring war, and that it waged the inevitable conflict so languidly and so awkwardly.^a

BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF 1812; INTERNAL FACTIONS

The bill declaring war between the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland and their dependencies, and the United States of America and their territories, was accompanied by a report, setting forth the causes that impelled to war, of which the following is a summary:

(1) For impressing American citizens, while sailing on the seas, the highway of nations, dragging them on board their ships of war, and forcing them to serve against nations in amity with the United States; and even to participate in aggressions on the rights of their fellow citizens when met on the high seas.

(2) Violating the rights and peace of our coasts and harbours, harassing our departing commerce, and wantonly spilling American blood, within our territorial jurisdiction.

(3) Plundering our commerce on every sea, under pretended blockades, not of harbours, ports, or places invested by adequate force, but of extended coasts, without the application of fleets to render them legal, and enforcing them from the date of their proclamation, thereby giving them virtually retrospective effect.

(4) Committing numberless spoliations on our ships and commerce, under her orders in council of various dates.

(5) Employing secret agents within the United States, with a view to subvert our government and dismember our union.

(6) Encouraging the Indian tribes to make war on the people of the United States.

The bill, reported by the committee of foreign relations, passed the house of representatives on the 4th of June, by a majority of thirty, in one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and was transmitted to the senate for its concurrence. In the senate it was passed by a majority of six, in thirty-two votes. On the 18th of June it received the approbation of the president, and on the next day was publicly announced.^{dd}

France having again—and this time unconditionally—repealed her aggressive decrees, Great Britain withdrew her arbitrary orders in council just as the war was declared (June 23rd). One of the chief grounds for hostilities, therefore, fell through. The other remained, but only, it was insisted by Great Britain, until the United States would take some measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American service, which being done, there would be no need of search or of impressment by the navy of Great Britain. Proposals of an armistice were rejected by the United States (June-October). "We must fight," cried the war party, "if it is only for our seamen; six thousand of them are victims to these atrocious impressments." The British government had admitted, the year before, that they had sixteen hundred Americans in their service. "But your six thousand," retorted the advocates of peace, "are not all your own; there are foreigners, British subjects, amongst them; and will you fight for these?" "We will," was the reply [and here the sympathy of every generous heart must be theirs, so far as they were sincere]; "the stranger who comes to dwell or to toil amongst us is as much our own as if he were born in America."

The war was what might have been expected from the movements leading to it—the cause of a party, nominally headed by Madison, the president, by James Monroe, the secretary of state, by Albert Gallatin (the same who appeared in the Pennsylvania insurrection of Washington's time), the secretary of the treasury, and by others, officers or supporters of the administration, both in and out of congress; but the real leaders of the war party were younger men, some risen to distinction, like Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, and John C. Calhoun, member of the same body.

The party support which the war received explains the party opposition which it encountered. The signal, given by a protest from the federalist

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members of congress, was caught up and repeated in public meetings and at private hearthstones. Even the pulpit threw open its doors to political harangues, and those not of the mildest sort. "The alternative then is," exclaimed a clergyman at Boston, "that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection, or so far alter the national constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself." This single extract must stand here for a thousand others that might be cited. Coming from the source that it did, it is a striking illustration of the sectionality, nay, the personal vindictiveness, with which the opposition was animated. Strongest in New England, where alone the federalist party still retained its power, the hostility to the war spread through all parts of the country, gathering many of otherwise conflicting views around the banner that had so long been trailing in the dust. If we cannot sympathise with the party thus reviving, we need not join in the tumult raised against it on the score of treachery or dishonour. The federalists opposed the war not because they were anti-national, but because they thought it anti-national.

The war began at home. The office of a federalist paper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, at Baltimore, was sacked by a mob, who then went on to attack dwellings, pillage vessels, and, finally, to fire the house of an individual suspected of partialities for Great Britain (June 22nd, 23rd). Such being the passions, such the divisions, internally, the nation needed more than the usual panoply to protect itself externally. But it had less. The colonies of 1775 did not go to war more unprepared than the United States of 1812. There was no army to speak of. Generals abounded, it is true, Henry Dearborn, late secretary of war, being at the head of the list; but troops were few and far between, some thousands of regulars and of volunteers constituting the entire force. As to the militia, there were grave differences to prevent its efficient employment. In the first place, there was a general distrust of such bodies of troops. In the next place, there were local controversies, between certain of the state authorities and the general government, as to the power of the latter to call out the militia in the existing state of things, the constitution authorising congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

If the army was inconsiderable, the navy was hardly perceptible, embracing only eight or ten frigates, as many more smaller vessels, and a flotilla of comparatively useless gunboats. The national finances were in a correspondingly low condition. The revenue, affected by the interruptions to commerce during the preceding years, needed all the stimulants which it could obtain, even in time of peace. It was wholly inadequate to the exigencies of war. Accordingly, resort was had to loans, then to direct taxes and licenses (1813). But the ways and means fell far short of the demands upon them. In fine, whether we take a financial or a military point of view, we find the country equally unfitted for hostilities. It might rely, indeed, upon its own inherent energies, the energies of six millions of freemen; but even these were distracted, and to a great degree paralysed.

Fortunate, therefore, was it that Great Britain was occupied—it may be said absorbed—in Europe. Her mighty struggle with Napoleon was at its height when the United States declared war. To British ears the declaration sounded much the same as the wail of a child amidst the contentions

of men. Very little heed was paid to it, the retraction of the orders in council being considered as likely to end it altogether. But to the astonishment of the British government the Americans persisted. "Let them wait," was the tone, "until Bonaparte is crushed, and they shall have their turn."

HULL'S SURRENDER RETRIEVED BY PERRY

Notwithstanding the almost entire want of means, the United States government determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. For this purpose, William Hull, general and governor of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit to Sandwich in Canada, with about two thousand men (July 12th, 1813). In a little more than a month he had not only retreated, but surrendered, without a blow, to [an inferior force under] General Brock, the governor of Lower Canada (August 16th).^f The indignation of the Americans at this cowardly and disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. Expectation had been raised to such a height by the confident language of previous despatches from General Hull that nothing less than the capture of all Upper Canada was expected. The surrender, therefore, of an American army to an inferior force, together with the cession of a large extent of territory, as it had never entered into the calculations of the people, was almost too much for them to bear. As soon as General Hull was exchanged, he was, of course, brought before a court-martial, tried on the charges of treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, found guilty of the last two, and sentenced to be shot. The president, however, in consequence of his age and former services, remitted the capital punishment, but directed his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army—a disgrace which, to a lofty and honourable spirit, is worse than death.^{ad}

The British, already in possession of the northern part of Michigan, were soon masters of the entire territory. So far from being able to recover it, General Harrison, who made the attempt in the ensuing autumn and winter, found it all he could do to save Ohio from falling with Michigan. A detachment of Kentuckians yielded to a superior force of British at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin (January, 1813), whereupon Harrison took post by the Maumee, at Fort Meigs, holding out there against the British and their Indian allies (April, May). The same fort was again assailed and again defended, General Clay being at that time in command. Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, was attacked in August, but defended with great spirit and success by a small garrison under Major Croghan. Yet Ohio was still in danger.

It was rescued by different operations from those as yet described. Captain Chauncey, after gathering a little fleet on Lake Ontario, where he achieved some successes, appointed Lieutenant Oliver H. Perry to the command on Lake Erie. Perry's first duty was to provide a fleet; his next, to lead it, when provided, against the British vessels under Captain Barclay.^f

Early in the spring of this year the attention of the national government had been seriously directed towards the important object of obtaining the command on Lake Erie. The earnest representations of General Harrison had awakened the administration to a proper sense of the necessity of this measure, and great exertions were accordingly made to obtain a force competent to engage the enemy. Two brigs and several schooners were ordered to be built at the port of Erie, under the directions of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry; the building of which that officer carried on with such rapidity that on the 2nd of August he was able to sail in quest of the enemy's squad-

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ron. He found them lying in the harbour of Malden, their force augmented by a new vessel, the *Detroit*. Finding the enemy, however, unwilling to venture out, the American commander returned to Put-in Bay, in South Bass Island.

On the morning of the 10th of September, while the squadron was lying in this harbour, the enemy's fleet was discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. The American fleet immediately weighed anchor, and fortunately got clear of the islands near the head of the lake before the enemy approached. At ten o'clock the wind changed, so as to give the former the weather-gauge. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and at a few minutes before twelve the action commenced. The fire from the enemy's long guns proving very destructive to the *Lawrence*, the flagship of the squadron, she bore up, for the purpose of closing with her opponents, and made signals to the other vessels to support her. The wind, however, being very light, and the fire of the enemy well-directed, she soon became altogether unmanageable; she sustained the action, nevertheless, for upwards of two hours, until all her guns were disabled and most of the crew either killed or wounded. In this situation of affairs the American commodore, with singular presence of mind and a gallantry rarely equalled, resolved upon a step which decided the fortune of the day. Leaving his ship, the *Lawrence*, in charge of a lieutenant, he passed in an open boat, under a heavy fire of musketry, to the *Niagara*, which a fortunate increase of wind had enabled her commander, Captain Elliott, to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to lead the smaller vessels into close action; while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring a destructive fire into the vessels on each side. The smaller American vessels, having soon afterwards arrived within a suitable distance, opened a well-directed fire upon their opponents, and after a short but severe contest the whole of the British squadron struck their colours to the republican vessels.

This victory will long be memorable in the annals of the republic, both as being the first victory of a squadron of its vessels over one of an enemy, and as being among the most brilliant and decisive triumphs ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The American loss in this engagement was two officers and twenty-five men killed, and ninety-six wounded, among whom were many officers; that of the British, as near as could be ascertained, was three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

Not merely was the character of the nation raised to the highest pitch of elevation by this signal victory, but the fate of the campaign on the whole northwestern frontier was decided by the destruction of the British squadron. Having heretofore drawn its supplies through the agency of that fleet, the army of the allies would, it was foreseen, be compelled to evacuate, not only its position in the American territory, but the greater part of Upper Canada.^{dd}

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE ¹

There happened to be circumstances which rendered the bragging of our writers over the victory somewhat plausible. Thus they could say with an appearance of truth that the enemy had sixty-three guns to our fifty-four, and outnumbered us. In reality, as well as can be ascertained

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from the conflicting evidence, he was inferior in number of men; but a few men more or less mattered nothing. Both sides had men enough to work the guns and handle the ships, especially as the fight was in smooth water, and largely at long range. The important fact was that though we had nine guns less, yet, at a broadside, they threw half as much metal again as those of our antagonist. With such odds in our favour it would have been a disgrace to have been beaten. The water was too smooth for our two brigs to show at their best; but this very smoothness rendered our gunboats more formidable than any of the British vessels, and the British testimony is unanimous that it was to them the defeat was primarily due. The American fleet came into action in worse form than the hostile squadron, the ships straggling badly, either owing to Perry having formed his line badly, or else to his having failed to train the subordinate commanders how to keep their places.

The chief merit of the American commander and his followers was indomitable courage and determination not to be beaten. This is no slight merit; but it may well be doubted if it would have insured victory had Barclay's force been as strong as Perry's. Perry made a headlong attack—his superior force, whether through his fault or his misfortune can hardly be said, being brought into action in such a manner that the head of the line was crushed by the inferior force opposed. Being literally hammered out of his own ship, Perry brought up its powerful twin-sister, and the already shattered hostile squadron was crushed by sheer weight. The manœuvres which marked the close of the battle, and which insured the capture of all the opposing ships, were unquestionably very fine.

The British ships were fought as resolutely as their antagonists, not being surrendered till they were crippled and helpless, and almost all the officers and a large portion of the men placed *hors de combat*. Captain Barclay handled his ships like a first-rate seaman. In short, our victory was due to our heavy metal.

Captain Perry showed indomitable pluck, and readiness to adapt himself to circumstances; but his claim to fame rests much less on his actual victory than on the way in which he prepared the fleet that was to win it. Here his energy and activity deserve all praise, not only for his success in collecting sailors and vessels and in building the two brigs, but above all for the manner in which he succeeded in getting them out on the lake. On that occasion he certainly outgeneralled Barclay; indeed, the latter committed an error that the skill and address he subsequently showed could not retrieve.

But it will always be a source of surprise that the American public should have so glorified Perry's victory over an inferior force, and have paid comparatively little attention to McDonough's victory, which really was won against decided odds in ships, men, and metal. It must always be remembered that when Perry fought this battle he was but twenty-seven years old; and the commanders of his other vessels were younger still.^{bb}

THE DISASTROUS LAND WAR

Perry's victory was on a small scale; yet its importance immediately appeared. Taking on board a body of troops from Ohio and Kentucky, under Harrison, Perry transported them to the neighbourhood of Sandwich, on the Canada shore, the same spot against which Hull had marched more than a twelvemonth before. The British having retired, Harrison crossed to Detroit. Recrossing, he advanced in pursuit of the much less numerous enemy, whose rear and whose main body were routed on two successive days

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(October 4th, 5th). The latter action, on the bank of the Thames, was decisive; the British general, Proctor, making his escape with but a small portion of his troops, while his Indian ally, Tecumseh, was slain. Ohio was thus saved, and Michigan recovered; though not entirely, the British still holding the northern extremity of the territory.

All along the frontier between New York and Canada there had been from the first some scattered forces, both American and British. The former pretended to act on the offensive, but amidst continual failures. Chief of these movements without interest and without result was an attack against Queenstown, on the Canada shore of the Niagara river. Advanced parties gained possession of a battery on the bank, but there they were checked, and at length obliged to surrender, for want of support from their comrades on the American side. General Van Rensselaer was the American, General Brock the British commander—the latter falling in battle, the former resigning in disgust after the battle was over (October 13th, 1812). In the following spring General Dearborn and the land troops, in conjunction with Chauncey and the fleet, took York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, burning the parliament house, and then proceeding successfully against the forts on the Niagara river (April, May, 1813). At this point, however, affairs took an unfavourable turn. The British mustered strong, and though repulsed from Sackett's Harbour by General Brown, at the head of some regular troops and volunteers, they obtained the command of the lake, making descents on various places, and reducing the American forces, both land and naval, to comparative inactivity (June). Months afterwards the land forces, now under the lead of General Wilkinson, started on a long-proposed expedition against Montreal, but, encountering resistance on the way down the St. Lawrence, went straight into winter quarters within the New York frontier. A body of troops under General Hampton, moving in the same direction from Lake Champlain, met with a feint of opposition, rather than opposition itself, from the British; it was sufficient, however, to induce a retreat (November). Both these armies far outnumbered the British, Wilkinson having seventy-five hundred and Hampton forty-five hundred men.

On the western border of New York things went still worse. General M'Clure, left in charge of the Niagara frontier, was so weakened by the loss of men at the expiration of their terms of service, and at the same time so pressed by the enemy, as to abandon the Canada shore, leaving behind him the ruins of Fort George and of the village of Newark. The destruction thus wreaked by orders of the government was avenged upon the New York borders. Parties of British and Indians, crossing the frontier at different places, took Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and swept the adjacent country with fire and sword as far as Buffalo (December). Glutted with success, the invaders retired, save from Fort Niagara, which they held until the end of the war. In the following spring (March, 1814) General Wilkinson emerged from his retreat, and, with a portion of his troops, undertook to carry the approaches to Canada from the side of Lake Champlain. But on coming up with a stone mill held by British troops, he abruptly withdrew. A more helpless group than that of the Americans, whether commanders, officers, or soldiers, on the New York frontier, cannot well be conceived. There were exceptions, of course, as in the fleets of Ontario, and especially of Erie; but on shore there was almost unbroken imbecility. The secretary of war himself, General Armstrong, had been upon the ground; he but confirmed the rule.

As the war, thus pitiaibly prosecuted, entered into its third year (1814), a concentration of efforts, both American and British, took place upon the Niagara frontier. General Brown, the defender of Sackett's Harbour, obtaining the command, and with such supporters as General Scott and other gallant officers, resolved upon crossing to the Canada side. There, with an army of some thirty-five hundred men, he took Fort Erie (July 2nd), gained the battle of Chippewa (July 5th), and drove the enemy, under General Riall, from the frontier, save from a single stronghold, Fort George. The British, however, on being reinforced, returned under Generals Riall and Drummond, and met the Americans at Lundy's Lane—the most of an action that had as yet been fought during the war. It was within the roar of Niagara that the opposing lines crossed their swords and opened their batteries. Begun by Scott, in advance of the main body, which soon came up under Brown, the battle was continued until midnight, to the advantage of the American army (July 25th). But they were unable to follow up or even to maintain their success, and fell back upon Fort Erie. Thither the British proceeded, and after a night assault laid siege to the place, then under the command of General Gaines. As soon as Brown, who had withdrawn to recover from his wounds, resumed his command at the fort, he at once ordered a sortie, the result being the raising of the siege (September 17th). He was soon after called away to defend Sackett's Harbour, the British having the upper hand on the lake. His successor in command on the Niagara frontier, General Izard, blew up Fort Erie, and abandoned the Canada shore (November).

Meanwhile the American arms had distinguished themselves on the side of Lake Champlain. Thither descended the British general, Prevost, with twelve thousand soldiers, lately arrived from Europe, his object being to carry the American works at Plattsburg, and to drive the American vessels from the waters. He was totally unsuccessful. Captain McDonough, after long exertions, had constructed a fleet, with which he now met and overwhelmed the British squadron. The land attack upon the few thousand regulars and militia under General Macomb was hardly begun before it was given over in consequence of the naval action (September 11th). No engagement in the war, before or after, was more unequal in point of force, the British being greatly the superiors; yet none was more decisive.

Of this victory, won when McDonough was only thirty years old, Theodore Roosevelt says: "The effects of the victory were immediate and of the highest importance. Sir George Prevost and his army at once fled in great haste and confusion back to Canada, leaving our northern frontier clear for the remainder of the war; while the victory had a very great effect on the negotiations for peace. McDonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. He had a decidedly superior force to contend against, the officers and men of the two sides being about on a par in every respect; and it was solely owing to his foresight and resource that we won the victory. He forced the British to engage at a disadvantage by his excellent choice of position, and he prepared beforehand for every possible contingency. His personal prowess had already been shown at the cost of the rovers of Tripoli, and in this action he helped fight the guns as ably as the best sailor. His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history. A thoroughly religious man, he was as generous and humane as he was skilful and brave; one of the greatest of our sea captains, he has left a stainless name behind him." bb

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NAVAL DUELS AT SEA

The British superiority observable at Lake Champlain and elsewhere requires a word of explanation. Napoleon, fallen some months before, had left the armies and fleets of Great Britain free to act in other scenes than those to which they had been so long confined. The war with the United States had acquired no new importance in sight of the British authorities, but it was time to crush the adversary that had dared to brave them. The troops transported to America—some to Canada, as we have seen, some to other places, as we shall soon see—were superior to the Americans generally in numbers, and always in appointments and in discipline. They were the men to whom France had succumbed; it must have seemed impossible that the United States should resist them.

The apprehensions of the enemy, aroused by some of the operations on land, had been highly excited by some of those at sea. Before the gallant actions upon the lakes, a succession of remarkable exploits had occurred upon the ocean. It had been the policy of the republican administration to keep down the navy which their federalist predecessors had encouraged. But the navy, or that fragment of one which remained, returned good for evil. The frigate *Essex*, under Captain Porter, took the sloop of war *Alert* off the northern coast (August 13th, 1812); the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, took the frigate *Guerrière* in the gulf of St. Lawrence (August 19th)¹; the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, took the brig *Frolic*, both, however, falling prizes to the seventy-four *Poictiers*, not far from the Bermudas (October 13th); the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, took the frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores (October 25th); and the *Constitution* again, now under Captain Bainbridge, took the frigate *Java* off Brazil (December 29th). This series of triumphs was broken by but two reverses, the capture of the brig *Nautilus* by the British squadron, and that of the brig *Vixen* by the British frigate *Southampton*, both off the Atlantic coast. Nothing could be more striking than the effect upon both the nations that were at war. The British started with amazement, not to say terror, at the idea of their ships, their cherished instruments of superiority at sea, yielding to an enemy. The Americans were proportionately animated; they were for once united in a common feeling of pride and national honour.

Here, however, the impulse ceased, or began to cease. The navy was too inconsiderable to continue the contest, the nation too inactive to recruit its numbers and its powers. The captures of the succeeding period of the war, though made with quite as much gallantry, were of much less importance; while one vessel after another, beginning with the frigate *Chesapeake*, off Boston harbour (June 1st, 1813), was forced to strike to Shannon. Many of the larger ships were hemmed in by the British blockade, when this, commencing with the war, was extended along the entire coast. The last glimmer of naval victory for the time was the defeat of the sloop-of-war *Avon* by the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, off the French coast (September 1st, 1814). But a few weeks later the *Wasp* was lost with all its crew, leaving not a single vessel of the United States navy on the seas. Every one that had escaped the perils of the ocean and of war was shut up in port behind the greatly superior squadrons of Great Britain.

[¹ A small affair it might appear among the world's battles; it took but half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power.—HENRY ADAMS.ⁱⁱ] ¹⁷⁷¹¹³

BRITISH RAVAGES; THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

The coast, from the first blockaded, and occasionally visited by invading parties of the British, was in an appalling state (1814). Eastport was taken; Castine, Belfast, and Machias were seized, with claims against the whole country east of the Penobscot: Cape Cod, or some of the towns upon it, had to purchase safety; Stonington was bombarded. Fortifications were hastily thrown up wherever they could be by the Americans; the militia was called out by the states, and the general government was urged to despatch its regular troops to the menaced shores. It was officially announced by the British admiral, Cochrane, that he was imperatively instructed "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessive to the attack of British armaments." This was not war, but devastation.

The Chesapeake, long a favoured point for the British descents, was now occupied by a large, indeed a double, fleet, under admirals Cochrane and Cockburn, with several thousand land troops and marines under General Ross. This body, landing about fifty miles from Washington, marched against that city, while the American militia retreated hither and thither, making a stand for a few moments only at Bladensburg (August 24th). On the evening following this rout the British took possession of Washington, and next day proceeded to carry out the orders announced by the admiral. Stores were destroyed; a frigate and a sloop were burned; the public buildings, including the Capitol, and even the mansion of the president, were plundered and fired. Against this "unwarrantable extension of the ravages of war," as it is styled by a British writer, the United States had no right to complain, remembering the burning of the parliament house at York, or the destruction of Newark, in the preceding year, although both these outrages had been already avenged on the New York frontier. A few hours were enough for the work of ruin at Washington (August 25th), and the British returned to their ships. On August 29th some frigates appeared off Alexandria, and extorted an enormous ransom for the town. Everything on the American side was helplessness and submission. The president and his cabinet had reviewed the troops, which mustered to the number of several thousands; generals and officers had been thick upon the field; but there was no consistent counsel, no steadfast action, and the country lay as open to the enemy as if it had been uninhabited.

It is a relief to return to Baltimore. Fresh from their marauding victories, the British landed at North Point, some miles below that city. They were too strong for the Americans, who retired, but not until after a bravely contested battle, in which the British commander, General Ross, was slain (September 12th). As the army advanced against the town, the next day, the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, an inconsiderable defence just below Baltimore. But the bombardment and the advance proving ineffectual, the invaders retreated. They had been courageously met, triumphantly repelled. North Point and Fort McHenry are names which shine out, like those of Erie and Champlain, brilliant amidst encompassing darkness.

As if one war were not enough for a nation so hard pressed, another had broken out. The Indians on the northwest, the followers of Tecumseh, and others besides, were but the allies of the British. Independent foes, fighting altogether for themselves, uprose in the Creeks of the Mississippi Territory, where they surprised some hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims (August, 1813). Numerous bodies of border volunteers at once started for the haunts

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of the enemy, chief amongst the number being the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson. Penetrating into the heart of the Creek country, after various bloody encounters, Jackson at length routed the main body of the foe at a place called Tohopeka [Horseshoe Bend] (March 27th, 1814). A few months after, he concluded a treaty, by which the Creeks surrendered the larger part of their territory.

Enough remained, as has been seen, to keep the nation in sad straits. There were various causes to produce the same effect. To raise the very first essential for carrying on a war, a sufficient army, had been found impossible, notwithstanding all sorts of new provisions to facilitate the operation. It was in vain to increase the bounties, in vain even to authorise the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters; all allurements failed. The chief reliance of the government was necessarily upon the militia, about which the same controversies continued as those already mentioned between the federal and the state authorities. Yet, to show the extent to which the opposition party indulged itself in embarrassing the government, an alarm was sounded against the national forces, small though they were, as threatening the liberties of the country.

But the army was not the only point of difficulty. To prevent supplies to the forces of the enemy, as well as to cut him off from all advantages of commerce with the United States, a new embargo was laid (December, 1813). So severe were its restrictions, affecting even the coasting trade and the fishery, that Massachusetts called it another Boston port bill, and pronounced it, by her legislature, to be unconstitutional. It was repealed in a few months, and with it the non-importation act, which, in one shape or another, had hung upon the commercial interests of the nation for years (April, 1814). More serious by far were the financial embarrassments of the government. All efforts to relieve the treasury had been wholly inadequate. Loan after loan was contracted, tax after tax was laid, until carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches were assessed, while plans were formed for other means, such as the creation of a national bank, the earlier one having expired according to the provisions of its charter. But the state to which the finances at length arrived was this: that while eleven millions of revenue were all to be counted upon—ten from taxes, and only one from customs duties—fifty millions were needed for the expenditures of the year (1815). It did not ease matters when a large number of the banks of the country suspended specie payments (August, 1814).

The opposition to the war had never ceased. It rested, indeed, on foundations too deep to be lightly moved. Below the points immediately relating to the war itself were the earlier questions arising during the operation of the government, nay, the still earlier ones that arose with the government—the questions of the constitution. All these had been brought out into contrast and into collision by the conflict with Great Britain.^f

A. B. HART ON THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND (1814 A.D.)¹

Positive and dangerous opposition had been urged in New England from the beginning of the war. Besides the sacrifice of men, Massachusetts furnished more money for the war than Virginia. In the elections of 1812 and 1813 the federalists obtained control of every New England state govern-

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ment, and secured most of the New England members of congress. The temper of this federalist majority may be seen in a succession of addresses and speeches in the Massachusetts legislature. On June 15th, 1813, Josiah Quincy offered a resolution that "in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." As the pressure of the war grew heavier, the tone in New England grew sterner. On February 18th, 1814, a report was made to the Massachusetts legislature containing a declaration, taken almost literally from Madison's Virginia Resolution of 1798, that "whenever the national compact is violated, and the citizens of the state oppressed by cruel and unauthorised laws, this legislature is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor his victim."

The success of the British attacks in August and September, 1814, seemed to indicate the failure of the war. Congress met on September 19th to confront the growing danger; but it refused to authorise a new levy of troops; it refused to accept a proposition for a new United States Bank; it consented with reluctance to new taxes. The time seemed to have arrived when the protests of New England against the continuance of the war might be made effective. The initiative was taken by Massachusetts, which, on October 16th, voted to raise \$1,000,000 to support a state army of ten thousand troops, and to ask the other New England states to meet in convention.

On December 15th, 1814, delegates assembled at Hartford from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with unofficial representatives from New Hampshire and Vermont. The head of the Massachusetts delegation was George Cabot, who had been chosen because of his known opposition to the secession of that state. As he said himself, "We are going to keep you young hot-heads from getting into mischief." The expectation throughout the country was that the Hartford convention would recommend secession. Jefferson wrote: "Some apprehended danger from the defection of Massachusetts. It is a disagreeable circumstance, but not a dangerous one. If they become neutral, we are sufficient for one enemy without them; and, in fact, we get no aid from them now."

After a session of three weeks, the Hartford convention adjourned, January 14th, 1815, and published a formal report. They declared that the constitution had been violated, and that "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." They submitted a list of amendments to the constitution intended to protect a minority of states from aggressions on the part of the majority. Finally they submitted, as their ultimatum, that they should be allowed to retain the proceeds of the national customs duties collected within their borders. Behind the whole document was the implied intention to withdraw from the Union if this demand were not complied with. To comply was to deprive the United States of its financial power, and was virtually a dissolution of the constitution. The delegates who were sent to present this powerful remonstrance to congress were silenced by the news that peace had been declared.^b

ANDREW JACKSON'S VICTORY AT NEW ORLEANS

Late in the summer preceding the Hartford convention a British party landed at Pensacola, whose Spanish possessors were supposed to be inclined to side against the United States. An attack, in the early autumn, upon

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Fort Bowyer, thirty miles from Mobile, was repelled by the small but heroic garrison under Major Lawrence (September 15th). A month or two afterwards General Jackson advanced against Pensacola with a force so formidable that the British withdrew, Jackson then resigning the town to the Spanish authorities, and repairing to New Orleans, against which the enemy was believed to be preparing an expedition (November). There he busied himself in raising his forces and providing his defences, until the British arrived upon the coast. After capturing a feeble flotilla of the Americans, they began their advance against the capital of Louisiana (December). They were ten thousand and upwards; the Americans not more than half as numerous. Jackson, on learning of their approach, marched directly against them, surprising them in their camp by night, and dealing them a blow from which they hardly seem to have recovered (December 23rd). They soon, however, resumed the offensive under Sir Edward Pakenham, advancing thrice against the American lines, but thrice retreating. The last action goes by the name of the battle of New Orleans. It resulted in the defeat of the enemy, with the loss of Pakenham and two thousand besides, the Americans losing less than a hundred (January 8th, 1815). At the close of the battle some five hundred of the British rose unhurt from among the dead and gave themselves up as prisoners. To save their lives, they had dropped down and lain as if dead until the battle was over.⁹⁹ The British retired to the sea, taking Fort Bowyer, the same that had resisted an attack the autumn before (February 12th). Louisiana had been nobly defended, and not by the energy of Jackson alone, nor by the resolution of her own people, but by the generous spirit with which the entire Southwest sent its sons to her rescue. [Even the outlawed pirates of Baratavia, under Jean Lafitte, refused British advances and aided Jackson.]



ANDREW JACKSON

(1767-1845)

Jackson had hesitated at nothing in defending New Orleans. Upon the approach of the British, he proclaimed martial law; he continued it after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was sent to prison to await trial for life. The United States district judge was arrested and expelled from the city for having issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf; and on the district attorney's applying to the state court in behalf of the judge, he, too, was banished. On the proclamation of peace, martial law was necessarily suspended. The judge returned, and summoning the general before him imposed a fine of \$1,000. The sum was paid by Jackson, but was offered to be repaid to him by a subscription, which proved public opinion to sustain his determined course. Refusing to receive the subscription, he was reimbursed, nearly thirty years afterwards, by order of congress.

THE NAVY REAPPEARS; THE PEACE OF GHENT

While these events were going on by land, the sea was for a time abandoned, at least by all national vessels. Privateers continued their work of plunder and of destruction—a work which, however miserable to contemplate, doubtless had its effect in bringing the war to a close. But the navy of the nation had disappeared from the ocean. It presently reappeared in the shape of its pride and ornament, the *Constitution*, which, under her new commander, Stewart, got to sea from Boston (December, 1814). The *President*, *Hornet*, and *Peacock* did the same from New York, the *President* being immediately captured, though not without a severe combat, by the British cruisers (January, 1815). Her loss was avenged by the sister vessels; the *Constitution* taking two sloops of war at once—the *Cyane* and the *Levant*—off Madeira (February 20th); the *Hornet* sloop taking the *Penguin* brig off the island of Tristan da Cunha (March 23rd); and the *Peacock* sloop taking the *Nautilus*, an East India's Company's cruiser, off Sumatra (June 30th).¹ All these actions were subsequent to a treaty of peace.

The war had not continued a year when the administration accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and despatched envoys to treat of peace. Great Britain declined the mediation of Russia, but offered to enter into negotiations either at London or at Gottenburg. The American government chose the latter place. But on the news of the triumph of Great Britain and her allies over Napoleon, the demands of the United States were sensibly modified. The administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which America had to complain; in other words, that there would be no blockades or impressments in time of peace.

Four months and a half elapsed before coming to terms. The British demands, especially on the point of retaining the conquests made during the war, were altogether inadmissible. A treaty was consequently framed at Ghent, restoring the conquests on either side, and providing commissioners to arrange the boundary and other minor questions between the nations (December 24th). The objects of the war, according to the declarations at its outbreak, were not mentioned in the articles by which it was closed; yet the United States did not hesitate to ratify the treaty (February 18th). Within a week afterwards the president recommended "the navigation of American vessels by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalised"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace." What could not be gained by treaty might be secured by legislation.

Though much was waived for the sake of peace, one principle, if no more, had been maintained for the country. In the first year of the war the British had set out to treat some Irishmen taken while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war but as traitors to Great Britain. On their being sent to be tried for treason in England, congress aroused itself in their behalf, and authorised the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives was presently imprisoned, and when the British retorted by ordering twice as many American officers into confinement, the Americans

¹ "Thus terminated at sea," says the British historian Alison, "this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their antagonists, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife."

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did the same by the British officers in their power. The British government went so far as to order its commanders, in case any retaliation was inflicted upon the prisoners in American hands, to destroy the towns and their inhabitants upon the coast. It was at this juncture that Massachusetts, as already alluded to, appeared in the lines of nullification. All along there had been very little sympathy, among the opposition, for the humane professions of defending the sailor and the stranger, upon which the administration party were apt to discourse rather than to act. The federalist majority in Massachusetts, caring little for the fate of the Irish prisoners, forbade the use of the state prisons for the British officers now ordered to be confined (February, 1814). The matter was set at rest by the retraction of the British government, who consented to treat the Irishmen as prisoners of war. Proclamation was made pardoning all past offences of the sort, but threatening future ones with the penalties of treason—a threat that was never attempted to be fulfilled (July). So the Americans gained their point, a point for which the early settlers had laboured, and for which the true men of the revolution had struggled—the protection of foreigners. Some months after the Treaty of Ghent, a treaty was made with the Indians of the Northwest. Such as had been at war agreed to bury the tomahawk, and to join with such as had been at peace in new relations with the United States (September).

Another treaty had been made by this time. It was with the dey of Algiers, who had gone to war with the United States in the same year that Great Britain did. The United States, however, had paid no attention to the inferior enemy until relieved of the superior. Then war was declared, and a fleet despatched, under Commodore Decatur, by which captures were made, and terms dictated to the Algerine. The treaty not only surrendered all American prisoners, and indemnified all American losses in the war, but renounced the claim of tribute on the part of Algiers (June). Tunis and Tripoli being brought to terms, the United States were no longer tributary to pirates.

There had been strength enough to deal the blow against Algiers. But the nation was in a state of nearly complete exhaustion. This remark is not meant to apply to individual cases of embarrassment and destitution produced by the war; for while many had lost, as many more had gained a competence or a fortune. But the nation, as a whole, was, for the moment, exhausted. Madison had been re-elected president, with Elbridge Gerry as vice-president, in the first year of the war with Great Britain. If he really consented to war as the price of his re-election, he had had his reward. The difficulties of his second term weighed upon him, crushed him. He welcomed peace, as his party welcomed it—in fact, as the whole nation welcomed it—with the same sensations of relief that men would feel in an earthquake, when the earth, yawning at their feet, suddenly closed. To see from what the government and the nation were saved, it is sufficient to read that systems of conscription for the army and of impressment for the navy were amongst the projects pending at the close of a war which had increased the public debt by \$120,000,000.^f The war of 1812 settled two great questions within the United States. For the first time in its history the American people in 1815 realised its nationality. The party favourable to England lost credit even in its stronghold. After 1815 the Federalist party steadily declined, until in 1820 it cast not one electoral vote. Since 1815 the United States has held resolutely aloof from foreign complications. The American people ceased to be provincial and viewed affairs thenceforward from a national stand-point. The War of 1812, therefore, has been often and correctly called the Second War of Independence.^{hh}

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RESULTS OF THE WAR OF 1812¹

Neither side succeeded in doing what it intended. Americans declared that Canada must and should be conquered, but the conquering came quite as near being the other way. British writers insisted that the American navy should be swept from the seas; and during the sweeping process it increased fourfold.

When the United States declared war, Great Britain was straining every nerve and muscle in a death-struggle with the most formidable military despotism of modern times, and was obliged to intrust the defence of her Canadian colonies to a mere handful of regulars, aided by the local fencibles. But congress had provided even fewer trained soldiers, and relied on militia. The latter chiefly exercised their fighting abilities upon one another in duelling, and, as a rule, were afflicted with conscientious scruples whenever it was necessary to cross the frontier and attack the enemy. Accordingly, the campaign opened with the bloodless surrender of an American general to a much inferior British force, and the war continued much as it had begun; we suffered disgrace after disgrace, while the losses we inflicted, in turn, on Great Britain were so slight as hardly to attract her attention. At last, having crushed her greater foe, she turned to crush the lesser, and, in her turn, suffered ignominious defeat. By this time events had gradually developed a small number of soldiers on our northern frontier, who, commanded by Scott and Brown, were able to contend on equal terms with the veteran troops to whom they were opposed, though these formed part of what was then undoubtedly the most formidable fighting infantry any European nation possessed. The battles at this period of the struggle were remarkable for the skill and stubborn courage with which they were waged, as well as for the heavy loss involved; but the number of combatants was so small that in Europe they would have been regarded as mere outpost skirmishes, and they wholly failed to attract any attention abroad in that period of colossal armies.

In summing up the results of the struggle on the ocean it is to be noticed that very little was attempted, and nothing done, by the American navy that could materially affect the result of the war. Commodore Rodgers' expedition after the Jamaica Plate fleet failed; both the efforts to get a small squadron into the East Indian waters also miscarried; and otherwise the whole history of the struggle on the ocean is, as regards the Americans, only the record of individual cruises and fights. The material results were not very great, at least in their effect on Great Britain, whose enormous navy did not feel in the slightest degree the loss of a few frigates and sloops. But morally the result was of inestimable benefit to the United States. The victories kept up the spirits of the people, cast down by the defeats on land; practically decided in favour of the Americans the chief question in dispute—Great Britain's right of search and impressment—and gave the navy and thereby the country a world-wide reputation. I doubt if ever before a nation gained so much honour by a few single-ship duels; for there can be no question which side came out of the war with the greatest credit. The damage inflicted by each on the other was not very equal in amount, but the balance was certainly in favour of the United States, as can be seen

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by the following tables, for the details of which reference can be made to the various years:

CAUSED	AMERICAN LOSS		BRITISH LOSS	
	TONNAGE	GUNS	TONNAGE	GUNS
By ocean cruisers	5,984	278	8,451	351
On the lakes	727	37	4,159	212
By the army	3,007	116	500	22
By privateers			402	20
Total	9,718	431	13,512	605

In addition we lost four revenue-cutters, mounting twenty-four guns, and, in the aggregate, of three hundred and eighty-seven tons, and also twenty-five gunboats, with seventy-one guns, and, in the aggregate, of nearly two thousand tons. This would swell our loss to twelve thousand one hundred and five tons and five hundred and twenty-six guns;¹ but the loss of the revenue-cutters and gunboats can fairly be considered to be counterbalanced by the capture or destruction of the various British royal packets (all armed with from two to ten guns), tenders, barges, etc., which would be in the aggregate of at least as great tonnage and gun force, and with more numerous crews.

But the comparative material loss gives no idea of the comparative honour gained. The British navy, numbering at the outset a thousand cruisers,

¹ This differs greatly from the figures given by James in his *Naval Occurrences*. He makes the American loss 14,844 tons and 660 guns. His list includes, for example, the "*Growler* and the *Hamilton*, upset in carrying sail to avoid Sir James' fleet"; it would be quite as reasonable to put down the loss of the *Royal George* to the credit of the French. Then he mentions the *Julia* and the *Growler*, which were recaptured; the *Asp*, which was also recaptured; the "*New York*, 46, destroyed at Washington," which was not destroyed or harmed in any way, and which, moreover, was a condemned hulk; the "*Boston*, 42 [in reality 32], destroyed at Washington," which had been a condemned hulk for ten years, and had no guns or anything else in her, and was as much a loss to our navy as the fishing up and burning of an old wreck would have been; and eight gunboats whose destruction was either mythical, or else which were not national vessels. By deducting all these we reduce James' total by 120 guns and 2,600 tons; and a few alterations (such as excluding the swivels in the *President's* tops, which he counts, etc.) brings his number down to that given above—and also affords a good idea of the value to be attached to his figures and tables. The British loss he gives at but 530 guns and 10,273 tons. He omits the 24-gun ship burned by Chauncey at York, although including the frigate and corvette burned by Ross at Washington; if the former is excluded the two latter should be, which would make the balance still more in favour of the Americans. He omits the guns of the *Gloucester*, because they had been taken out of her and placed in battery on the shore, but he includes those of the *Adams*, which had been served in precisely the same way. He omits all reference to the British 14-gun schooner burned on Ontario, and to all 3- and 4-gun sloops and schooners captured there, although including the corresponding American vessels. The reason that he so much underestimates the tonnage, especially on the lakes, I have elsewhere discussed. His tables of the relative loss in men are even more erroneous, exaggerating that of the Americans and greatly underestimating that of the British; but I have not tabulated this, on account of the impossibility of getting fair estimates of the killed and wounded in the cutting-out expeditions and the difficulty of enumerating the prisoners taken in descents, etc. Roughly, about 2,700 Americans and 3,800 British were captured; the comparative loss in killed and wounded stood much more in our favour.

I have excluded from the British loss the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia* and schooner *Nancy* (aggregating ten guns and about 500 tons) destroyed on the upper lakes, because I hardly know whether they could be considered national vessels; the schooner *Highflyer*, of eight guns, forty men, and 209 tons, taken by Rodgers, because she seems to have been merely a tender; and the *Dominica*, 15, of seventy-seven men and 270 tons, because her captor, the privateer *Decatur*, though nominally an American, was really a French vessel. Of course both tables are only approximately exact; but at any rate the balance of damage and loss was over four to three in our favour.

had accomplished less than the American, which numbered but a dozen. Moreover, most of the loss suffered by the former was in single fight, while this had been but twice the case with the Americans, who had generally been overwhelmed by numbers. Of the twelve single-ship actions, two (those of the *Argus* and the *Chesapeake*) undoubtedly redounded most to the credit of the British, in two (that of the *Wasp* with the *Reindeer*, and that of the *Enterprise* with the *Boxer*) the honours were nearly even, and in the other eight the superiority of the Americans was very manifest.

In the American navy, unlike the British, there was no impressment; the sailor was a volunteer, and he shipped in whatever craft his fancy selected. Throughout the war there were no "picked crews" on the American side, excepting on the last two cruises of the *Constitution*, James' statement to the contrary being in every case utterly without foundation. One of the standard statements made by the British historians about the war is that our ships were mainly or largely manned by British sailors. This, if true, would not interfere with the lessons which it teaches; and, besides that, it is not true.^{bb}





CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

[1814-1848 A.D.]

At last, after a period of five-and-twenty years, the people of the United States were free to attend to their own concerns in their own way, unmolested by foreign nations. From 1793 to 1815 the questions which occupied the public mind were neutral rights, orders in council, French decrees, impressment, embargoes, treaties, non-intercourse acts, admiralty decisions, blockades, the conduct of England, the conduct of France, the insolence of the French Directory, the triumphs, the ambition, and the treachery of Napoleon. Henceforth for many years to come, the questions of the day were to be the state of the currency, the national bank, manufactures, the tariff, internal improvements, interstate commerce, the public lands, the astonishing growth of the West, the rights of the states, extension of slavery, and the true place of the supreme court in the system of government. On the day, therefore, when Madison issued his proclamation announcing peace, a new era in the national history was opened.—JOHN BACH McMASTER.^b

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR; MONROE'S PRESIDENCY

THE idea that the United States emerged from the contest with Great Britain with its citizens self-satisfied, and strangers applauding, is certainly a grateful one. But it is difficult to find the authority upon which it rests. To begin with foreign powers, and with the one most likely to be impressed with American grandeur—Great Britain—she appears absorbed in other interests of much larger importance in her eyes. A commercial convention was framed in the summer following the peace; but it left many matters undetermined, many unsatisfactorily determined. As for the negotiations ordered by the Treaty of Ghent, they were begun upon, yet so idly that conclusions were not reached for years and years. Other nations showed even less inclination to come to terms. France, Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden were all in arrears on the score of indemnities for spolia-

tions upon American commerce; and most of them remained in arrears until a subsequent period. An act of congress invited maritime powers to abandon the restrictions hitherto placed upon commerce; but the invitation was by no means generally accepted (March, 1815).

At home, affairs were in an equally unsettled state. The war establishment was lowered; a new tariff was adopted at once, to increase the revenue of the government and to encourage the industry of the people; the system of taxation was reformed by the gradual abolition of direct and internal taxes. To aid in restoring the currency, and in directing the finances generally, a new Bank of the United States was chartered (March, 1816). All this was not done in a day; nor was there any instantaneous revival of commerce and of industry. On the contrary, periods of depression recurred, in which individual fortunes vanished and national resources failed. But the general tendency was towards recovery from the disorders into which the country had been plunged by the recent war.

Madison's troubled administration came to an end. James Monroe was the president for the next eight years (1817-1825), with Daniel D. Tompkins as vice-president. Monroe, once an extreme but latterly a moderate republican, so far conciliated all parties as to be re-elected with but one electoral vote against him. Old parties were dying out. The great question of the period, to be set forth presently, was one with which republicans and federalists, as such, had nothing to do.

THE SEMINOLE WAR AND ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

The new administration had but just opened, when the Seminole War, as it was styled, broke out with the Creeks of Georgia and Florida. Conflicts between the borderers and some of the Indians lingering in the territory ceded several years before led to a determination of the United States government to clear the country of the hostile tribes (November, 1817). A war, of course, ensued, beginning with massacres on both sides, and ending with a spoiling, burning, slaying expedition, half militia and half Indians, under General Andrew Jackson, the conqueror of the Creeks in the preceding war (March, 1818). On the pretext that the Spanish authorities countenanced the hostilities of the Indians, Jackson took St. Mark's and Pensacola, not without some ideas of seizing even St. Augustine. He also put to death, within the Spanish limits, two British subjects accused of stirring up the Indians (March, May), so that the war, though called the Seminole, might as well be called the Florida War. The Spanish minister protested against the invasion of the Florida Territory, of which the restitution was immediately ordered at Washington, though not without approbation of the course pursued by Jackson.

Florida was a sore spot on more accounts than one. The old trouble of boundaries had never been settled; but that was a trifle compared with the later troubles arising from fugitive criminals, fugitive slaves, smugglers, pirates, and, as recently shown, Indians, to whom Florida furnished not only a refuge but a starting-point. The Spanish authorities, themselves by no means inclined to respect their neighbours of the United States, had no power to make others respect them. Former difficulties, especially those upon American indemnities, were not settled; while new ones had gathered in consequence of South American revolutions, and North American dispositions to side with the revolutionists. The proposal of an earlier time

[1819-1821 A.D.]

to purchase Florida was renewed by the United States. A treaty was concluded. On the payment of \$5,000,000 by the American government to citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain, that power agreed to relinquish the Floridas, East and West (February 22nd, 1819). It was nearly two years, however, before Spain ratified the treaty, and fully two before Florida Territory formed a part of the United States (1821).

THE SLAVERY QUESTION; THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES

The state of Connecticut, hitherto content with her charter government, at length adopted a new constitution, in which there was but little improvement upon the old one, except in making suffrage general and the support of a church system voluntary (1818). New constitutions and new states were constantly in process of formation. Indiana (December 11th, 1816), Mississippi (December 10th, 1817), Illinois (December 3rd, 1818), and Alabama (December 14th, 1819), all became members of the Union. The eastern half of the Mississippi Territory had become the territory of Alabama in 1817.

Before the definite accession of Alabama, Missouri was proposed as a candidate for admission. It was a slaveholding territory. But when the preliminary steps to its becoming a state were begun upon in congress, a New York representative, James Tallmadge, moved that no more slaves should be brought in, and that the children of those already there should be liberated at the age of twenty-five. On the failure of this motion, another New York representative, John W. Taylor, moved to prohibit slavery in the entire territory to the north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. This, too, was lost. A bill setting off the portion of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just named, as the territory of Arkansas, was passed. But nothing was done towards establishing the state of Missouri (February, March, 1819).

Nothing, unless it were the debate, in which the question at issue became clear. There were two reasons, it then appeared, for making Missouri a free state; one, that it was the turn for a free state, the last (Alabama)¹ having been a slave state; while, of the eight admitted since the constitution, four had been free and four slave states. Another and a broader reason was urged, to the effect that slavery ought not to be permitted in any state or territory where it could be prohibited. On this, the northern views were the more earnest, in that the nation had committed itself by successive acts to a course too tolerant, if not too favourable, towards slavery. First, it will be recollected, came the organisation of the territory south of the Ohio; next, that of the Mississippi Territory; and afterwards, the acquisition and the organisation of Louisiana. All these proceedings were national, and all either acknowledged or extended the area of slavery. Kentucky had been admitted a slave state as a part of Virginia; Mississippi and Alabama as parts of the Mississippi Territory. To carry out the same course would have insured the admission of Missouri as a part of the Louisiana acquisition; and on this the southern members strongly insisted. To this, on the contrary, the North demurred, determined, if possible, to stop the movement that had thus far prevailed.

Greater stress was laid on the constitutional argument. The proposal to oblige Missouri to become a free state, said the advocates of slavery, is

¹ Not yet actually admitted, but authorised to apply for admission in the usual way.

a violation of the constitution. That sovereign authority, they declared, leaves the state itself in all cases to settle the matter of slavery, as well as all other matters not expressly subjected to the general government. To this a twofold answer was returned: first, that Missouri was not a state, but a territory, and therefore subject to the control of congress; and, second, that even if regarded as a state, she would not be one of the original thirteen, to which alone belonged the powers reserved under the constitution. Therefore congress could deal with her as it pleased. It was moreover argued that congress ought to arrest the progress of slavery, as a point upon which the national welfare was staked; a point, therefore, to which the authority of the general government was expressly and indispensably applicable according to the constitution.

Had it been an outbreak of hostilities, had it been a march of one half the country against the other, there could hardly have been a more intense agitation. The attempted prohibition of slavery was denounced in congress as the preliminary to a negro massacre, to a civil war, to a dissolution of the Union. Out of congress, it provoked such language as that used by the aged Jefferson: "The Missouri question," he wrote, "is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question."¹ Public meetings were held; those at the South to repel the interference of the North, those at the North to rebuke the pretensions of the South. The dispute extended into the tribunals and the legislatures of the states, the northern declaring that Missouri must be for freemen only, the southern that it must be for freemen and for slaves.

So stood the matter as the year drew to a close and congress reassembled. A new turn was then given to the question, by the application of Maine to be received as a state, Massachusetts having consented to the separation. "Here, then, is the free state to match with Alabama," exclaimed the partisans of slavery in Missouri; "now give us our slave state." But the opponents of slavery did not yield; they had planted themselves on principles, they said, not on numbers. At this the South was naturally indignant. It had been a plea all along that a free state was due to the North; and now, when one was forthcoming, two were claimed. If the reply was made that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, was no addition to the northern strength, this did not content the South. Feelings of bitterness and of injustice were aroused between both parties; both drew farther apart. If peace did not come, war would, and that soon.

The senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, that is, without any restriction upon slavery. But a clause introduced on the motion of Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, prohibited the introduction of slavery into any portion of the Louisiana territory as yet unorganised, leaving Louisiana the state and Arkansas the territory, as well as Missouri, just what they were, that is, slaveholding. This was the Missouri Compromise. It came from the North. On the part of the North, it yielded the claim to Missouri as a free state; on the part of the South, it yielded the claim to the immensely larger regions which stretched above and beyond Missouri to the Pacific. The line of 36° 30', proposed the year before, was again proposed, save only that Missouri, though north of the line, was to be a Southern state. Thus the senate determined, not without opposition from both sides. The house, on the contrary, adopted a bill, admitting

¹ Elsewhere Jefferson said that the outbreak of the slavery agitation came "like a fire-bell in the night."

[1820-1825 A.D.]

Missouri, separately from Maine, and under the northern restriction concerning slavery. Words continued to run high. But the proposal of the compromise augured the return of tranquillity. A committee of conference between the two branches of congress led to the agreement of both senate and house upon a bill admitting Missouri, after her constitution should be formed, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of 36° 30' (March 3rd, 1820). Maine was admitted at the same time (March 3rd-15th).

The compromise prohibited slavery in the designated region forever. This was the letter; but it was under different interpretations. When President Monroe consulted his cabinet upon the question of approving the act of congress, all but his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, inclined to read the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the territories, and not to the states that might arise within the prescribed boundaries. This was not a difference between northern and southern views, but one between strict and liberal constructions of the constitution; the strict construction going against all power in congress to restrict a state, while the liberal took the opposite ground. So with others besides the cabinet. Amongst the very men who voted for the compromise were many, doubtless, who understood it as applying to territories alone. The northern party, unquestionably, adopted it in its broader sense, preventing the state as well as the territory from establishing slavery. That there should be two senses attached to it from the beginning was a dark presage of future differences.

Present differences were not yet overcome. Missouri, rejoicing in becoming a slaveholding state, adopted a constitution which denied even free negroes the rights of citizens. On this being brought before congress towards the close of the year (1820), various tactics were adopted; the extreme southern party going for the immediate admission of the state, while the extreme northern side urged the overthrow of state, constitution, and compromise, together. Henry Clay, at the head of the moderate men, succeeded, after long exertions, in carrying a measure providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the states" (February, 1821). This was done, and Missouri became a state (August 10th).

The United States as a nation were far from insensible to the evils of slavery. Domestic slave trade was permitted and extended. But foreign slave trade, reviving to such a degree that upwards of fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported in a single year (1818), provoked general indignation. An act of congress declared fresh and severer penalties to attach to the slave dealer, while to his unhappy victims relief was offered in provisions for their return to their native country (1819). Another act denounced the traffic as piracy (1820). The same denunciation was urged upon foreign governments, one of which, Great Britain, prepared to enter into a convention for the purpose; but the convention fell through (1823-1824).

In the midst of its dissensions and its weakness, the nation was cheered by a visit from La Fayette. He came in compliance with a summons from the government to behold the work which he had assisted in beginning, near half a century before. From the day of his landing (August 16th, 1824) to that of his departure (September 7th, 1825), a period of more than a year, he was, as he described himself, "in a whirlwind of popular kindness of which it was impossible to have formed any previous conception, and in which everything that could touch and flatter one was mingled." To make some amends

for his early sacrifices, pecuniary as well as personal, in the American cause, congress voted La Fayette a township of the public domain, and a grant of \$200,000. He deserved all that could be bestowed.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE ¹

It was time for the nation to assume a more elevated attitude. No longer the solitary republic amidst encompassing domains of distant monarchies, the United States now formed one of a band of independent states, stretching from Canada to Patagonia. The others were the Central and South American colonies of Spain, which had spent years in insurrection and in war before their independence was recognised by their elder sister of the north (1822). Ministers plenipotentiary were at the same time appointed to Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili. As if to make amends for its delay, the administration resolved upon stretching out an arm of defence between the nascent states of the south and the threatening powers of Europe. The purpose of the European allies, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to come to the assistance of Spain, in subduing her insurgent colonies, was well known, when President Monroe, in his seventh annual message (December 2nd, 1823), announced that his administration had asserted in negotiations with Russia, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers. We owe it," continued the president, "to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Such was what has since been called the Monroe Doctrine though the author is known to have been the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, rather than the president. Far from its being intended to make the United States themselves the guardians or the rulers of America, the doctrine, as expounded by its real author, Adams, proposed "that each [American state] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders." The declaration of the president was designed simply to show that the nation undertook to countenance and to support the independence of its sister nations. As such, it was an honourable deed. Congress, however, declined to sustain it by any formal action.

Some time afterwards, when the author of the Monroe Doctrine had risen to the presidency, an invitation was received by the government from some of the Central and South American states to unite in a congress at Panama. The objects, ranging from mere commercial negotiations up to the Monroe

[¹ On this subject see also the essay in the present volume by A. B. Hart.]

[1825-1826 A.D.]

Doctrine, were rather indefinite; but Adams appointed two envoys, whom the senate confirmed, and for whom the house made the necessary appropriations, though not without great opposition (December, 1825-March, 1826). One of the envoys died, the other did not go upon his mission; so that the congress began and ended without any representation from the United States (June-July). It adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, near Mexico, in the beginning of the following year. The ministers of the United States repaired to the appointed place, and at the appointed time, but there was no congress. Thus terminated the vision of an American league. We can hardly estimate the consequences of its having been realised—on one side the perils to which the United States would have been exposed, and on the other the services which they might have rendered, amongst such confederates as those of Central and of South America.

PRESIDENCY OF J. Q. ADAMS; TARIFF COMPROMISE, AND NULLIFICATIONS

John Quincy Adams, the son of the second president, was elected by the house of representatives—the electoral college failing to make a choice—to succeed Monroe (1825). Andrew Jackson, a rival candidate, was chosen by the people at the next election (1829). John C. Calhoun was vice-president under both. Two men more unlike than Adams and Jackson, in associations and in principles, could hardly have been found amongst the politicians of the period. They resembled each other, however, in the resolution with which they met the dangers of their times.

The great question before the country for several years was one as old as the constitution; older, even, inasmuch as it occupied a chief place in the debates of the constitutional convention. It was the subordination of the state to the nation. The first occasion to revive the question and to invest it with fresh importance was a controversy between the national government and the government of Georgia. Many years had passed since that state consented to cede her western lands, including the present Alabama and Mississippi, on condition that the government would extinguish the Indian title to the territory of Georgia itself. Of twenty-five millions of acres then held by the Creek nation, fifteen had been bought up by the United States, and transferred to Georgia. Half of the remaining ten millions belonged to the Cherokees, and half to the Creeks, a nominal treaty with the latter of whom declared the United States possessors of all the Creek territory within the limits both of Georgia and of Alabama (1825). This treaty, however, agreed to by but one or two of the chiefs, provoked a general outbreak on the part of the Creeks. To pacify them, or rather to do common justice to them, the government first suspended the treaty, and then entered into a new one, by which the cession of land was confined to the Georgian territory. A longer time was also allowed for the removal of the Indians from the ceded country (April, 1826). What satisfied the Creeks dissatisfied the Georgians or their authorities. Governor Troup accused the administration of violating the law of the land, in the shape of the earlier treaty, hinting at anti-slavery motives for the course that had been taken, and calling upon the adjoining states to "stand by their arms." Not confining himself to protests or defensive measures, Troup sent surveyors into the Indian territory. President Adams communicated the matter to congress, asserting his intention "to enforce the laws and fulfil the duties of the nation by all the force committed for that purpose to his charge." Whereat the governor wrote to the secretary of war,

"From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy" (1827). [He also reported to the legislature that the slave states should "confederate."] Fortunately, the winds ceased. The state that had set itself against the nation more decidedly than had ever yet been done returned to its senses. As for the unhappy Indians, not only the Creeks, but all the other tribes that could be persuaded to move, were gradually transported to more distant territories in the West.

Other causes were operating to excite the states, or some of them, against the general government. Amidst the vicissitudes of industry and of trade through which the nation was passing, repeated attempts were made to steady affairs by a series of tariffs in favour of domestic productions. The first measure, intended to serve for protection rather than for revenue, was adopted in 1816. It was a duty, principally, upon cotton fabrics from abroad. Some years afterwards a new scale was framed, with provision against foreign woollens, as well as cottons (1824). This not turning out as advantageous to the home manufactures as was anticipated, an effort for additional protection was made; but at first in vain. On one side were the manufacturers, not merely of cotton and of woollen goods, but of iron, hemp, and a variety of other materials, clustered in the northern and central states; on the other were the merchants, the farmers, and the artisans of the same states, with almost the entire population of the agricultural South.

A convention of the manufacturing interests, attended by delegates from New England, the middle states, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, was held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. "We want protection," was the language used by the delegates, "and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition"; in which spirit they pressed what they called the American system upon the federal government (July-August, 1827). The administration, by the report of the secretary of the treasury, commended the subject to the favourable attention of congress. That body took it up, and after protracted discussions, consented, May 15th, 1828, to a tariff in which the system of protection was carried to its height. Its adversaries called the bill the "Bill of Abominations," many of which, however, were introduced by themselves, with the avowed intention of making the measure as odious and as short-lived as possible.^d

The tariff law was very obnoxious to the southern people. They denounced it as oppressive and unconstitutional, and it led to menaces of serious evils in 1831 and 1832. The presidential election took place in the autumn of 1828, when the public mind was highly excited. For a long time the opposing parties had been marshalling their forces for the contest. The candidates were John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson. The result was the defeat of Mr. Adams, and the election of General Jackson. John C. Calhoun,¹ of South Carolina, was elected vice-president, and both had very large majorities. During the contest the people appeared to be on the verge of civil war, so violent was the party strife, and so malignant were the denunciations of the candidates. When it was over perfect tranquillity prevailed, and the people acquiesced in the result. President Adams retired from office on the 4th of March, 1829. He left to his successor a legacy of unexampled national prosperity, peaceful relations with all the world, a greatly diminished

¹ John C. Calhoun was born in South Carolina in 1782. He first appeared in congress in 1811. He was especially distinguished for his support of slavery and of the doctrine of state rights, including nullification, the definite formulation of which is due to him. His personal virtues and mental abilities were of the highest class. He died in Washington, a member of the Senate, in March, 1850.

[1829 A.D.]

national debt, and a surplus of more than \$5,000,000 in the public treasury. There were incidents of peculiar interest connected with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson,¹ the seventh president of the United States.^e

WOODROW WILSON ON THE NEW JACKSONIAN ERA²

Many circumstances combine to mark the year 1829 as a turning-point in the history of the United States. The revolution in politics which signalises the presidency of Andrew Jackson as a new epoch in the history of the country was the culmination of a process of material growth and institutional expansion. The new nation was now in the first flush of assured success. It had definitively succeeded in planting new homes and creating new states throughout the wide stretches of the continent which lay between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi.

The election of Andrew Jackson marked a point of significant change in American politics—a change in *personnel* and in spirit, in substance and in method. Colonial America, seeking to construct a union, had become national America, seeking to realise and develop her united strength, and to express her new life in a new course of politics. The states which had originally drawn together to form the Union now found themselves caught in a great national drift, the direction of their development determined by forces as pervasive and irresistible as they were singular and ominous. Almost immediately upon entering the period of Jackson's administrations, the student finds himself, as if by a sudden turn, in the great highway of legislative and executive policy which leads directly to the period of the civil war, and, beyond that, to the United States of our own day. More significant still, a new spirit and method appear in the contests of parties. The "spoils system" of appointment to office is introduced into national administration, and personal allegiance is made the discipline of national party organisation. All signs indicate the beginning of a new period.

The old school of politicians had been greatly thinned by death, and was soon to disappear altogether. The traditions of statesmanship which they had cherished were to lose neither dignity nor vigour in the speech and conduct of men like Webster and the better New England federalists; but they were to be constrained to adapt themselves to radically novel circumstances. Underneath the conservative initiative and policy of the earlier years of the government there had all along been working the potent leaven of democracy, slowly but radically changing conditions both social and political, foreshadowing a revolution in political method, presaging the overthrow of the

¹ Andrew Jackson was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in March, 1767. His parents were from the north of Ireland, and belonged to that Protestant community known as Scotch-Irish. In earliest infancy he was left to the care of an excellent mother, by the death of his father. He first saw the horrors of war and felt the wrongs of oppression when Colonel Buford's troops were massacred in his neighbourhood in 1780. He entered the army and suffered in the cause of freedom by imprisonment and the death of his mother while she was on an errand of mercy. He studied law, and became one of the most eminent men in the western district of Tennessee, as an advocate and a judge. He was ever a controlling spirit in that region. He assisted in framing a state constitution for Tennessee, and was the first representative of that state in the federal congress. He became United States senator in 1797, and was soon afterwards appointed judge of the supreme court of his state. He settled near Nashville, and for a long time was chief military commander in that region. When the War of 1812 broke out he took the field, and in the capacity of major-general he did good service in the southern country till its close. He was appointed the first governor of Florida in 1821, and in 1823 was again in the United States senate.

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"money-power" of the federalist mercantile classes, and antagonism towards all too conspicuous vested interests.

The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The president, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organised upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes.

Hamilton, not only the chief administrative architect of the government, but also the author of the graver and more lasting parts of its policy in the critical formative period of its infancy, had consciously and avowedly sought to commend it by its measures first of all and principally to the moneyed classes—to the men of the cities, to whom it must look for financial support. That such a policy was eminently wise there can of course be no question. But it was not eminently democratic. There can be a moneyed aristocracy, but there cannot be a moneyed democracy. There were ruling classes in that day, and it was imperatively necessary that their interest should be at once and thoroughly enlisted. But there was a majority also, and it was from that majority that the nation was to derive its real energy and character. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams the old federal hierarchy remained virtually intact; the conservative, cultivated, propertied classes of New England and the South practically held the government as their own. But with Jefferson there came the first assertion of the force which was to transform American politics—the force of democracy.

The old federalist party, the party of banks, of commercial treaties, of conservative tradition, was not destined to live in a country every day developing a larger "West," tending some day to be chiefly "West." For, as was to have been expected, the political example of the new states was altogether and unreservedly on the side of unrestricted popular privilege. In all of the original thirteen states there were at first important limitations upon the suffrage. In this point their constitutions were not copied by the new states; these from the first made their suffrage universal. And their example reacted powerfully upon the East. Constitutional revision soon began in the old states, and constitutional revision in every case meant, among other things, an extension of the suffrage. Parties in the East speedily felt the change. No longer protected by a property qualification, aristocracies like that of New England, where the clergy and the lawyers held respectable people together in ordered party array, went rapidly to pieces, and popular majorities began everywhere to make their weight tell in the conduct of affairs.

Monroe's terms of office served as a sort of intermediate season for parties—a period of disintegration and germination. Apparently it was a time of political unity, an "era of good feeling," when all men were of one party and of one mind. But this was only upon the surface.

By the presidential campaign of 1824 party politics were given a more definite form and direction. New England made it known that her candidate was John Quincy Adams; Clay was put forward by political friends in the

[1824-1829 A.D.]

legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio; the legislators of Tennessee and many state conventions in other parts of the country put Andrew Jackson in nomination. The results of the election were not a little novel and startling. It had been a great innovation that a man like Andrew Jackson should be nominated at all. No other candidate had ever been put forward who had not served a long apprenticeship and won honourable reputation as a statesman in the public service. There had even been established a sort of succession to the presidency. Jefferson had been Washington's secretary of state; Madison, Jefferson's; Monroe, Madison's. In this line of succession John Quincy Adams was the only legitimate candidate, for he was secretary of state under Monroe. Jackson had never been anything of national importance except a successful soldier. It was absolutely startling that he should receive more electoral votes than any of the other candidates. And yet so it happened. Jackson received 99 votes, while only 84 were cast for Adams, 41 for Crawford, 37 for Clay. It was perhaps significant, too, that these votes came more directly from the people than ever before. No one of the candidates having received an absolute majority of the electoral vote, the election went into the house of representatives, where, with the aid of Clay's friends, Adams was chosen. It was then that the significance of the popular majority received its full emphasis. The friends of Jackson protested that the popular will had been disregarded, and their candidate shamefully, even corruptly, they believed, cheated of his rights. The dogma of popular sovereignty received a new and extraordinary application, fraught with important consequences. Jackson, it was argued, being the choice of the people, was "entitled" to the presidency. From a constitutional point of view the doctrine was nothing less than revolutionary. It marked the rise of a democratic theory very far advanced beyond that of Jefferson's party, and destined again and again to assert itself as against strict constitutional principle.

The supporters of Jackson did not for a moment accept the event of the election of 1825 as decisive. The "sovereignty of the people"—that is, of the vote cast for Jackson—should yet be vindicated. The new administration was hardly seven months old before the legislature of Tennessee renewed its nomination of Jackson for the presidency. The "campaign of 1828" may be said to have begun in 1825. For three whole years a contest, characterised by unprecedented virulence, and pushed in some quarters by novel and ominous methods, stirred the country into keen partisan excitement. A new discipline and principle of allegiance was introduced into national politics. In New York and Pennsylvania there had already sprung into existence that machinery of local committees, nominating caucuses, primaries, and conventions with which later times have made us so familiar; and then, as now, this was a machinery whose use and reason for existence were revealed in the distribution of offices as rewards for party service. The chief masters of its uses were "Jackson men," and the success of their party in 1828 resulted in the nationalisation of their methods.

JACKSON AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Jackson came into office to devote himself at first to those who had elected him. Never before had the nation been under so professedly a party rule. Its subjection was proved by the removals from office of such as had served under the previous administrations. In all the forty years that had elapsed

since the opening of the government, the successive presidents had removed just sixty-four public officers, and no more. Jackson turned out the servants of the government by the hundred. This imprinting a partisan character upon the administration was far from being unacceptable to the majority of the nation. It was but just, they argued, that the inferior officers should be of the same views as the superior; otherwise there could be no harmony. A great deal of stress, moreover, was laid upon the necessity of reforming the administration, the alleged extravagance of Adams' time having been sounded all over the land by the partisans of Jackson. The clamour of the opposition against either cause of removal can be conceived.

The great question between the power of the state and the power of the nation was still open. Jackson entered into it with concessions to the state. When the Creeks of Georgia were disposed of, there still remained the Cherokees of the same and the neighbouring states. This tribe, far from being inclined to leave its habitations, was so much inclined to settling where it was, as to adopt a formal constitution (1827). At this, Georgia lost patience, and asserted her jurisdiction over the Cherokees, at the same time dividing their territory, and annexing it in portions to the counties of the state (1828-1830). Much the same course was taken by Alabama and Mississippi in relation to the Indians within their borders (1829-1830). In these circumstances, the position of the general government was this: that it had always undertaken to treat with the Indians, to protect or to molest them, as the case might be, but in no event leaving them to the action of any separate part of the nation. Instead of maintaining this position in relation to the southern Indians, the president, supported by congress, yielded it altogether, upon the ground that the Cherokee constitution was the erection of a new state within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. It would have been well had Georgia contented herself with the Indians thus surrendered to her. But she must needs interfere with the whites, the very missionaries of the Indian territory, and imprison them in her penitentiary for not taking the oath of allegiance which she demanded (1831). Their case was carried before the United States supreme court, which decided against the course of Georgia with regard to both missionaries and Indians (1832). But the Indians obtained no redress; nor did the missionaries, until they abandoned their proceedings against the sovereign state (1833).

More serious points in relation to the question between the states and the general government had arisen. The first message of President Jackson (December, 1829) suggested a modification of the tariff adopted the year before. It was another concession, on his part, to the state claims. But it was not made without cause. The system of protection, once opposed and favoured by the North and by the South together, had come to be a favourite of the North, and an object of opposition to the South. But the result for the present, so far as the tariff was concerned, consisted in a few unimportant modifications (May, 1830).

THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE; NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

At the same time a resolution before the senate was indefinitely postponed, after having elicited a remarkable debate upon the points at issue before the country. It had been brought forward by Senator Foot, of Connecticut, just at the close of the previous year (December 29th, 1829), with a view to some arrangement concerning the sale of the public lands. But the public

[1830-1832 A.D.]

lands were soon lost sight of in a discussion involving the relative powers of the states and the national government. Robert Y. Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, took the ground that a state possessed the right of nullifying any act of congress which it should consider unconstitutional, inasmuch as the government, whereof congress was a part, resulted from a compact amongst the states. The opposite theory, that the government was established by the people of the United States as a whole, and not by the states as separate members, was taken chiefly by Daniel Webster, some years before a representative of his native New Hampshire, at present a senator from his adopted Massachusetts. The great speech of Webster (January 26th-27th, 1830) was, without contradiction, the ablest plea that had ever been made for the national character as well as the national government. It decided the fact, so far as argument in the senate chamber could do, that the general government, in its proper functions, is independent of all local institutions. As a necessary consequence, the claim of a state to nullify an act of congress fell to the ground. "I trust," said Webster, near the beginning of the following year, "the crisis has in some measure passed by." It was not the last time, however, that he had to raise his powerful voice in the defence of the constitution.

A year or more elapsed before the subject of the tariff was called up again. It was then decided by congress and the president to revise the provisions against which the South was still contending. Without abandoning the protective system, which, on the contrary, was distinctly maintained, the duties upon many of the protected articles were reduced, in order to satisfy the opponents of protection (July, 1832). Far from diverting the storm, the action upon the tariff did but hasten its approach. The legislature of South Carolina summoned a convention of the state, which met at Columbia, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton (November 19th). A few days sufficed to pass an ordinance declaring:

That the several acts, and parts of acts, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties on importation are unauthorised by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the state of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; and that it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the congress of the United States within the limits of the state.

In all this there was nothing new to the nation. From the time when Kentucky and Virginia began upon a similar course, from the time when Massachusetts and Connecticut continued it, down to the more recent acts of Georgia and of South Carolina herself, nullification, in nominal if not in actual existence, had stalked throughout the land. A state that felt itself aggrieved by the general government was very apt to take to resolutions, often to positive statutes, against the laws or the measures of the Union. But South Carolina went further than any of her predecessors:

We, the people of South Carolina [concluded the ordinance of the convention] do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the federal government, to reduce this state to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by congress of any act to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government.

This was something more than nullification; it was secession. It has been very common to exclaim against the conduct of South Carolina. But with

the principles which she professed, supporting the claims of the state to be a sovereign member of a national confederacy, it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. If we would censure anything, it must be the principles which led to nullification and to secession, rather than these, the mere and the inevitable results. In itself, as an instance of resolution against what was deemed injustice and oppression, the attitude of South Carolina is no object of indignation. On the contrary, there is something thrilling in the aspect of a people perilling their all to sustain their rights, even though they were mistaken as to what their rights really were. "The die has been at last cast," the governor informed the legislature, assembled a day or two after the adoption of the ordinance by the convention, "and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy." The legislature unhesitatingly responded to the convention in a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties, and providing for the employment of volunteers, or, if need were, of the entire militia, in the defence of the state.

If the state was resolute, the general government was no less so. The president was in his element. A crisis which he was eminently adapted to meet had arrived. It called forth all his independence, all his nationality. Other men—more than one of his predecessors—would have doubted the course to be pursued; they would have stayed to inquire into the powers of the constitution, or to count the resources of the government; nay, had they been consistent, they would have inclined to the support, rather than to the overthrow, of the South Carolina doctrine. Jackson did not waver an instant. He took his own counsel, as he was wont to do, and declared for the nation against the state; then ordered troops and a national vessel to the support of the government officers in South Carolina.

No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed [thus the president declared in a proclamation]; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, but to warn the citizens of South Carolina that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose right they affect to support.

The appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible in coming from one of themselves, as it were; Jackson being a native of their state. Addressing congress in an elaborate message (January 16th, 1833), the president argued down both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a state in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside, wants only the form to be independent of the Union." Congress responded, after some delay, by an enforcing act, the primary object of which was to secure the collection of the customs in the South Carolina ports. Thus united stood the government in sustaining itself against the state by which it was defied. Nor did it stand alone. One after another, the states, by legislative or by individual proceedings, came out in support of the national principle. The principle of state sovereignty, that might have found support but for the extremity to which it had been pushed, seemed to be abandoned. South Carolina was left to herself, even by her neighbours, usually prone to take the same side. Only Virginia came forward, appealing to the government as well as to South Carolina to be done with strife.

The tariff was openly condemned by North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; the last state proposing a southern convention, to take some measures of resistance to the continuance of a system so unconstitutional. It

[1829-1833 A.D.]

became plainer and plainer that if South Carolina was to be brought to terms by any other way than by force, or if her sister states of the South were to be kept from joining her sooner or later, it must be by some modification of the tariff. A bill was brought forward in the house, but without any immediate result. Henry Clay took the matter up in the senate. He had distinguished himself as the advocate of the Missouri Compromise. He was the author, in consultation with others, of the tariff compromise. This proposed that the duties on all imports exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years (till June 30th, 1842). "I wish," said Clay, "to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws." Had there been no other motive for his course, this would have been enough to stamp it with wisdom. Others felt as he did. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was disposed of without protracted struggles. The measure was supported by very general approval, not excepting the representatives of South Carolina, at the head of whom was Calhoun, lately surrendering the vice-presidency in order to represent his state in the senate. The compromise became a law (March 2nd), and South Carolina returned to her allegiance. "The lightning," as one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, was "drawn out from the clouds which were lowering over the country."

Like all other compromises, the tariff compromise did not bring about an absolute decision of the points of controversy. To the opponents of protection it abated the amount of protection. To the champions of the protective system it secured the right of laying duties, but at the same time decided against the expediency, if not the right, of excessive duties. As for the subject that lay behind the tariff, not concealed, but overtopping it by an immensity of height, this, too, was decided in the same general way. The subordination of the state to the nation was not defined. But it was established on principles which no nullification could disturb, and no secession break asunder, except in national ruin.

JACKSON'S STRUGGLE WITH THE BANK AND THE FINANCIAL DISORDERS

Few matters are more important to a nation—especially to a money-making nation—than its finance. This being in a sound condition, the course of government and of the people is so far smoothed and secured. But if it is disturbed, either by those in authority or by those engaged in speculations of their own, the whole country suffers. Time and again had these things been proved in the United States; a fresh and a fearful proof was soon to occur. The administration of Jackson had but just begun (1829), when an attempt was made to interfere with the appointments in the United States Bank. The resistance of the bank is supposed to have excited the displeasure of the president, who, at all events, took occasion in his first message to throw out suggestions against the renewal of the bank charter, although this was not to expire for six or seven years to come. Congress, instead of complying with the presidential recommendation, showed a decided determination to sustain the bank. The next congress voted to renew the charter, but the president immediately interposed with a veto (July, 1832). Amidst many sound objections on his part was mingled much that must be set down as prejudice, not to say extravagance; he even went so far as to suppose the bank to be dangerous "to our liberty and independence."

Not content with opposing the rechartering of the bank, the president determined to humble it before its charter expired. To this, it must be confessed, he was in some degree goaded by the unsparing bitterness with which his veto had been assailed. On the other hand, the triumphant re-election of Jackson in 1832 by a large majority over Henry Clay, and with his right-hand man, Martin Van Buren, for vice-president, assured him of a support which would not fail him in any measures he might pursue. In his next message (December, 1832) he recommended the removal of the treasury deposits from the custody of the bank, but without obtaining the co-operation of congress. Things went on as they were until the early autumn of the following year, when (September, 1833) the president announced to his cabinet his resolution to remove the deposits on his own responsibility, assigning for his principal reasons the electioneering procedures against his administration, of which the bank was suspected, and the necessity of providing for some new method of managing the public revenue before the expiration of the charter incapacitated the bank from serving as it had hitherto done. The terms of the charter provided that the power of recalling the deposits lay with the secretary of the treasury. The secretary then in office, William J. Duane, declined to have anything to do with the removal. Two days afterwards he was displaced to make room for Roger B. Taney, then attorney-general, and subsequently chief-justice of the United States. The new secretary, not sharing the scruples of his predecessor, issued the proper order for the removal of the deposits at the time indicated by the president (October 1st).

Of the agitation attending these events it is difficult to conceive at this distance of time. If we account for the suspicions of the president against the bank, there still remain the accusations from the bank and from its friends against the president to be explained. Had Jackson declared himself the lord and master of the United States, there could scarcely have been a greater uproar. In the senate, at the instigation of Henry Clay, a resolve was adopted, "that the president, in the late executive proceeding in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both" (March, 1834). The same day Daniel Webster remarked, "Let all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country, stand together for the supremacy of the laws." Against the sentence of the senate, passed upon him without a hearing, the president issued a protest, as a "substitute for that defence which," said he, "I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form" (April). So one extreme led to another, until, near three years later, it was made a party measure to expunge from the records of the senate the resolution of censure (January, 1837).

As for the bank itself, it "waged war," said the president afterwards, "upon the people, in order to compel them to submit to its demands." It certainly appeared to do so; but the course taken by it was quite as much a defensive as an offensive one. The loss of the deposits involved a contraction of loans. These contractions affected other banks, which were obliged to curtail their own operations, until credit sank, capitalists failed, and labourers ceased to be employed. The sufferers turned against both sides—a part against the bank, which was represented as a monstrous despotism; a part against the president, who was represented as an equally monstrous despot. We seem to read of a nation gone wild, in reading of these things as they are told by their contemporaries.

While individuals were suffering, the government was in a state of repletion. Not only was the public debt entirely paid off (1835), but a large balance

[1830-1836 A.D.]

was left in the banks to which the public moneys had been transferred from the United States Bank. It was resolved by the administration to deposit, as the phrase went, all but a reserve of \$5,000,000 with the states, to be used according to their different circumstances (1836). A sum of \$28,000,000 was thus distributed, the states generally understanding that the share which each received was its own, not merely to be employed but to be retained (1837). Nothing was ever recalled by the government, great as its embarrassments soon became.

Into the old fissure between the North and the South a new wedge was driven during the present period. The action, hitherto confined to meetings and memorials, extended itself in publications, pamphlets, and newspapers, of which the movements were no longer occasional, but continuous and systematic (1832). This was abolitionism, so called from its demands that slavery should be abolished, and this immediately, without reference to the constitution or the institutions of the South, to the claims of the master or the fortunes of the slave. Whatever its motives, its course was professedly unscrupulous, sparing neither the interests against which it was directed nor those which it was intended to sustain. An immediate reaction arose in the North. Meetings were held, mobs were gathered against the places where the abolitionists met and the offices whence they issued their productions (1834). Then the tumult spread to the South. The mails thither were burdened with papers intended to excite a general insurrection, or at least a general alarm. As a natural consequence, the post-offices were broken into and the obnoxious publications destroyed (1835). That portion of the South which had begun of its own accord to move towards the abolition of slavery was at once arrested; while that other portion, always attached to slavery, began to talk of non-intercourse and of disunion. The matter was taken up by government, beginning with the president, who recommended a law to prohibit the use of the mail for the circulation of incendiary documents. So embittered did congress become as to refuse to receive memorials upon the subject of slavery, a subject often before provocative of angry passages, but never until now considered too delicate to be approached (1836). Abolitionism had resulted in conservatism, and that of a stamp as yet unknown to the most conservative.

Relations with the Indians were frequently disturbed. The process of removing them to the west of the Mississippi continued a cause of disorder and of strife. A war with the Sacs and Foxes, under Black Hawk, broke out on the northwest frontier, but was soon brought to an end by a vigorous campaign on the part of the United States troops and the militia, under Generals Scott and Atkinson (1832). Another war arose with the Seminoles, under their chief Osceola, in Florida. It was attended by serious losses from the beginning (1835). On the junction of the Creeks with the Seminoles, affairs grew still worse, the war extending into Georgia and Alabama (1836). The Creeks were subdued under the directions of General Jessup; but the Seminoles continued in arms amidst the thickets of Florida for many years.

Occasional disturbances occurred in foreign relations, especially respecting the indemnities still due on account of spoliation of American commerce. These were gradually arranged, Denmark (1830) and Naples (1834) meeting the claims of long standing against them; the more recent demands against Portugal and Spain being also satisfied, though not by immediate payments (1832, 1834).

The relations with France were more precarious. After twenty or thirty years' unavailing negotiation with the governments of Napoleon and his

Bourbon successors, a treaty was concluded with the government of Louis Philippe, acknowledging the American claims to the amount of about \$5,000,000 (July, 1831). Three years afterwards the French chambers rejected the bill for the execution of the treaty (1834). Meantime the United States government had drawn a draft for the amount of the first instalment proposed to be paid by France, but only to have the draft protested. Thus doubly aggrieved, the administration proposed to congress the authorisation of reprisals upon French property, in case immediate provision for the fulfilment of the treaty should not be made by the French chambers (December, 1834). The mere proposal, though unsupported by any action of congress, was received as an affront in France, the French minister at Washington being recalled, and the American minister at Paris being tendered his passports. At this crisis Great Britain offered her mediation. It was accepted; but, without waiting for its exercise, the French government resolved to execute the treaty. The news came in May, 1836, that the \$5,000,000 were paid.^d

A treaty of reciprocity had been concluded with Russia and Belgium, and everywhere the American flag commanded the highest respect. Two new states (Arkansas and Michigan) had been added to the Union. The original thirteen had doubled, and great activity prevailed in every part of the republic. Satisfaction with the administration generally prevailed, and it was understood that Van Buren would continue the policy of his predecessor, if elected. He received a large majority; but the people, having failed to elect a vice-president, the senate chose Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who had been a candidate with Van Buren, to fill that station.

Much excitement was produced and bitter feelings were engendered towards President Jackson by his last official act. A circular was issued from the treasury department on the 11th of July, 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. This was intended to check speculations in the public lands, but it also bore heavily upon every kind of business. The "specie circular" was denounced, and so loud was the clamour that towards the close of the session in 1837 both houses of congress adopted a partial repeal of it. Jackson refused to sign the bill, and by keeping it in his possession until after the adjournment of congress prevented it becoming a law. On the 4th of March, 1837, he retired from public life, to enjoy that repose which an exceedingly active career entitled him to. He was then seventy years of age.^e

JAMES PARTON'S PORTRAIT OF ANDREW JACKSON

People may hold what opinions they will respecting the merits or importance of this man, but no one can deny that his invincible popularity is worthy of consideration; for what we lovingly admire, that, in some degree, we are. It is chiefly as the representative man of the Fourth-of-July, or combative-rebellious period of American history, that he is interesting to the student of human nature. And no man will ever be able quite to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander. His father, his forefathers, his relatives in Carolina, had all walked the lowlier paths of life, and aspired to no other. This poor, gaunt, and sickly orphan places himself at once upon the direct road to the higher spheres. He lived in an atmosphere of danger and became habituated to self-reliance. Always escaping, he learned to confide implicitly in his star.



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THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN AMERICA

(From the painting by E. L. Henry, in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington)

[1837 A.D.]

General Jackson's appointment-and-removal policy I consider an evil so great and so difficult to remedy, that if all his other public acts had been perfectly wise and right, this single feature of his administration would suffice to render it deplorable rather than admirable. I must avow explicitly the belief that, notwithstanding the good done by General Jackson during his presidency, his elevation to power was a mistake on the part of the people of the United States. The good which he effected has not continued, while the evil which he began remains.

Men of books contemplate with mere wonder the fact that during a period when Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Wirt, and Preston were on the public stage, Andrew Jackson should have been so much the idol of the American people that all those eminent men united could not prevail against him in a single instance. Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and he believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labours of the poor as to make labour more profitable to the labourer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm. He appears always to have meant well. But his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. He was imprisoned in his ignorance, and sometimes raged round his little, dim inclosure like a tiger in his den.

The calamity of the United States has been this: the educated class have not been able to accept the truths of the democratic creed. They have followed the narrow, conservative, respectable Hamilton—not the large, liberal, progressive Jefferson. But the people have instinctively held fast to the Jeffersonian sentiments. Hence, in this country, until very recently, the men of books have had little influence upon public affairs. To this most lamentable divorce between the people and those who ought to have been worthy to lead them, and who would have led them if they had been worthy, we are to attribute the elevation to the presidency of a man whose ignorance, whose good intentions, and whose passions combined to render him, of all conceivable human beings, the most unfit for the office. But those who concur in the opinion that the administration of Andrew Jackson did more harm than good to the country—the harm being permanent, the good evanescent—should never for a moment forget that it was the people of the United States who elected him to the presidency.⁹

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION; THE PANICS OF 1837

Martin Van Buren, the eighth president of the United States, seemed to stand, at the time of his inauguration—on the 4th of March, 1837—at the opening of a new era. All of his predecessors in the high office of chief magis-

trate of the republic had been descended of Britons, and were engaged in the old struggle for independence. Van Buren was of Dutch descent, and was born after the great conflict had ended and the birth of the nation had occurred. But at the moment when Mr. Van Buren entered the presidential mansion as its occupant the business of the country was on the verge of a terrible convulsion and utter prostration. The distressing effects of the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 and 1834, and the operations of the "specie circular," had disappeared, in a measure, but as the remedies for the evil were superficial, the cure was only apparent. The chief remedy had been the free loaning of the public money to individuals by the state deposit banks; but a commercial disease was thus produced, more disastrous than the panic of 1833-1834. A sudden expansion of the paper currency was the result. The state banks which accepted these deposits supposed they would remain undisturbed until the government should need them for its use. Considering them as so much capital, they loaned their own funds freely. But in January, 1836, congress, as we have seen, had authorised the secretary of the treasury to distribute all the public funds, except \$5,000,000, among the several states, according to their representation. The funds were accordingly taken from the deposit banks, after the 1st of January, 1837, and these banks being obliged to curtail their loans, a serious pecuniary embarrassment was produced.

The immediate consequences of such multiplied facilities for obtaining bank loans were an immensely increased importation of foreign goods, inordinate stimulation of all industrial pursuits and internal improvements, and the operation of a spirit of speculation, especially in real estate, which assumed the features of a mania, in 1836. A hundred cities were founded and a thousand villages were "laid out" on broad sheets of paper, and made the basis of vast money transactions. Borrowed capital was thus diverted from its sober, legitimate uses to the fostering of schemes as unstable as water, and as unreal in their fancied results as dreams of fairy-land. Overtrading and speculation, which had relied for support upon continued bank loans, were suddenly checked by the necessary bank contractions, on account of the removal of the government funds from their custody; and during March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York alone to the amount of more than \$100,000,000.¹ Fifteen months before [December, 1835], property to the amount of more than \$20,000,000 had been destroyed by fire in the city of New York, when 529 buildings were consumed. The effects of these failures and losses were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, and credit and confidence were destroyed.

Early in May, 1837, a deputation from the merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the president, and solicited him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, rescind the "specie circular," and to call an extraordinary session of congress to adopt relief measures. The president declined to act on their petitions. When his determination was known, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments (May 10th, 1837), and their example was speedily followed throughout the country. On the 16th of May the legislature of New York passed an act authorising the suspension of specie payments for one year. The measure embarrassed the general government, and it was unable to obtain gold and silver to discharge its own obligations. The public good now demanded legislative relief, and an extraordinary session of congress was convened by the president on the

¹ In two days houses in New Orleans stopped payment, owing an aggregate of \$27,000,000; and in Boston 168 failures took place in six months.

[1837-1845 A.D.]

4th of September. During a session of forty-three days it did little for the general relief, except the passage of a bill authorising the issue of treasury notes, not to exceed in amount \$10,000,000.¹

REPUDIATION IN MISSISSIPPI

While the national finances were slowly recovering themselves, the state finances, with some exceptions, appeared to be on the brink of ruin. The states had run a race of extravagance and hazard unparalleled in American history. In the two years preceding the commercial crisis the issue of state stocks—that is, the amount of money borrowed by the states—was nearly \$100,000,000. The inevitable consequences followed. While such as had anything to support their credit were deeply bowed, those that had nothing—those that had borrowed not so much to develop their resources as to supply the want of resources—fell, collapsed and shattered. Some states—Maryland (January, 1842) and Pennsylvania (August, 1842)—paid the interest on their debts only by certificates, and by those only partially. Others—Indiana (July, 1841), Arkansas (July, 1841), and Illinois (January, 1842)—made no payment at all. Two—Michigan (January, 1842) and Louisiana (December, 1842)—ceased not merely to pay but in part to acknowledge their dues, alleging that the frauds or failures of their agents, from which they had unquestionably suffered, released them from at least a portion of their obligations.

But in this, as in every other respect, in extent as well as in priority of insolvency, Mississippi took the lead. As early as January, 1841, Governor McNutt suggested to the legislature the “repudiating the sale of five millions of the bonds of the year 1838, on account of fraud and illegality.” Even if the sale was a fraudulent one, which many in as well as out of Mississippi denied, the penalty attached not to the bondholders, who had paid their money in good faith that it would be returned to them, but to the bank commissioners by whom the bonds were sold, or to the bank itself, by which the commissioners had been appointed. At all events, Mississippi deliberately repudiated her debts (1842). Her example was imitated at the same time by the neighbouring territory of Florida.

Eight states and a territory were thus sunk into bankruptcy, some of them into what was worse than bankruptcy. It was not, of course, without dishonour or without injury to the Union of which they were members. When a national loan was attempted to be effected abroad, not a bidder could be found for it, or for any part of it, in all Europe (1842). This was but a trifle, however, amid the storm of reproach that swelled against the United States. “I do not wonder,” wrote the Boston clergyman William Ellery Channing, “that Europe raises a cry of indignation against this country; I wish it could come to us in thunder.” Nor did it seem undeserved by the nation, as a whole, when Florida, still repudiating its debt as a territory, was admitted as a state (1845). Against this sign of insensibility on the part of the nation there were happily to be set some proofs of returning honour on the part of the states, Pennsylvania taking the lead in wiping away her debts and her stains (1845).

¹ In his message to congress at this session the president proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the safe-keeping of the public funds and their entire and total separation from banking institutions. This scheme met with vehement opposition. The bill passed the senate, but was lost in the house. It was debated at subsequent sessions, and finally became a law on the 4th of July, 1840. This is known as the Sub-Treasury Scheme.

TEXAS SECEDES FROM MEXICO

One of the later communications of President Jackson to congress had been upon the subject of Texas and its independence. He was decided in recommending caution, for reasons which will presently appear (December, 1836). But, congress declaring its recognition of the new state, Jackson assented in the last moments of his administration. A quarter of a century before, parties from the United States began to cross over to join in the Mexican struggle against Spain (1813). It was then uncertain whether Texas formed a part of Mexico or of Louisiana, the boundary being undetermined until the time of the treaty concerning Florida (1819-1821). At that time Texas was distinctly abandoned to Spain, from whose possession it immediately passed to that of her revolted province of Mexico. Soon after, on Mexican invitation, a number of colonists from the United States, under the lead of Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, undertook to settle the still unoccupied territory (1821). It was no expedition to plunder or to destroy, but what it professed to be—to colonise. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the enterprise itself, as well as those created by the continual changes in the Mexican government, it prospered to such a degree that several thousand settlers were gathered in during the ten years ensuing.

Strong in their numbers, stronger still in their energies, the Texans aspired to a more definite organisation than they possessed. Without any purpose, at least professed, of revolution, they formed a constitution, and sent Austin to ask the admission of Texas, as a separate state, into the Mexican republic (1833). This was denied, and Austin thrown into prison. But no outbreak followed for more than two years. Then the Mexican government, resolving to reduce the Texans to entire submission, despatched a force to arrest the officers under the state constitution, and to disarm the people. The Texan Lexington was Gonzales, where the first resistance was made (September 28th, 1835). The Texan Philadelphia was a place called Washington, where a convention declared the independence of the state (March 2nd, 1836) and adopted a constitution (March 17th). The Texan Saratoga and Yorktown, two in one, was on the shores of the San Jacinto, where General Houston, commander-in-chief of the insurgents, gained a decisive victory over the Mexican president, Santa Anna (April 21st). Six months afterwards Houston was chosen president of the republic of Texas. In his inaugural speech he expressed the desire of the people to join the United States. Nothing could be more natural. With few exceptions, they were emigrants from the land to which they wished to be reunited. The cession of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the Florida treaty had been vehemently opposed by many who would therefore be earnest to recover the territory then surrendered. Again and again was the effort made by the United States to get back from Mexico what had been ceded to Spain (1825-1835). But the very fact that slavery existed in Texas was a strong reason with another considerable party in the North to oppose its admission to the Union. In their eyes, the Texans seemed a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States. To these objections must be added one, very generally entertained, on account of the claim of Mexico to the Texan territory. Notwithstanding various complications, the independence of Texas was recognised by the United States, as has been mentioned, leaving the project of annexation to the future. When Texas, soon after the opening of Van Buren's administration, presented herself for admission to the Union, her offers were declined, and then withdrawn (1837).

[1837-1840 A.D.]

TROUBLES WITH CANADA

The attention of the country was turned in another direction. An insurrection in Canada was immediately supported by American parties, one of whom, in company with some Canadian refugees, after pillaging the New York arsenals, seized upon Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river. The steamer *Caroline*, engaged in bringing over men, arms, and stores to the island, was destroyed, though at the time on the American shore, by a British detachment (December, 1837). The deed was instantly avowed by the minister of Great Britain at Washington as an act of self-defence on the British side. Three years afterwards (November, 1840) one Alexander McLeod, sheriff of Niagara, in Canada, and as such a participator in the destruction of the *Caroline*, was arrested in New York on the charge of murder, an American having lost his life when the steamer was destroyed. The British government demanded his release, in doing which they were sustained by the United States administration, on the ground that McLeod was but an agent or soldier of Great Britain. But the authorities of New York held fast to their prisoner, and brought him to trial. Had harm come to him, his government stood pledged to declare war; but he was acquitted for want of proof (1841). Congress subsequently passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only before United States courts. The release of McLeod did not settle the affair of the *Caroline*; this still remained. There were, or there had been, other difficulties upon the Maine frontier, where the boundary line had never yet been run. Collisions took place, and others, between the Maine militia and the British troops, had been but just prevented.^d

HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION

A national whig convention had been held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, on the fourth of December (1839), when General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the popular leader in the northwest, in the War of 1812, was nominated for president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president: Never before was the country so excited by an election, and never before was a presidential contest characterised by such demoralising proceedings.¹ The government, under Mr. Van Buren, being held responsible by the opposition for the business depression which yet brooded over the country, public speakers arrayed vast masses of the people against the president, and Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities. And now, at the close of the first fifty years of the republic, the population had increased from three and a half millions, of all colours, to seventeen millions. A magazine writer of the day, in the *Democratic Review*, in comparing several administrations, remarked that "the great events of Mr. Van Buren's administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, are the divorce of bank and state in the fiscal affairs of the federal government, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the constitution."

¹ Because General Harrison lived in the West and his residence was associated with pioneer life, a log-cabin became the symbol of his party. These cabins were erected all over the country, in which meetings were held; and, as the hospitality of the old hero was symbolised by a barrel of cider, made free to all visitors or strangers, who "never found the latch-string of his log-cabin drawn in," that beverage was dealt out unsparingly to all who attended the meetings in the cabins. These meetings were scenes of carousal, deeply injurious to all who participated in them, and especially to the young. Thousands of drunkards in after years dated their departure from sobriety to the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840.

Harrison was then an old man, having passed almost a month beyond the age of sixty-eight years. Precisely one month after he uttered his oath of office the new president died, on the 4th day of April, 1841.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution the vice-president became the official successor of the deceased president, and on the 6th of April the oath of office was administered to John Tyler. He retained the cabinet appointed by President Harrison until September following, when all but the secretary of state resigned.

The extraordinary session of congress called by President Harrison commenced its session on the appointed day (May 31st, 1841) and continued until the 13th of September following. The Sub-Treasury Act was repealed and a general Bankrupt Law was enacted. This humane law accomplished a material benefit. Thousands of honest and enterprising men had been crushed by the recent business revulsion, and were so laden with debt as to be hopelessly chained to a narrow sphere of action. The law relieved them; and while it bore heavily upon the creditor class, for a while, its operations were beneficent and useful. When dishonest men began to make it a pretence for cheating, it was repealed. But the chief object sought to be obtained during this session, namely, the chartering of a bank of the United States, was not achieved. Two separate bills for that purpose were vetoed by the president, who, like Jackson, thought he perceived great evils to be apprehended from the workings of such an institution. The course of the president was vehemently censured by the party in power, and the last veto led to the dissolution of his cabinet. Mr. Webster patriotically remained at his post, for great public interests would have suffered by his withdrawal at that time.

The year 1842 was distinguished by the return of the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, the settlement of the northeastern boundary question by the Ashburton Treaty, essential modifications of the tariff, and domestic difficulties in Rhode Island.^e

The Treaty of Washington, [or Ashburton Treaty] ratified by the senate (August 20th), embraced almost every subject of dissension with Great Britain. It settled the northeastern boundary; it put down the claim to a right of visit, and in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim by European powers who had previously admitted it. Such were the advantages gained by the United States on both these points, the leading ones of the treaty, that it was styled in England the Ashburton Capitulation. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice; an object of great importance, considering the recent experiences on the Canada frontier. For the affair of the *Caroline*, an apology, or what amounted to one, was made by the British minister. Even the old quarrel about impressment was put to rest, not by the treaty, but by a letter from Webster to Ashburton, repeating the rule originally laid down by Jefferson that "the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," adding, as the present and future principle of the American government, that "in every regularly documented American merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them." In short, every difficulty with Great Britain was settled by the treaty, or by the accompanying negotiations, except one, the boundary of Oregon, on which no serious difference had as yet appeared.^d

Difficulties in Rhode Island originated in a movement to adopt a state constitution of government, and to abandon the old charter given by Charles II, in 1663, under which the people had been ruled for one hundred and eighty years. Disputes arose concerning the proper method to be pursued in making

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the change, and these assumed a serious aspect. Two parties were formed, known, respectively, as the "suffrage" or radical party, the other as the "law-and-order" or conservative party. Each formed a constitution, elected a governor and legislature, and finally armed (May and June, 1843) in defence of their respective claims. The "suffrage" party elected Thomas W. Dorr governor, and the "law-and-order" party chose Samuel W. King for chief magistrate. Dorr was finally arrested, tried for and convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The excitement having passed away, in a measure, he was released in June, 1845, but was deprived of all the civil rights of a citizen. These disabilities were removed in the autumn of 1853. The state was on the verge of civil war, and the aid of federal troops had to be invoked to restore quiet and order. A free constitution, adopted by the "law-and-order" party in November, 1842, to go into operation on the first Tuesday in May, 1843, was sustained, and became the law of the land.^e

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

Other states were organising themselves more peaceably. Arkansas, the first state admitted since Missouri (June 15th, 1836), was followed by Michigan (January 26th, 1837). Wisconsin, organised as a single territory (1836), was presently divided as Wisconsin and Iowa (1838). Then Iowa was admitted a state (March 3rd, 1845); again in 1846, but not actually entering until 1848. Florida also in 1845 became a member of the Union.

All the while Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. The administration continued its negotiations, now with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities with Texas, and then again with Texas itself, proposing new motives of alliance and new means of annexation with the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favour of consummating the annexation. But the North was growing more and more adverse to the plan.

The annexation of Texas was regarded as necessary to the interests of slavery, both in that country and in the United States. Not only was an immense market for slaves closed, but an immense refuge for slaves was opened, in case Texas should cease to be slaveholding. "Annexation," wrote John C. Calhoun, then secretary of state, "was forced on the government of the United States in self-defence" (April, 1844). Such, then, was the motive of the secretaries and the president, all southern men, and devotedly supported by the south, in striving for an addition to the slaveholding states in the shape of Texas. The more they strove on this ground, the more they were opposed in the free states. It was the Missouri battle over again. It was more than that: in that, said the North, we contended against the admission of one of our own territories, but in this contest we are fighting against the admission of a foreign state.

Like all the other great differences of the nation, this difference concerning Texas was susceptible of compromise. Both senate and house united in joint resolutions (March 1st, 1845). Texas assented to the terms of the resolutions (July 4th), and was soon after formally enrolled amongst the United States of America (December 29th). The democratic party, espousing the project of annexation before it was fulfilled, carried the election of James K. Polk as president and George M. Dallas as vice-president. They found the annexation of Texas accomplished. But the consequences were yet to be seen and borne.

WAR WITH MEXICO

Mexico had all along declared the annexation of Texas by the United States would be an act of hostility. As soon as congress resolved upon it, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports (March 6th, 1845), and the Mexican government suspended intercourse with the envoy of the United States (April 2nd). The cause was the occupation of a state which they still claimed as a province of their own, notwithstanding it had been independent now for nine years, and as such recognised by several of the European powers in addition to the United States. With the United States, the preservation of Texas was not the only cause of war. Indeed, for the time, it was no cause at all, according to the administration. If there was any disposition to take up arms, it came from what the president styled "the system of insult and spoliation" under which Americans had long been suffering; merchants losing their property, and sailors their liberty, by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports. In spite of a treaty, now fourteen years old (1831), the wrongs complained of had continued.

In annexing Texas, the United States government understood the territory to extend as far as the Rio Grande. For considering this the boundary there were two reasons: one, that the Texans had proclaimed it such; and the other, that it was apparently implied to be such in the treaty ceding the country west of the Sabine to Spain, a quarter of a century before. Accordingly, American troops were moved to Corpus Christi (August, 1845), and, six months afterwards (March, 1846), to the Rio Grande, with orders "to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces." On the other side, Mexico protested altogether against the line of the Rio Grande. The river Nueces, according to Mexican authority, was the boundary of Texas. Even supposing Texas surrendered by the Mexicans, which it was not, they still retained the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—a territory containing but few settlements, and those not Texan, but purely Mexican. In support of this position, the Mexican general Arista was ordered to cross the Rio Grande and defend the country against the invader (April, 1846).

During these movements a mission was sent from the United States to Mexico (November, 1845). The minister went authorised to propose and to carry out an adjustment of all the difficulties between the two countries. But he was refused a hearing—the Mexican government, fresh from one of its revolutions, insisting that the question of Texas must be disposed of, and on Mexican terms, before entering upon any general negotiations. The bearer of the olive branch was obliged to return (March, 1846). As the American troops, some three thousand strong, under General Taylor, approached the Rio Grande, the inhabitants retired, at one place, Point Isabel, burning their dwellings. This certainly did not look much like being on American or on Texan ground. But Taylor, obedient to his orders, kept on, until he took post by the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoros (March 28th, 1846). There, about a month later (April 24th), he was thus addressed by the Mexican general Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men." A Mexican force was simultaneously sent across the stream, to what the Americans considered their territory. A squadron of dragoons, sent by Taylor to reconnoitre the Mexicans, fell in with a much superior force, and, after a skirmish, surrendered. The next

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day but one, Taylor, as previously authorised by his government, called upon the states of Texas and Louisiana for five thousand volunteers. As soon as the news reached Washington, the president informed congress that "war exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself" (May 11th). Congress took the same ground, and gave the president authority to call fifty thousand volunteers into the field (May 13th). It was ten days later, but of course before any tidings of these proceedings could have been received, that Mexico made a formal declaration of war (May 23rd). The question as to which nation began hostilities must forever depend upon the question of the Texan boundary. If this was the river Nueces, the United States began war the summer before. If, on the contrary, it was the Rio Grande, the Mexicans, as President Polk asserted, were the aggressors. But there is no possible way of deciding which river it was that formed the actual boundary. The assertion of Mexico that it was the Nueces is as reasonable as the declaration of Texas, supported by the United States, that it was the Rio Grande.

The forces between which hostilities commenced were both small, the United States army being the smaller of the two. But this disparity was as nothing compared with that between the nations. The United States went to war with Mexico very much as they would have gone to war with one or more of their own number. Mexico, broken by revolutions, had neither government nor army to defend her; there were officials, there were soldiers, but there was no strength, no efficiency in either. Doubtless Mexico trusted to the divisions of her enemy, to the opposition which parties in the United States would make to the war. But the parties of the United States were one, in contrast with the parties of Mexico.

On another point the Mexicans could build up better founded hopes. At the very time that hostilities opened between the United States and Mexico there was serious danger of a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. It sprang from conflicting claims to the distant territory of Oregon. Those of the United States were based, first, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, chiefly upon one made by Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, from which the great river of the northwest took its name (1792); secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana with all the Spanish rights to the western shores (1803); and thirdly, upon an expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri was traced towards its source, and the Columbia descended to the Pacific Ocean (1803-1806). Against these the British government asserted various claims of discovery and occupancy. Twice the two nations agreed to a joint possession of the country in dispute (1818, 1827); twice the United States proposed a dividing line, once under Monroe, and again under Tyler. The rejection of the latter proposal had led to a sort of war-cry,¹ during the presidential election then pending (1844), that Oregon must be held. President Polk renewed the offer, but on less favourable terms, and it was rejected (1845). Agreeably to his recommendation, a twelve-months' notice, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the occupation of Oregon, was formally given by the United States government (1846). Meanwhile emigration to Oregon had been proceeding on so large a scale during the few years previous that there were some thousands of Americans settled upon the territory. It was a grave juncture, therefore, that had arrived. But it was happily terminated on proposals, now emanating from Great Britain, by which the line of forty-nine degrees was constituted the boundary; the

[¹ "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to the boundary claimed at 54° 40'.]

right of navigating the Columbia being secured to the British (June 15th, 1846). Thus vanished the prospect of a war with Great Britain, in addition to the war with Mexico. But its existence, if only for a time, explains a part at least of the confidence with which the Mexicans entered into the strife. It does away, on the other hand, with the apparent want of magnanimity in the Americans to measure themselves with antagonists so much their inferiors.

The Mexican general Arista commenced the bombardment of the American position, afterwards called Fort Brown from its gallant defender, Major Brown (May 3rd). General Taylor was then with the bulk of his troops at Point Isabel. Having made sure of that post, he marched back to the relief of Fort Brown, and on the way engaged with the enemy at Palo Alto (May 8th) and at Resaca de la Palma (May 9th). With a force so much inferior that the most serious apprehensions had been excited for its safety, the Americans came off victors in both actions. Such was the effect upon the Mexicans that they at once recrossed the Rio Grande, and even retreated to some distance on their side of the river. Taylor followed, carrying the war into the enemy's country, and occupying Matamoros (May 18th). A long pause ensued, to wait for reinforcements, and indeed for plans, the war being wholly unprepared for on the American side. But the news of the first victories aroused the whole nation. Even the opponents of the war yielded their principles so far as to give their sympathies to the brave men who had carried their arms farther from the limits of the United States than had ever before been done by an American army. Volunteers gathered from all quarters in numbers for which it was positively difficult to provide.

At length, with considerably augmented forces, Taylor set out again, supported by Generals Worth and Wool among many other eminent officers. Monterey, a very important place in this part of Mexico, was taken after a three days' resistance under General Ampudia (September 21st-23rd). An armistice of several weeks followed. Subsequently Taylor marched southward as far as Victoria; but on the recall of a portion of his troops to take part in other operations, he fell back into a defensive position in the north (January, 1847). There, at Buena Vista, he was attacked by a comparatively large army under Santa Anna, then generalissimo of Mexico, who, deeming himself secure of his prey, sent a summons of surrender, which Taylor instantly declined. The dispositions for the battle had been made in great part by General Wool, to whom, with many of the other officers, the victory achieved by the Americans deserves to be ascribed, as well as to the resolute commander. It was a bloody engagement, continuing for two successive days (February 22nd, 23rd). Taylor was never more truly the hero than when he wrote to Henry Clay, whose son had fallen in the fight, that, in remembering the dead, "I can say with truth that I feel no exultation in our success." Santa Anna, meanwhile, was in full retreat, leaving the Americans in secure possession of all the northeastern country. Six months later Taylor sent a large number of his remaining men to act elsewhere (August); then, leaving General Wool in command, he returned to the United States (November).

Soon after the fall of Monterey a force under General Wool was detached to penetrate into the northern province of Chihuahua. It did not go by any means so far. But at about the same time an expedition from the north, headed by Colonel Doniphan, marched down upon the province, taking possession first of El Paso (December 27th), and then, after a battle with the Mexicans, under Heredia, at the pass of Sacramento (February 28th, 1847),

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of Chihuahua, the capital (March 1st). Doniphan presently evacuated his conquest (April). Early in the following year Chihuahua became the object of a third expedition, under General Price, who, coming from the same direction as Doniphan, again occupied the town (March 7th, 1848), defeating the Mexicans at the neighbouring Santa Cruz de las Rosales (March 16th). The whole story of the Chihuahua expeditions is that of border forays rather than of regular campaigns.

THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA

Both Doniphan and Price made their descents from New Mexico, which had been taken possession of by the Americans under General Kearny in the first months of the war (August, 1846). So scanty and so prostrate was the population as to offer no resistance, not even to the occupation of the capital, Santa Fé (August 18th). But some months after, when Kearny had proceeded to California, and Doniphan, after treating with the Navajo Indians, had gone against Chihuahua, an insurrection, partly of Mexicans and partly of Indians, broke out at a village fifty miles from Santa Fé. The American governor, Charles Bent, and many others, both Mexicans and Americans, were murdered; battles also were fought, before the insurgents were reduced, by Price (January, 1847).

Ere the tidings of the war reached the Pacific coast, a band of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico at Sonoma, a town of small importance not far from San Francisco (July 4th, 1846). The leader of the party was John C. Frémont, a captain in the United States engineers, who had recently received instructions from his government to secure a hold upon California. A few days after their declaration Frémont and his followers joined the American commodore Sloat, who, aware of the war, had taken Monterey (July 7th), and entered the bay of San Francisco (July 9th). Sloat was soon succeeded by Commodore Stockton; and he, in conjunction with Frémont, took possession of Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of Upper California (August 13th). All this was done without opposition from the scattered Mexicans of the province, or from their feeble authorities. But some weeks later a few braver spirits collected, and, driving the Americans from the capital, succeeded likewise in recovering the greater part of California (September, October). On the approach of General Kearny from New Mexico, a month or two afterwards, he was met in battle at San Pasqual (December 6th), and so hemmed in by the enemy as to be in great danger, until relieved by a force dispatched to his assistance by Commodore Stockton. The commodore and the general, joining forces, retook Ciudad de los Angeles, after two actions with its defenders (January 10th, 1847). A day or two later Frémont succeeded in bringing the main body of Mexicans in arms to a capitulation at Cowenga (January 13th).

California was again, and more decidedly than before, an American possession. Its conquerors, having no more Mexicans to contend with, turned against one another, and quarrelled for the precedence as vigorously as they had struggled for victory. Lower California was afterwards assailed, but under different commanders. La Paz and San José, both inconsiderable places, were occupied in the course of the year. On the opposite shore, Guaymas was taken by a naval force under Captain Lavalette (October), and Mazatlan by the fleet under Commodore Shubrick (November). From time to time the Mexicans rallied against the invaders, but without success.

It was all a series of skirmishes, fought in the midst of lonely mountains and on far-stretching shores, rather than of ordinary battles, that had reduced California beneath the American power.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

And now to return to the eastern side. From the first, a blockade of the ports in the gulf of Mexico was but poorly maintained. Then the American fleet embarked upon various operations. Twice was Alvarado, a port to the south of Vera Cruz, attacked by Commodore Conner, and twice it was gallantly defended (August 7th, October 15th, 1846). Then Commodore Perry went against Tabasco, a little distance up a river on the southern coast; but, though he took some prizes and some hamlets, he did not gain the town (October 23rd-26th). The only really successful operation was the occupation of Tampico, which the Mexicans abandoned on the approach of their enemies (November 15th).

Early in the following spring the fleet and the army combined in an attack upon Vera Cruz. Anticipations of success, however high amongst the troops and their officers, were not very generally entertained even by their own countrymen, Vera Cruz, or its castle of San Juan de Ulúa, having been represented over and over again, in Europe and in America, as impregnable. Nevertheless, a bombardment of a few days obliged the garrison, under General Morales, to give up the town and the castle together (March 23rd-26th, 1847). Once masters there, the Americans beheld the road to the city of Mexico lying open before them; but here again their way was supposed to be beset by insurmountable difficulties. They pressed on, nine or ten thousand strong, General Scott at their head, supported by Generals Worth, Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs, with many officers of tried and of untried reputation. However skilful the leaders, or however valiant the men, it was a daring enterprise to advance upon the capital. In other directions, along the northern boundary, the war had been carried into remote and comparatively unpeopled portions of the country. Here the march lay through a region provided with defenders and with defences, where men would fight for their homes, and where their homes, being close at hand, would give them aid as well as inspiration. The march upon Mexico was by all means the great performance of the war.

Its difficulties soon appeared. At Cerro Gordo, sixty miles from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna posted thirteen thousand of his Mexicans in a mountain pass, to whose natural strength he had added by fortification. It took two days to force a passage, the Americans losing about five hundred, but inflicting a far greater loss on their brave opponents (April 18th-19th). Here, however, they paused; a part of the force was soon to be discharged, and Scott decided that he would make his dismissals and wait for the empty places to be filled. He accordingly advanced slowly to Puebla, while the Mexicans kept in the background, or appeared only as guerillas (May 28th). The guerilla warfare had been prognosticated as the one insuperable obstacle to the progress of the American army; it proved harassing, but by no means fatal. During the delay ensuing on land, the fleet in the gulf, under Commodore Perry, took Tuspan and Tabasco, both being but slightly defended (April 18th-June 15th). At length, reinforcements having reached the army, making it not quite eleven thousand strong, it resumed its march, and entered the valley of Mexico (August 10th).

There the Mexicans stood, Santa Anna still at their head, thirty-five

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thousand in their ranks, regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of the professions and men of the trades—all joined in the defence of their country, now threatened at its very heart. They wanted much, however, that was essential to success. Hope was faint, and even courage sank beneath the errors and the intrigues of the commanding officers, to whom, speaking generally, it was vain to look for example or for guidance. Behind the army was the government, endeavouring to unite itself, yet still rent and enfeebled to the last degree. Even the clergy, chafed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the state, were divided, if not incensed. It was a broken nation, and yet all the more worthy of respect for the last earnest resistance which it was making to the foe. Never had armies a more magnificent country to assail or to defend than that into which the Americans had penetrated. They fought in defiles or upon plains, vistas of lakes and fields before them, mountain heights above them, the majesty of nature everywhere mingling with the contention of man.

Fourteen miles from the city, battles began at Contreras, where a Mexican division under General Valencia was totally routed (August 19th-20th). The next engagement followed immediately at Churubusco, or Cherebusco, six miles from the capital, Santa Anna himself being there completely defeated (August 20th). An armistice suspended further movements for a fortnight, when an American division under Worth made a successful assault on a range of buildings called Molino del Rey, close to the city. This action, though the most sanguinary of the entire war—both Mexicans and Americans surpassing all their previous deeds—was without results (September 8th). A few days later the fourth and final engagement in the valley took place at Chapultepec, a fortress just above Molino del Rey. Within the lines was the Mexican Military College, and bravely did the students defend it, mere boys outvying veterans in feats of valour. In vain, nevertheless; the college and the fortress yielded together (September 12th-13th). The next day Scott, with sixty-five hundred men, the whole of his army remaining in the field, entered the city of Mexico (September 14th).

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly attempted to take from Colonel Childs. The object of the Mexican general was to cut off the communication between Scott and the seaboard; but he did not succeed. A few last actions of an inferior character, a few skirmishes with bands of partisans, and the war was over in that part of the country. The American generals betook themselves to quarrels and arrests; Scott being some months afterwards superseded by General Butler (February, 1848).

Now that their exploits have been described, the United States armies are to be understood for what they were. It was no regular force, prepared by years of discipline to meet the foe, that followed Taylor, Scott, and the other leaders to the field. The few regiments of United States troops were lost, in respect to numbers, though not to deeds, amid the thousands of volunteers that came swarming from every part of the Union. To bring these irregular troops into any effective condition was more difficult than to meet the Mexicans. On the other hand, there was an animation about them, a personal feeling of emulation and of patriotism, which made the volunteers a far more valuable force than might have been supposed.¹ After all, however, it was to the officers, to the pupils of West Point, to the intelligent and, in many cases, devoted men, who left their occupations at home to

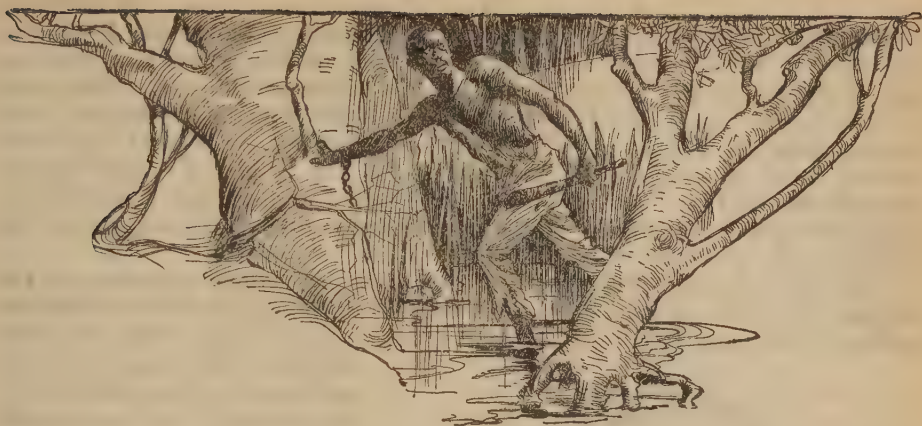
[¹ The skill and daring of the officers and the discipline, endurance, and courage of the men during the war with Mexico were as noticeable as the absence of these qualities during the War of 1812.—J. R. SOLEY.^h]

sustain what they deemed the honour of their country abroad, that the successes of the various campaigns are chiefly to be ascribed. The effect of the war was to give the nation a much more military character than it had hitherto sustained, even in its own eyes.

The war had not continued three months when the United States made an overture of peace (July, 1846). It was referred by the Mexican administration to the national congress, and there it rested. In announcing to the American congress the proposal which he had made, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any Mexican territory that might be retained at the conclusion of the war. In the debate which followed, an administration representative from Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, moved a proviso to the proposed appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." The proviso was hastily adopted in the house, but it was too late to receive any action in the senate before the close of the session (August). In the following session the proviso again passed the house, but was abandoned by that body on being rejected by the senate.

The Mexicans were reluctant to yield any territory, even that beyond the Rio Grande which had been claimed as a part of Texas. It went especially against their inclinations to open it to slavery, the instructions of the commissioners being quite positive on the point that any treaty to be signed by them must prohibit slavery in the ceded country. "No president of the United States," replied Commissioner Trist, "would dare to present any such treaty to the senate."

The result of battles rather than of negotiations was a treaty signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, a suburb of the capital. By this instrument Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, while the United States agreed to surrender their other conquests, and to pay for those retained the sum of \$15,000,000, besides assuming the old claims of their own citizens against Mexico to the amount of more than \$3,000,000 (February 2nd, 1848). The treaty contained other provisions, some of which were modified at Washington, and altered accordingly at Queretaro, where the Mexican congress was called to ratify the peace. Ratifications were finally exchanged at Queretaro (May 30th), and peace proclaimed at Washington (July 4th). The Mexican territory—that is, the portion which remained—was rapidly evacuated. Thus ended a conflict of which the motives, the events, and the results have been very variously estimated. But this much may be historically said—that on the side of the United States the war had not merely a party but rather a sectional character. What sectional causes there were to bring about hostilities we have seen in relation to the annexation of Texas. What sectional issues there were to proceed from the treaty we have yet to see.^d



CHAPTER X

CIVIL DISCORD

[1848-1865 A.D.]

The Civil War, described by Mommsen as "the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals," is one of those gigantic events whose causes, action, and sequences will be of perennial concern to him who seeks the wisdom underlying the march of history. — RHODES.^o

THE presidential campaign of 1848 was significant because of the very evident desire on the part of both parties to evade committing themselves upon the vital questions of the day. The democratic national convention met first at Baltimore, May 22nd, 1848. Lewis Cass of Michigan led from the start in the balloting, his two principal competitors being James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. President Polk received no support whatever. Cass, who was preferred by Southern delegates on account of his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, was named on the fourth ballot, and General William O. Butler of Kentucky received the nomination for vice-president. A resolution declaring that non-intervention with slavery in either states or territories was "true republican doctrine" was overwhelmingly rejected, and was taken as an expression of the general desire of the party to evade the slavery question. The platform adopted was simply a reiteration of the principles declared for in 1840 and 1844.

The whig convention met at Philadelphia on June 7th. Their choice of a presidential candidate was significant of their desire to follow the example of their democratic competitors. Both Clay and Webster were passed over and General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, a slave-holder, whose political beliefs were practically unknown, was selected. The second place on the ticket was given to Millard Fillmore, a former New York congressman with a fair record.

In June the faction of New York democrats known as Barnburners met with dissatisfied representatives from several other states and named ex-President Martin Van Buren for the presidency. The Barnburners,

mostly followers of Silas Wright, and including such able young leaders as John A. Dix, Preston King, and Samuel J. Tilden, were opposed to the extension of slavery to the territories. Their opponents within their own party in New York, known as Hunkers, were led by William L. Marcy. The Barnburners nomination of Van Buren was ratified in August by a convention held at Buffalo. There was born the Free-soil party, whose platform declared for "free soil for a free people," and against the extension of slavery to the territories. With them now united the remnants of the Liberty party of 1844.

The democratic defection in New York state determined the result of the election. Outside of New York the Free-soil movement drew from Taylor: in New York from Cass. As a result Taylor carried New York and was

elected; that state's thirty-six votes in the electoral college, where the vote stood 163 to 127, being exactly his plurality over Cass. Van Buren received in the nation 291,263 votes, sufficient to prevent either Cass or Taylor from obtaining a majority of the popular vote.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

(1784-1850)

Twelfth President of United States

SLAVERY AND THE TERRITORIES

Every day it was becoming more and more certain that some solution of the problem of slavery must be reached if the Union was not to be endangered. The campaign just closed had shown the serious disintegration of parties over the question. As the Free-soil spirit of the North rose, so did the pro-slavery aggressiveness of the South. The sectional lines of the contest were becoming daily more marked.

Calhoun had introduced in the senate in 1847 a set of resolutions declaring that congress had no constitutional power to exclude slavery from the territories. This ground the Southern members were now disposed to insist upon. "As yet," says Woodrow Wilson, "the real purposes of parties had not reached their radical stage. As yet the abolitionists with their bitter contempt for the compromises of the constitution, their ruthless programme of abolition whether with or without constitutional warrant, and their readiness for separation from the Southern States should abolition prove impossible, had won but scant sympathy from the masses of the people, or from any wise leaders of opinion. The Free-soilers were as widely separated from them as possible both in spirit and in opinion. They had no relish for revo-

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lution, no tolerance for revolutionary doctrine. The issue was not yet the existence of slavery within the states, but the admission of slavery into the territories. The object of the extreme Southern men was to gain territory for slavery; the object of the men now drawing together into new parties in the North was to exclude slavery altogether from the new national domain in the West."

The discovery of gold in California in January, 1848, tended to bring the question to a position where a decision could not be evaded. The unprecedented rush of immigration to the gold-fields gave a population of eighty thousand to the region by 1850. Before congress had decided under what conditions California should be organised as a territory she was already seeking to be admitted as a state. The emigrants were from all sections of the country, but Northern men and foreigners were largely in the majority.

President Taylor's policy favoured letting the new communities form their own constitutions, and decide for themselves what attitude they should take regarding slavery. In accordance with this policy he sent a confidential agent to California to urge the settlers to organise and apply at once for admission as a state. This plan was followed, and in the fall of 1849 a constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted. When congress met in December, 1849, President Taylor resolutely urged upon them the acceptance of his policy, confident that it was a safe solution of the perplexing problem. But congress, controlled by party leaders who lacked Taylor's clean-cut way of looking at the matter, hesitated.^a

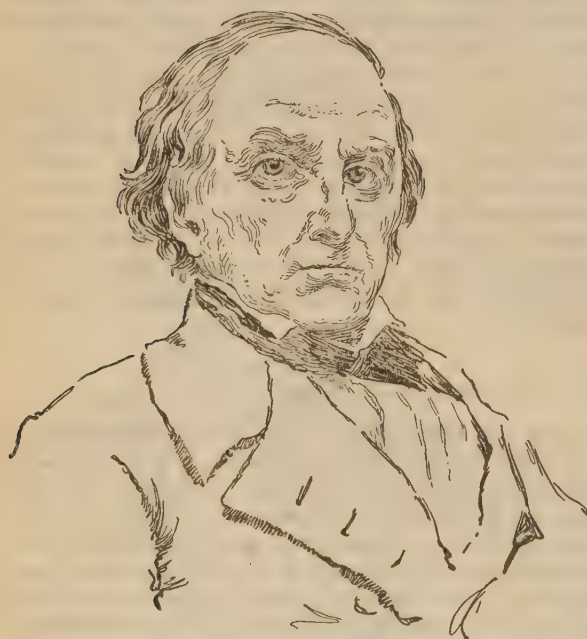
CLAY'S COMPROMISE PROPOSALS¹

It was under these circumstances that Henry Clay came forward, with the dignity of age upon him, to urge measures of compromise. He proposed, January 29th, 1850, that congress should admit California with her free constitution; should organise the rest of the Mexican cession without any provision at all concerning slavery, leaving its establishment or exclusion to the course of events and the ultimate choice of the settlers; should purchase from Texas her claim upon a portion of New Mexico; should abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but promise, for the rest, non-interference elsewhere with slavery or the interstate slave trade; and should concede to the South an effective fugitive slave law. The programme was too various to hold together. There were majorities, perhaps, for each of its proposals separately, but there was no possibility of making up a single majority for all of them taken in a body. After an ineffectual debate, which ran through two months, direct action upon Mr. Clay's resolutions was avoided by their reference to a select committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was made chairman. On May 8th this committee reported a series of measures, which it proposed should be grouped in three distinct bills. The first of these—afterwards dubbed the Omnibus Bill, because of the number of things it was made to carry—proposed the admission of California as a state, and the organisation of Utah and New Mexico as territories, without any restriction as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment to Texas of \$10,000,000 by way of indemnity for her claims on a portion of New Mexico. The second measure was a stringent Fugitive Slave Law. The third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

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THE COMPROMISE DEBATED

This group of bills of course experienced the same difficulties of passage that had threatened Mr Clay's group of resolutions. The Omnibus Bill, when taken up, was so stripped by amendment in the senate that it was reduced, before its passage, to a few provisions for the organisation of the territory of Utah, with or without slavery, as events should determine; and Clay withdrew, disheartened, to the sea-shore to regain his strength and spirits. Both what was said in debate and what was done out of doors seemed for a time to make agreement hopeless.



DANIEL WEBSTER
(1782-1852)

Clay, although he abated nothing of his conviction that the federal government must be obeyed in its supremacy, although bolder and more courageous than ever, indeed, in his avowal of a determination to stand by the Union and the constitution in any event, nevertheless put away his old-time imperiousness, and pleaded as he had never pleaded before for mutual accommodation and agreement. Even Webster, slackened a little in his constitutional convictions by profound anxiety for the life of the constitution itself, urged compromise and concession.^b His position was clearly stated in his great "Seventh of March Speech," which proved a turning point in the action of congress, in popular sentiment, and in the history of the country.

"The speech produced a wonderful sensation," says Rhodes^c, "none other in our annals produced an immediate effect so mighty and striking." Yet a careful examination of the speech scarcely discloses a reason for the harsh reception it received at the North. From 1846 to 1848 the prohibition of slavery in the territory to be acquired, or already acquired, from Mexico, seemed to the North of the most vital importance, for the latitude of the country gave reason to believe that its products would be those of the slave states, and that it would naturally gravitate toward them politically. By 1850, however, the situation had completely changed. California, receiving an extraordinary increase in its population through the discovery of gold, had organised a state government and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. New Mexico, then comprising parts of the later New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, was by that time found to differ greatly from the Southern States as to climate and products, and to be economically much more closely connected with the North. Indeed, no longer than two months after Webster's speech

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was delivered, a state government was formed by the people of the territory which declared for the absolute prohibition of slavery. "It certainly is no lack of consistency in a public man," says Rhodes,^c "to change his action in accordance with the change in circumstances. To insist upon a rigid principle when it is no more applicable or necessary is not good politics; yet great blame has been attached to Webster because he did not (in this speech) insist on the Wilmot Proviso."^a

Calhoun, equally anxious to preserve the constitution, but convinced of the uselessness to the South of even the constitution itself, should the institutions of southern society be seriously jeopardized by the action of congress in the matter of the territories, put forth the programme of the Southern party with all that cold explicitness of which he was so consummate a master. The maintenance of the Union, he solemnly declared, depended upon the permanent preservation of a perfect equilibrium between the slave holding and the free states: that equilibrium could be maintained only by some policy which would render possible the creation of as many new slave states as free states; concessions of territory had already been made by the South, in the establishment of the Missouri compromise line, which rendered it extremely doubtful whether that equilibrium could be preserved; the equilibrium must be restored, or the Union must go to pieces; and the action of congress in the admission of California must determine which alternative was to be chosen. He privately advised that the fighting be forced now to a conclusive issue; because, he said, "we are stronger now than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally."



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD

(1801-1872)

SEWARD AND CHASE : TAYLOR'S ATTITUDE¹

Still more significant, if possible — for they spoke the aggressive purposes of a new party — were the speeches of Senator Seward of New York and Senator Chase of Ohio, spokesmen respectively of the Free-soil whigs and Free-soil democrats. Seward demanded the prompt admission of California, repudiated all compromise, and, denying the possibility of any equilibrium between the sections, declared the common domain of the country to be

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devoted to justice and liberty by the constitution not only, but also by "a higher law than the constitution." While deprecating violence or any illegal action, he avowed his conviction that slavery must give way "to the salutary instructions of economy and to the ripening influences of humanity"; that "all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence—all that check its extension and abate its strength tend to its peaceful extirpation." Chase spoke with equal boldness to the same effect.

Seward was the president's confidential adviser. General Taylor had surrounded himself in his cabinet, not with the recognised masters of whig policy, but with men who would counsel instead of dictating to him. Several of these advisers were Seward's friends; and the president, like Seward, insisted that California be admitted without condition or counterbalancing compromise.

The Texan authorities, when they learned of the action of New Mexico in framing a constitution at the president's suggestion, prepared to assert their claims upon a portion of the New Mexican territory by military force; the governor of Mississippi promised assistance; and Southern members of congress who called upon the president expressed the fear that Southern officers in the federal army would decline to obey the orders, which he had promptly issued, to meet Texan force with the force of the general government. "Then," exclaimed Taylor, "I will command the army in person, and any man who is taken in treason against the Union I will hang as I did the deserters and spies at Monterey." The spirited old man had a soldier's instinctive regard for law, and unhesitating impulse to execute it. There was a ring as of Jackson in this utterance.^b

Despite the hostility of the extremists of both sections the idea of compromise eventually triumphed. A state convention in Mississippi in the previous year had issued an address to the people of the South proposing a convention of Southern delegates at Nashville in June. As the date set drew near, however, there was seen to be little interest in it, outside Mississippi and South Carolina. The fears of the union men throughout the nation were raised to a high pitch of excitement by the thought of what the assembly might do. But their fears proved unjustified. Delegates from nine states met on June 3rd. None of the border states were represented nor were North Carolina or Louisiana. And instead of adopting a fiery address threatening disunion, it expressed a confident hope for some sort of a compromise. It proved to be, as Rhodes^c says, "not a wave, but only a ripple of Southern sentiment."

DEATH OF TAYLOR . COMPROMISE EFFECTED

One very potent factor still remained in opposition to the measures of Clay's committee. And this was President Taylor himself. Neither the persuasion nor warnings of Clay could move him. All the influence of the administration was exerted against the compromise. But before there was any necessity or opportunity for an open rupture the president was removed by death. He had imprudently exposed himself to the sun on the 4th of July, illness developing into typhoid fever followed, and on the 9th he died. Throughout the North and in the border states the sorrow and regret at his death were felt by all irrespective of party. Never a partisan in any sense of the word, he had accepted the whig nomination with the declaration that "he would not be the president of a party, but the president of the whole people." He had tried courageously to live up to this ideal, and although

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he could not, any more than Clay or Webster, have stayed the hand of destiny, still had he lived to finish his work his measure of success might have been greater than theirs.

For the second time in its history the whig party had to face the situation presented by the accession of a vice-president who was not in accord with the late administration's policy. For Millard Fillmore, a whig of the Webster school, like the Massachusetts statesman, was an advocate of compromise. He had told President Taylor privately that in case it devolved upon him to give the casting vote on the Clay measures in the senate he should vote for them. The country at large did not know officially what his stand would be, but it was felt instinctively that there would be a reversal of policy. Clay saw new hope for the success of his schemes in the change in the executive. Seward, who knew his old rival in New York politics, lamented that "Providence had at last led the man of hesitation and double opinions to the crisis where decision and singleness are indispensable."

President Fillmore did not thwart his party as Tyler had done, but the immediate reconstruction of his cabinet with Webster as secretary of state left room for no doubt as to what his policy on compromise was to be. In rapid succession the committee's compromise measures were now pushed through senate and house, and at once received the approval of the president. The compromise of 1850 was at last complete.^a

The result was to leave the Missouri compromise line untouched—for the line still ran all of its original length across the Louisiana purchase of 1803—but to open the region of the Mexican cession of 1848 to slavery, should the course of events not prevent its introduction. The slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, but the North was exasperated by the Fugitive Slave Law, which devoted the whole executive power of the general government within the free states to the recapture of fugitive slaves. This part of the compromise made it certain that antagonisms would be hotly excited, not soothingly allayed. Habits of accommodation and the mercantile spirit, which dreaded any disturbance of the great prosperity which had already followed on the heels of the discovery of gold in California, had induced compromise; but other forces were to render it ineffectual against the coming crisis.^b

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

It was while the compromise measures were before congress, while the nation was absorbed in watching the outcome of the great domestic drama, that a treaty of great importance was signed (April 19th, 1850) at Washington by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British minister, and the secretary of state, John M. Clayton. The discovery of gold in California had been followed by an unprecedented rush of population to the Pacific Coast. One of the most frequented routes of travel lay across the Central American isthmus, and already both British and American companies were seeking from Nicaragua permission to dig a canal from ocean to ocean through her territory. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as it was called, established a joint Anglo-American protectorate over any ship-canal that might be constructed across the isthmus, either by way of Nicaragua, Panama, or Tehuantepec. "The treaty," writes Rhodes,^c "was favourable to unrestricted commercial intercourse, and was in line with our traditional policy. Yet it has given rise to many disputed questions, for the United States and England drew a different meaning from several of its articles. Less than three years after its con-

clusion its provisions were severely criticised in the senate; and under the Pierce and Buchanan administrations it became a subject of controversy with England." ^a

NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1850

The abolitionists had never ceased to din the iniquity of slavery into the ears of the American people. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, with nearly all the other political leaders of 1850, had united in deploring the wickedness of these fanatics, who were persistently stirring up a question which was steadily widening the distance between the sections. They mistook the symptom for the disease. Slavery itself had put the South out of harmony with its surroundings, and still more out of harmony with the inevitable lines of the country's development. Even in 1850, though they hardly yet knew it, the two sections had drifted so far apart that they were practically two different countries.

The case of the South was one of arrested development. The South remained very much as in 1790; while other parts of the country had developed, it had stood still. The remnants of colonial feeling, of class influence, which advancing democracy had wiped out elsewhere, retained all their force here, aggravated by the effects of an essentially aristocratic system of employment. The ruling class had to maintain a military control over the labouring class and a class influence over the poorer whites. It had even secured in the constitution provision for its political power in the representation given to three-fifths of the slaves. The twenty additional members of the house of representatives were not simply a gain to the South; they were still more a gain to the "black districts," where whites were few, and the slave-holder controlled the district. Slave-owners and slave-holders together, there were but 350,000 of them; but they had common interests, the intelligence to see them and the courage to contend for them. The first step of a rising man was to buy slaves; and this was enough to enroll him in the dominant class. From it were drawn the representatives and senators in congress, the governors, and all the holders of offices over which the "slave power," as it came to be called, had control. Not only was the South inert; its ruling class, its ablest and best men, were united in defence of tendencies which were alien and hostile to those of the rest of the country.

Immigration into the United States was not an important factor in its development until about 1847. In 1847 it rose to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000; all told, more than two and a quarter million persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. The wealth-increasing influence of such a stream of immigration may be calculated. Its political effects were even greater and were all in the same direction. Leaving out the dregs of the immigration, which settled down in the seaboard cities, its best part was a powerful nationalising force. It had not come to any particular state, but to the United States; it had none of the traditional prejudices in favour of a state, but a strong feeling for the whole country; and the new feelings which it brought in must have had their weight not only on the gross mass of the people, but on the views of former leaders. And all the influences of this enormous immigration were confined to the North and West, whose divergence from the South thus received a new impetus. The immigration avoided slave soil as if by instinct. And, as the sections began to differ further in aims and policy, the North began to gain heavily in ability to ensure its success.

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POLITICAL TENDENCIES TOWARD DISUNION

Texas was the last slave state ever admitted; and, as it refused to be divided, the South had no further increase of numbers in the senate. Until 1850 the admission of a free state had been so promptly balanced by the admission of a slave state that the senators of the two sections had remained about equal in number; in 1860 the free states had thirty-six senators and the slave states only thirty. As the representation in the house had changed from thirty-five free-state and thirty slave-state members in 1790 to one hundred and forty-seven free-state and ninety slave-state in 1860, and as the electors are the sum of the numbers of senators and representatives, it is evident that political power had passed away from the South in 1850. If at any time the free states should unite they could control the house of representatives and the senate, elect the president and vice-president, dictate the appointment of judges and other federal officers, and make the laws what they pleased. If pressed to it, they could even control the interpretation of the laws by the supreme court. No federal judge could be removed except by impeachment, but an act of congress could at any time increase the number of judges to any extent, and the appointment of the additional judges could reverse the opinion of the court. All the interests of the South depended on the one question whether the free states would unite or not.

In circumstances so critical a cautious quiescence and avoidance of public attention was the only safe course for the "slave power," but that course had become impossible. The numbers interested had become too large to be subject to complete discipline; all could not be held in cautious reserve; and, when an advanced proposal came from any quarter of the slave-holding lines, the whole army was shortly forced up to the advanced position. Every movement of the mass was necessarily aggressive; and aggression meant final collision. If collision came, it must be on some question of the rights of the states; and on such a question the whole South would move as one man. Everything thus tended to disunion.

The Protestant churches of the United States had reflected in their organisation the spirit of the political institutions under which they lived. Acting as purely voluntary associations, they had been organised into governments by delegates, much like the "conventions" which had been evolved in the political parties. The omnipresent slavery question intruded into these bodies and split them. The Baptist church was thus divided into a Northern and a Southern branch in 1845, and the equally powerful Methodist church met the same fate the following year. Two of the four great Protestant bodies were thus no longer national; it was only by careful management that the integrity of the Presbyterian church was maintained until 1861.

The political parties showed the same tendency. Each began to shrivel up in one section or the other. The notion of "squatter sovereignty," attractive at first to the Western democracy, and not repudiated by the South, enabled the democratic party to pass the crisis of 1850 without losing much of its Northern vote, while Southern whigs began to drift in, making the party continually more pro-slavery. This could not continue long without beginning to decrease its Northern vote, but this effect did not become plainly visible until after 1852. The efforts of the whig party to ignore the great question alienated its anti-slavery members in the North while they did not satisfy its Southern members. The whig losses were not at first heavy, but they were enough to defeat the party almost everywhere in the presidential election of 1852.^e

WEBSTER'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Webster's tenure of the office of secretary of state was marked by two diplomatic episodes of something more than ordinary interest. The first, which occurred in the fall of 1850, culminated in his famous Hülsemann letter, one of the most striking of all his state papers. During the previous year President Taylor had despatched a special agent to Europe to watch and report upon the progress of events in Hungary, where the revolution under Louis Kossuth was then in progress. This action had angered the Austrian government and a diplomatic correspondence ensued. Hülsemann, the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, sent a haughty, dictatorial letter to Webster, who jumped at the opportunity it gave him, and replied in a letter which terminated the controversy. In this reply which, as Rhodes^c aptly says, was little more than "a stump-speech in disguise," Webster asserted the right of the United States, compared with which "all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg were but as a patch on the earth's surface," to "watch" revolutions wherever they occurred, declared the sympathy of America for any people "struggling for a constitution like our own," and assured the Austrian representative that the nation had no thought now of departing from its traditional policy of keeping out of European embroilments. The letter was received with enthusiasm by all parties, and possibly accomplished for the moment the purpose for which Webster said he had written it — namely, "to touch the national pride, and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion."

The other diplomatic question with which Webster was engaged was of a very different sort. It grew directly out of the Lopez expedition to Cuba in the summer of 1851. Lopez led an army of Americans and adventurers into the island but was taken and garroted. The capture and execution of some of his American followers led to a riot in New Orleans in which the house of the Spanish consul was sacked and the Spanish flag torn in tatters. Spain at once protested, but Webster conducted the affair to a happy conclusion, with a promise of a military salute for the Spanish flag, and a cash indemnity, subsequently voted by congress.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

During the summer of 1852 appeared a subtle but powerful influence which was to play a more important part in arousing and creating anti-slavery sentiment in the North than any amount of abolition pamphlets or political tirades. This was Harriet Beecher Stowe's moving and pathetic novel of slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Unquestionably overdrawn, in that it related as of ordinary occurrence incidents that were probably exceptional, its powerful and vivid portrayal of the horrors and wrongs of slavery stirred the sympathetic hearts of the North to their profoundest depths. Perhaps never has a work of fiction exerted such a wide and lasting influence. Within the year over three hundred thousand copies were sold. Strangely enough its popularity was not confined to the North alone; its sales in the South indicated that even in the land of slavery it was widely read. The book was at once dramatised and produced on the stage with unprecedented success.

The slave-holders were not long, however, in awaking to the realisation that it was an increasingly dangerous menace to their cherished institution, and scores of publications of varying merit were rushed through the press in

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the attempt to discredit or deny the truth of Mrs. Stowe's story. That the essential features of her picture were correct has now been generally accepted. It is the ground held by Rhodes,^c one of the fairest and most impartial of American historians, who says: "If we bear in mind that the novelist, from the very nature of the art, deals in characteristics and not with average persons, the conclusion is resistless that Mrs. Stowe realised her ideal." Channing^d pithily suggests the book's tremendous influence with the remark that "the Northern boys who read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852-1858 were the voters of 1860 and the soldiers of 1861-1865."^e

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW¹

For a short time after the passage of the compromise measures the country was tranquil. But the quiet was not a healthful quiet: it was simply the lethargy of reaction. There was on all hands an anxious determination to be satisfied — to keep still, and not arouse again the terrible forces of disruption which had so startled the country in the recent legislative struggle; but nobody was really satisfied. That the leaders who had made themselves responsible for the compromise were still profoundly uneasy was soon made abundantly evident to everyone. Mr. Webster went about anxiously reproving agitation. These measures of accommodation between the two sections, he insisted, were a new compact, a new stay and support for the constitution; and no one who loved the constitution and the union ought to dare to touch them. Mr. Clay took similar ground. Good resolutions were everywhere devoted to keeping down agitation. Party magnates sought to allay excitement by declaring that there was none.

But the Fugitive Slave Law steadily defeated these purposes of peace. The same section of the constitution which commanded the rendering up by the states to each other of fugitives from justice had provided also that persons "held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another," should be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service might be due; and so early as 1793 congress had passed a law intended to secure the execution of this section with regard to both classes of fugitives. Apparently it had been meant to lay the duty of returning both fugitives from justice and fugitives from service upon the state authorities; but while considerations of mutual advantage had made it easy to secure the interstate rendition of criminals, there had been a growing slackness in the matter of rendering up fugitive slaves. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, had somewhat complicated the matter by deciding, in the case of *Prigg versus Pennsylvania* (1842), that the federal government could not impose upon state officials the duty of executing a law of the United States, as it had sought to do in the legislation of 1793. Local magistrates, therefore, might decline to issue warrants for the arrest or removal of fugitive slaves. In view of the increasing unwillingness of the free states to take any part in the process, the Southern members of congress insisted that the federal government should itself make more effective provision for the execution of the constitution in this particular; and it was part of the compromise accommodation of 1850 that this demand should be complied with.

Doubtless it would have been impossible to frame any law which would have been palatable to the people of the free states. But the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 seemed to embrace as many irritating provisions as possible. In

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order to meet the views of the supreme court the whole duty of enforcing the act was put upon officers of the United States. Warrant for the arrest or removal of a fugitive slave was to proceed in every case from a judge or commissioner of the United States; this warrant was to be executed by a marshal of the United States, who could not decline to execute it under a penalty of \$1,000, and who would be held responsible under his official bond for the full value of any slave who should escape from his custody; all good citizens were required to assist in the execution of the law when called upon to do so, and a heavy fine besides civil damages to the owner of the slave was to be added to six months' imprisonment for any assistance given the fugitive or any attempt to effect his rescue; the simple affidavit of the person who claimed the negro was to be sufficient evidence of ownership, sufficient basis for the certificate of the court or commissioner; and this certificate was to be conclusive as against the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

RESISTANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING

The law, moreover, was energetically and immediately put into operation by slave owners. In some cases negroes who had long since escaped into the Northern states, and who had settled and married there, were seized upon the affidavit of their former owners, and by force of the federal government carried away into slavery again. Riots and rescues became frequent in connection with the execution of process under the law. One of the most notable cases occurred in Boston, where, in February, 1851, a negro named Shadrach was rescued from the United States marshal by a mob composed for the most part of negroes and enabled to escape into Canada.

It was impossible to quiet feeling and establish the compromise measures in the esteem of the people while such a law, a part of that compromise, was being pressed to execution in such a way. Neither section, moreover, understood or esteemed the purpose or spirit of the other. "Many of the slaveholding states," Clay warned his fellow whigs in the North, when they showed signs of restlessness under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, "and many public meetings of the people in them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depends upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union." But most Northern men thought that the South had threatened chiefly for effect, and would not venture to carry out half her professed purpose, should she be defeated. Southern men, on their part, esteemed very slightly the fighting spirit of the North. They regarded it disdainfully as a section given over to a self-seeking struggle for wealth, and they knew commercial wealth to be pusillanimous to a degree when it came to meeting threats of war and disastrous disturbances of trade.^b

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852

Such were the conditions under which the presidential campaign of 1852 took place. The democratic convention met at Baltimore on June 1st. The principal candidates for the presidential nomination were General Lewis Cass of Michigan, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had been Polk's secretary of state, and former gov-

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ernor William L. Marcy of New York. The two-thirds rule, however, rendered the choice of any one of these candidates impossible, and on the fifth day Virginia pointed the way to a solution of the problem by giving her votes to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man who had scarcely been mentioned before the convention. He gained steadily until the forty-eighth ballot, when a stampede gave him the nomination. Pierce was a handsome man in the prime of life, who had represented his state in both houses of congress and had served as a brigadier-general under General Scott in the Mexican War. But, as a recent historian well says, in none of these positions had he won distinction for anything so much as for a certain grace and candour of bearing. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college mate and boyhood friend, has left a pleasant picture of Pierce in the campaign life which he loyally wrote in his support; but the novelist's epitome of the candidate's qualifications for the presidency gave little promise of any ability to cope with the problems he would be called upon to solve if elected. William R. King of Alabama was named for vice-president.

The whig convention which met two weeks later in the same place was divided in its support of President Fillmore, Webster, his secretary of state, and General Winfield Scott, whose sole claim to the nomination was his successful campaign in the Mexican War. After balloting for three days the Southern delegates, who had at first almost unanimously voted for Fillmore, threw their support to Scott, who was nominated by a majority vote on the fifty-third ballot. The nomination for vice-president went to William A. Graham of North Carolina.

The platforms put forward by the two parties were significant of the peculiar political situation, for in addition to their ordinary declarations of principles both added a strong assertion of their complete acceptance of the compromise measures of 1850, and their determination to take them as a final settlement of the question of slavery extension. The democratic platform went even further and declared for a faithful adherence to the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 as one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The Free-soil party, in its convention held at Pittsburg in August, boldly denounced the shrinking cowardice of the two great parties in refusing to consider the question of slavery extension a vital one, and announced their programme as "No more slave states, no more slave territories, no nationalised slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." John P. Hale of New Hampshire was named as their candidate for the presidency and George W. Julian of Indiana for the vice-presidency.

The campaign was not a spirited one. After the first glow of enthusiasm it was characterised by apathy. Thousands of whigs, repelled by both their party's platform and candidates, but still not ready to unite with a third party, showed little interest in the election. The democrats, feeling themselves again united, were confident of victory. The Free-soil party did not muster its full strength. People felt that it was not so much a contest for principles as for spoils. Before election day the two great champions of compromise had passed away. Henry Clay died on June 29th, and Webster, broken-spirited over what he felt to be a final end of all his ambitions, on October 23rd. Democratic confidence proved not to be misplaced. Pierce, although his popular majority was small, carried every state except four, and received two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for Scott. At the same time the democratic majorities were increased in both houses of congress. The defeat was the death knell of the whig party. Its

vacillating, wavering policy; its failure to take up boldly the cause of liberty; its inability to cope with national problems when it had the opportunity, had lost it the confidence and faith of its supporters. Before another four years had passed it had been supplanted as one of the great national parties by a party not then born — the republican.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PIERCE ADMINISTRATION

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated March 4th, 1853, the youngest man up to that time to assume the office of president. In his inaugural address he made a vigorous appeal for the Union; he assured the country of his unequivocal adherence to the principles of the compromise of 1850, and declared that its provisions should be "unhesitatingly carried into effect." As the only portion of the compromise that called for executive action was the Fugitive Slave Act it was well understood that although it was not mentioned by name this phrase applied to that law. His assertion that "the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction" was "eminently important for our protection," and that his administration would not be controlled "by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion," was taken to point clearly to the possible annexation of Cuba, which the pro-slavery men favoured in order to offset the formation of new free states in the northwest.

The new president's cabinet and diplomatic appointments demonstrated even more certainly than his inaugural address what influences guided him. The state portfolio was first offered to John A. Dix of New York, but his association with the Free-soil movement in 1848 made him an object of distrust to the Southern democrats, and William L. Marcy finally received the appointment. The appointment as secretary of war of Jefferson Davis, the most extreme of the Southern state-rights leaders and one of the bitterest foes of the compromise, was received with a shock by Union men of all sections. Nor did the selection of the shifty Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts bring assurance to New England and the North. The diplomatic appointments pointed plainly toward the acquisition of Cuba. Buchanan was sent to England, where it was thought he might be able to overcome that country's known jealousy of American designs on the island. The assignment of the Madrid mission to Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, who had gone on record as a believer that Cuba might be and ought to be obtained by other means than purchase, was a source of annoyance to the Spanish court, and was commonly commented upon as a gratuitous insult to a friendly power.

A noteworthy diplomatic event of the first year of Pierce's administration was Secretary Marcy's vigorous assertion of the protecting power of American citizenship in foreign lands in relation to the case of Martin Koszta. Koszta was a Hungarian revolutionist of 1848, who had escaped to the United States, where he had taken out his first citizenship papers. Returning to Smyrna on a business trip, he was there kidnapped and carried on board an Austrian brig-of-war, whose captain placed him in irons. Captain Ingraham of the American sloop-of-war *Saint Louis*, demanded his release as an American citizen, and as a compromise he was delivered, pending a settlement, into the custody of the French consul-general. The Austrian government demanded reparation for what it termed an outrage. Secretary Marcy, with his eye on the democratic presidential nomination, set out to write a reply that would strike the public chord as Webster's famous Hülse-mann letter had done. His judicious exposition of the American theory of citizenship, and his declaration of the right of the United States to afford

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protection to those who had become "clothed with the national character," as Koszta had, was received with great favour by Americans of both parties, and has been sustained and followed by his successors in the state department.

It was admitted before the year was far gone by the best friends of the administration that the president needed all the glory a vigorous foreign policy could bring him. For the promise of his inaugural had not been fulfilled. His complete lack of executive ability, his deficiency in initiative power, his fatal indecision of character, were daily proving his unfitness to cope with the great problems of the nation. "No one," says Rhodes,^c "could deny that he had grown less by his elevation, like a little statue on a great pedestal." Still to the outward eye the democratic party seemed to be more solidly intrenched in power than almost any party since the foundation of the Union, the state elections of 1853 increased its hold on the nation, and there appeared to be no cloud on the horizon that could threaten its continued supremacy for a long period of time. But forces were already actively at work which were soon to bring it to a rude awakening.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL (1854 A.D.)

Congress met on December 3rd, 1853. The message which President Pierce addressed to that body congratulated the country that anti-slavery agitation had ceased, and that both parties had agreed to uphold the compromises of 1820 and 1850 by which the status of slavery appeared to be definitely settled on every inch of American territory. A bill for the organisation of Nebraska Territory, which was to comprise what was then known as the "Platte country" — Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Montana, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming — had passed the house at the previous session and had been reported to the senate. This same bill, in which there was no reference whatever to slavery, was now (December, 1853) reintroduced in the senate and referred to the committee on territories, of which the chairman was Stephen A. Douglas. On January 4th, 1854, Senator Douglas reported the bill to the senate in a new form, which must be considered nothing more nor less than a personal bid for Southern democratic support in the coming presidential campaign. In its new form the bill expressly provided that any states subsequently made up out of the Nebraska territory should decide for themselves whether they should be slave or free states in entire disregard of the prohibition contained in the Missouri Compromise (1820). After recommitment the measure known to history as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was reported. It provided for two territories instead of one, the southern lying between 37° and 40° to be known as Kansas, the northern section to be called Nebraska. The bill proposed further that in extending the federal laws to these territories an exception should be made of that section (the 8th) of the act by which Missouri was admitted, "which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void." Thus was the Missouri Compromise, which the anti-slavery men had long considered an immovable bulwark in the path of the aggressions of the "slave power," to be summarily repealed. And in its place was to be adopted the principles of "squatter or popular sovereignty" first advanced by Cass during the discussion of the Oregon question in 1846-1847. A final clause provided for the extension of the Fugitive Slave Law to the new territories.^a

FUTILE OPPOSITION: EFFECTS OF THE ACTS

No bolder or more extraordinary measure had ever been proposed in congress; and it came upon the country like a thief in the night, without warning or expectation, when parties were trying to sleep off the excitement of former debates about the extension of slavery. Southern members had never dreamed of demanding a measure like this, expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, and opening all the territories to slavery; and no one but Douglas would have dared to offer it to them — Douglas, with his strong, coarse-grained, unsensitive nature, his western audacity, his love of leading, and leading boldly, in the direction whither, as it seemed to him, there lay party strength. Mr. Pierce, it seems, had been consulted about the measure beforehand, and had given it his approbation, saying that he deemed it founded “upon a sound principle, which the compromise of 1820 infringed upon,” and to which such a bill would enable the country to return.^b

Seward, Chase, Sumner, and Wade bravely led a band of anti-slavery senators in opposition. But their efforts were of no avail. Northern democrats carried away with the idea that the new principle of “squatter sovereignty” could be made to weld the democrats of all sections together into an irresistible political force that would sweep the whig party from the arena of national politics, gave their united support to Douglas’ bill. The opposition could muster hardly more than a dozen votes, and the measure passed the senate by thirty-four to fourteen. In the house it was carried through by a narrower margin, forty-four Northern democrats refusing to support it, but was eventually passed by a vote of 113 to 100. President Pierce signed the bill on May 30th and it became a law. “This,” says Alexander Johnston,^e “was the greatest political blunder in American history.” For the Kansas-Nebraska Act took a vast region, the character of which for over a generation had been considered as finally fixed as far as slavery was concerned, “and threw it into the arena as a prize for which the sections were to struggle; and the struggle always tended to force as the only arbiter.” Rhodes^c calls it the most momentous measure that had ever passed congress, and his summary of its effects well bears out this judgment. He says, “It sealed the doom of the whig party; it caused the formation of the republican party on the principle of no extension of slavery; it roused Lincoln and gave a bent to his great political ambition. It made the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter at the North; it caused the Germans to become republicans; it lost the democrats their hold on New England; it made the Northwest republican; it led to the downfall of the democratic party.”

FOREIGN RELATIONS: THE OSTEND MANIFESTO

The foreign relations of the United States during the Pierce administration were marked by two events that had a more or less direct bearing on the domestic struggle for slavery extension. On June 30th, 1854, Mexico and the United States exchanged ratifications of a treaty by which the southwestern boundary was finally fixed, and the United States, upon payment of the sum of \$10,000,000, gained the Mesilla valley, a district comprising about twenty million acres of land in the southern part of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. The district, known as the Gadsden Purchase, from James Gadsden, the American minister to Mexico who negotiated the settlement, was scarcely fit for cultivation. But at the North the acquisition was generally accepted as an indication of the steadily growing force

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of the idea of territorial aggrandisement, particularly in the direction where the regions acquired would be likely to be slave rather than free territory.

The next incident showed the tendency even more clearly marked. Pierre Soulé, who had been sent as minister to Spain, had achieved considerable notoriety at Madrid by fighting a duel with the marquis de Turgot, the French ambassador, in which the latter was crippled for life. In communications with the Spanish government over the seizure by Cuban authorities of the American ship *Black Warrior* he had, by overstepping his instructions, come dangerously near to bringing about a break in diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States. However inadequately the American minister represented the American nation, he certainly was a fit representative of the growing desire of the South to add new slave territory to the United States. In the spring and summer of 1854, however, new developments hurried the two countries to the verge of hostilities. These were the indiscreet filibustering schemes of the radical pro-slavery leaders of whom Governor Quitman of Mississippi was chief, which aimed at wresting Cuba from Spanish rule, and its annexation as a slave state or states. The strong feeling aroused at the north by the Kansas-Nebraska Act probably alone prevented the leaders of the Southern propaganda from forcing the president and congress into war. But the counsels of Secretary Marcy and other Northern democrats prevailed in the end, and the president issued a proclamation (June 1st) warning the filibusterers that infractions of the neutrality laws would be punished. The arrest of Quitman who was placed under bonds to keep the peace, actually followed and gave assurance that the administration was in earnest.

A palace revolution in Spain, the chief result of which was a change in ministry, held out hopes to the friends of Cuban annexation in the United States, and pressure was brought to bear on the president with the result that Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, the American ministers to England, France, and Spain respectively, were directed to meet and discuss the Cuban question. They came together at Ostend, Belgium, and there, October 18th, 1854, they drew up the report known as the Ostend Manifesto.

The joint decision of the diplomats was that an earnest effort should at once be made for the purchase of Cuba, for which they thought the sum of \$120,000,000 would be a liberal payment. The purchase, they declared, would not only be advantageous to the United States; but, in their belief, the Union would "never enjoy repose nor possess public security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." Therefore, they argued, if Spain should refuse to sell the island, the United States, proceeding on the "great law" that "self preservation is the first law of nature with states as well as with individuals," would be fully justified in wresting it by force of arms from Spanish control.

The real purport of the manifesto was at once seen when it was made public some months later. To the anti-Nebraska men it seemed, says Rhodes,^c "a recommendation of an offer of \$120,000,000 to Spain to give up the emancipation of slaves in Cuba (then being agitated), and to accomplish likewise the addition of two or three slave states to the Union. But, if peaceful purchase could not be effected, treasure must be wasted and lives sacrificed in order that slavery might extend its power." The policy set forth in the manifesto was indeed promptly disavowed by Secretary Marcy and his sharp reply was followed by the immediate resignation of Soulé. But the action of the democratic party in subsequently nominating for president

the first signer of the document caused it to be labelled in the public mind as one of the cardinal sins of the Pierce administration.

THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS

"The Kansas-Nebraska Act," remarks Woodrow Wilson, "sowed the wind; the whirlwind was not long in coming." The storm broke first in the very region the act had opened to slavery. Seldom had there been a case in the history of the nation where the charge of broken faith and violated guarantees could be with so much justice brought forward. In a few short months the political situation was entirely changed, and the anti-slavery men of the north were drawn nearer together than they ever had been before. Greeley declared that Pierce and Douglas had made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Wendell Phillips could have made in half a century. And it was a characteristic of this newly created anti-slavery power that it cast aside the timidity that had hitherto paralysed the northern politicians of both great parties; and eagerly sought an opportunity to measure strength with its southern adversaries. The ambiguity of the act gave the opportunity and the trial of strength took place on the plains of Kansas with very little delay.

The ambiguity of the law lay in the fact that no provision was made as to when or how the "squatter sovereigns" of the new territories should make their choice as to whether they would accept or prohibit slavery. But North and South saw at once that under the circumstances the first on the field would have a decided advantage, and both sections prepared to occupy the disputed land. The slave-holders were earliest on hand, for they had only to cross the Missouri, and in bands of a hundred or more they poured across the border, armed and equipped as though for a military expedition. Hard on their heels came crowds of settlers from the free states sent out by the emigrant aid societies that had sprung up in every northern state from Maine to Iowa almost as soon as congress had passed the act. In the diverse character of these two streams lay the secret of the ultimate triumph of the free-state idea. The slave-holders, or very much the greater part of them, were not bona fide settlers at all. In entering Kansas they had no idea of giving up their residence in Missouri, or Arkansas, or Mississippi, from which states most of them came. Their only idea was to organise the state and secure its admission as a slave state. They never intended to make it their home. The free-state settlers, on the other hand—or by far the majority of them—carried their families and household goods with them, and looked forward to building homes for themselves in the new commonwealth. They were more energetic, more intelligent than their adversaries. And the greater mobility of the northern industrial population aided materially in the result. Finally, the spirit that led them on was higher and the ties that bound them to their new homes were necessarily stronger. In the long run they were sure to win.

The initial advantage, however, as might have been expected, was with the pro-slavery men. The law was scarcely in force ere most of the best land along the west shore of the Missouri had been staked out by slave-holders from Missouri. The first party of New England settlers was sent out by the Emigrant Aid Society in July. For the most part the North had taken up the challenge which the act contained. They intended to accept the new principle of popular sovereignty without more ado and, by sending

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more settlers into the territory than their adversaries, thereby win the state for the cause of freedom.

The first territorial governor sent out by President Pierce was Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania democrat with Southern leanings, and a firm believer in "popular sovereignty." The election of a territorial delegate in November, 1854, was scarcely contested by the free-state men, and resulted in a pro-slave triumph with the aid of seventeen hundred Missourians, members of the organisations known as "Blue Lodges," who crossed the river for the purpose of voting.

Five thousand armed Missourians, imported for election day, easily carried the election for members of the territorial legislature for the pro-slavery cause in March, 1855. Seven months' contact with the lawless methods of the Southern party had revolutionised Governor Reeder's opinions, and made him an ardent free-state man. The new legislature unseated the few free-state men who had been elected and proceeded to adopt a code of laws, utterly out of tune, as Rhodes^c points out, with republican government in the nineteenth century. The protests of Jefferson Davis and other ultra-southern leaders prevailed with the president, and Reeder was superseded as governor by Wilson Shannon. Meanwhile the free-state men, largely reinforced by new settlers, proceeded to organise an effective opposition. In October, 1855, Reeder was chosen unanimously as their delegate to congress, and through their convention at Topeka they formed themselves into a state, and framed and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. In January, 1856, Charles S. Robinson was elected governor under the Topeka constitution. There were thus two state governments directly opposed to each other. Then followed what is known as the "Wakarusa War," in which an armed attack on the free-state capital, Lawrence, was only prevented by the prudence of the free-state men and the politic counsels of the pro-slavery leader, David R. Atchison.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The first great result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to throw political parties into an unprecedented confusion. And at the very first succeeding national election the majority which had put the act through the house was overturned. As by a common impulse, all "anti-Nebraska" men of all parties drew away from their old associates and began to search for a common ground where they could act in unison. The largest single element in this new category were whigs who naturally hesitated to affiliate at once with their former Free-soil adversaries. Their first step, therefore, was to identify themselves with the Know-Nothings, who now, as a recent historian has aptly said, "volunteered with reference to the slavery question to be Do-Nothings." The American party, or Know-Nothings, as they were called because of their evasive replies to all questions concerning their membership and purposes, was a secret, oath-bound organisation pledged to oppose the nomination for office of foreign-born citizens, and to combat the influences of the Catholic church. It had been successful in some municipal elections in the east, and had made a fair showing of strength in several state elections. Its ambition now was to become a national party and take the place in the political world formerly occupied by the whigs. Every inducement was therefore held out to whigs to join the organisation.^a

A desperate attempt was made to create a diversion, and by sheer dint of will to forget the slavery question altogether. Southern whigs for a time

retained their party name, and tried to maintain also their party organisation; but even in the South the Know-Nothings were numerously joined, and for a brief space it looked as if they were about to become in fact a national party. In the elections of 1854 they succeeded in electing, not only a considerable number of congressmen, but also their candidates for the governorship in Massachusetts and Delaware. Before the new house met in December, 1855, the Know-Nothings had carried New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California, and had polled handsome votes which fell very little short of being majorities in six of the Southern States.^b

Already in 1854, however, the foundations had been laid of a new party that was to offer a far better opportunity for political action to anti-Nebraska men than could be offered by any oath-bound society, whose character, despite its cry of "America for the Americans," was in its very essence undemocratic and un-American. In February and March, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was still before congress, two meetings of whigs, democrats, and Free-soilers took place at Ripon, Wisconsin, at the second of which preliminary measures were taken for the formation of a new coalition party, the keystone of which should be opposition to the aggressions of the slave power. The name "Republican" was suggested as an appropriate one for the new party. Other similar meetings soon followed in other parts of the North, entirely disassociated with the Wisconsin movement. The most notable of the subsequent meetings was that held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6th, 1854. It was the first state convention held in the interest of the new anti-slavery party. A full state ticket was nominated, and the name Republican, proposed by Jacob M. Howard, was adopted as the official name of the organisation. In Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Vermont, state conventions of the "Anti-Nebraska" men were held on July 13th, the anniversary of the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787. In the two last named states, Michigan's lead in adopting the name Republican for the new party was followed.^a

Within the first year of its existence it obtained popular majorities in fifteen states, elected, or won over to itself, one hundred and seventeen members of the house of representatives, and secured eleven adherents in the senate. Representatives of all the older parties came together in its ranks, in novel agreement, their purposes mastered and brought into imperative concert by the signal crisis which had been precipitated upon the country by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It got its programme from the Free-soilers, whom it bodily absorbed; its radical and aggressive spirit from the Abolitionists, whom it received without liking; its liberal views upon constitutional questions from the whigs, who constituted both in numbers and in influence its commanding element; and its popular impulses from the democrats, who did not leave behind them, when they joined it, their faith in their old party ideals.^b

THE ASSAULT ON SUMNER

Meanwhile the affairs of Kansas had occupied a large proportion of the time of congress. Feeling ran high on both sides, and the debates were characterised by an intense bitterness. On May 19th Senator Sumner began his great speech on *The Crime against Kansas*. It was a forcible arraignment of the administration and the pro-slavery leaders, but it was marred by intemperate language and stinging characterisations of certain democratic leaders, particularly Douglas and Senator Butler of South Carolina, whom he

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likened to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Although the speech produced a great sensation, it is doubtful, had it not been for its almost tragic sequel, whether it would have had as much weight or influence as the really masterful arguments of Seward, Hale, Wade, and Collamer who preceded him. "The whole speech," says Channing,^d "shows to what depth a scholar can descend when thoroughly aroused. The sequel showed some of the effects produced by slavery on civilisation."

Two days after Sumner's speech was delivered the senator, while sitting in his seat in the senate chamber during a recess, was set upon by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman and a nephew of Senator Butler, and before he could rise to defend himself was hammered into insensibility by the crushing blows from the vengeful South Carolinian's heavy cane. Sumner's iron constitution alone prevented fatal results, but it was found that he had sustained a severe injury to his spinal column. For three years and a half his seat remained vacant as a mute protest against the barbarous methods of the extreme Southern party.

At once throughout the North Sumner was looked upon as a martyr to the cause of human liberty. Five hundred thousand copies of *The Crime against Kansas* were printed and distributed. The assault of Brooks was condemned as a dastardly and cowardly act by the press, the pulpit, and in the very halls of congress. In the South, on the other hand, Brooks was universally heralded as the champion of Southern rights and liberties; he was lauded as the chivalrous defender of his state's honour. He became the recipient of numerous testimonials, mostly in the shape of gold-headed canes, appropriately inscribed. An investigating committee of the house reported in favour of his expulsion, but the pro-slavery majority would go no further than a vote of censure. Brooks thereupon resigned his seat and was at once re-elected by his constituents almost unanimously. Remarks in the senate led to Brooks challenging Senator Henry Wilson and Representative Anson Burlingame to duels. The senator refused, but Burlingame, probably to the surprise of Brooks and most Southern members, accepted. The duel was never fought, however, for when the Canadian side of the Niagara was suggested as the meeting place, Brooks took the opportunity to withdraw on the ground that he could not, in the existing state of public feeling, safely cross the Northern States to Canada.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this unhappy affair lay in its influence on politics; for, as Senator Wilson / points out, "it entered largely into the presidential campaign that soon commenced and became one of the battle-cries of freedom and of the new party that then appealed for the first time for the suffrages of the nation."

"BLEEDING KANSAS"

While congress was busy debating the Kansas situation in the spring of 1856, the problem was taking on a more serious aspect in Kansas itself. Both sides realized that open civil war was imminent and prepared accordingly. Among the new free-state immigrants came a colony from New Haven, armed with Sharpe's rifles, supplied them largely through the energies of Henry Ward Beecher, whence these fire-arms become known by the name of Beecher's Bibles. From the South came Colonel Buford with a well-trained band of fighting men who looked upon service in Kansas as a crusade. At the suggestion of Lecompte, the pro-slavery chief justice of the territory, the grand jury found indictments for treason against ex-Governor Reeder, Governor

Robinson of the free-state government, and Colonel James Lane. Robinson was arbitrarily arrested at Lexington, Missouri, on his way east. Reeder escaped in disguise.

On May 21st — the day before Brooks' attack on Sumner — the United States marshal, Donaldson, with the bands of Atchison, Buford, and Stringfellow, which he had enrolled as a posse to carry out his commands, swooped down upon Lawrence, confiscated cannon, arms, and ammunition of the free-state settlers and destroyed printing offices, hotels, and private residences. The coincidence of this attack with the assault on Sumner aroused the spirit of the North as nothing else had done, and the determination to make Kansas a free state was greatly strengthened. In Kansas the feeling of dismay among free-state men that followed the sack of their capital gave way to a renewed determination to win, in which, with many, the idea of retaliation or revenge was not wanting. Principal among those who were moved to action by the events at Lawrence was John Brown, "a zealot of the Covenanting or Cromwellian stamp" Goldwin Smith⁹ calls him, who had settled at Ossawatimie with his two sons. Brown was an ascetic and fanatic of an extreme type. He had long brooded over the wrongs of slavery. Drawing his inspiration from the Old Testament, he took as his favourite text the declaration that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Imbued with the determination of killing a number of pro-slavery adherents, equal to the number — five as he counted it — who had already lost their lives in the free-state cause, he organised a secret retaliatory expedition which he led into the Pottawottomie valley, and there carried out his purpose by a series of brutal murders, that goes by the name of the "Pottawottomie massacre." Without attempting to justify these atrocities Rhodes^c points out that "we should hesitate before measuring the same condemnation to the doer and the deed. John Brown's God was the God of Joshua and Gideon. To him, as to them, seemed to come the word to go out and slay the enemies of his cause."

The outrage was denounced by both parties, and the free-state men were quick to disavow any connection or sympathy with its perpetrators. But the fires already kindled could not be stayed, and at once Kansas was in all the horrors of a bloody civil war. The whole territory armed for the fray. Guerilla bands of both parties wandered over the country, laying waste the settlements and fighting whenever they met. The free-state legislature which met at Topeka on July 4th was dispersed by Colonel E. V. Sumner with a body of federal troops.

Four days earlier the majority of the special congressional committee sent to investigate the situation in the territory reported that the pro-slavery elections had been carried by fraud, recommended that neither party's delegates should be seated, and declaring it as their opinion that the Topeka constitution embodied the will of a majority of the people. Throughout the summer of 1856 the civil war continued unabated. Governor Shannon, despairing of ever bringing order out of the chaos and disgusted at the attitude of the pro-slavery party whom he had sought to aid, resigned. Late in August his place was filled by the appointment of John W. Geary, a Pennsylvania democrat, with a record for gallantry in the Mexican War. Governor Geary was by far the ablest executive yet sent to the territory. He at once set himself to the task of establishing order; he dealt harshly with all breakers of law irrespective of party. By the end of September he was able to report to Washington, "Peace now reigns in Kansas."

But an impartial administration was the last thing in the world the pro-slavery men in Kansas wanted, and before another month had passed they

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were denouncing him on every side, some going to the length of threatening assassination. The clamour for his removal extended over the entire South. Finally, when Geary had come to the conclusion that he was not being supported by the administration, he resigned in disgust.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The presidential campaign which opened while the bloody struggle in Kansas was at its height was a four-cornered contest. The first party to place a presidential ticket in the field was the American, or "Know-Nothing," the national convention of which assembled at Philadelphia, February 22nd, 1856. Ex-President Fillmore was named for president and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee, an adopted son of Andrew Jackson, for vice-president. A platform already prepared by the national council of the organisation was presented to the convention. In this an attempt was made to divert attention from the slavery question, and by the simple process of ignoring it confine the issues to the organisation's favourite theme of the exclusion of foreign and un-American influences. A minority of Northern delegates, after attempting to secure a positive declaration on slavery refused to take part in the nominations and withdrew.

On the same day met the first national convention of the new republican party. Delegates from twenty-three states, pursuant to a call of several state organisations, assembled at Pittsburgh, and after adopting a ringing address written by Henry J. Raymond, declaring for a free Kansas, and the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, issued a call for a nominating convention to meet at Philadelphia, on June 17th following.

The democratic convention met at Cincinnati on June 2nd. Availability, rather than personal preferences, decided the nominations. Southern delegates largely favoured the renomination of Pierce, or the selection of Douglas, but the assault on Sumner and the attack on Lawrence had aroused the distrust of many Northern democrats, and there was an evident disinclination to go before the country with either of the two men who were generally held to be directly responsible for these outrages. A strong Northern sentiment favoured the nomination of Buchanan who had been out of the country as minister to England and was supposed to be uncommitted to any particular course in Kansas. The additional advantage of his hailing from a doubtful state which it was of the highest importance to carry, cast the balance in his favour and, after the Douglas men had declared for him, he was nominated on the seventeenth ballot. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, as the representative of the slave-power, was named for vice-president. The platform adopted contained a strong declaration of the party's devotion to and acceptance of the principles contained in the compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Finally, after insisting that there were "questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever," a hope was expressed that the influence of the United States might be made paramount in the gulf of Mexico, and the declaration made that this country ought to control the routes of inter-oceanic travel across Central America.

The republican convention came together at Philadelphia on June 17th. Delegates were present from all the Northern states and from Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. In spite of an unusual unanimity in political beliefs the effort to secure a fit presidential candidate proved a far from easy task. William H. Seward, who was probably the best representative of the

principles for which the party stood was not as yet in thorough accord with the party organisation and hesitated to lead what he considered, as at best, a very forlorn hope. Salmon P. Chase, who next to Seward would have been the most acceptable candidate, was passed over on account of his Free-soil record, which it was feared would repel old whig voters. Before the convention met a strong movement had been started in favour of the nomination of John C. Frémont, a son-in-law of Senator Benton of Missouri, who had won distinction as an explorer and, after playing an active part in the conquest of California, had represented that state for a few months in the United States senate. The fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings was urged in his behalf. With Seward and Chase practically eliminated, his nomination was now easily accomplished. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was named for vice-president. In a brief but emphatic platform the party declared that it denied "the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained." The administration policy in Kansas was denounced and the demand made that the territory be immediately admitted as a free state. The Ostend Manifesto embodying "the highwayman's plea that might makes right," was characterised as a shame and dishonour to American diplomacy. A transcontinental railroad and river and harbour improvements were urged.

The last convention to meet was that of the remnants of the old whig party, which assembled at Baltimore, September 17th, and endorsed the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson.^a The canvass which followed was an extraordinary one. It was sluggish enough in the South, where the only candidates were Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fillmore; for Mr. Buchanan had the support of the entire slaveholding interest, and of all who were concerned for the maintenance of the political power of the slavery system. But in the North the republicans conducted a canvass rivalling that of 1840 in enthusiasm and having behind it what the "hard cider" campaign lacked — a definite moral purpose and a clearly understood policy. Great political clubs were organised, which marched from place to place visiting each other, uniformed and bearing torches. Immense public meetings were held, and the Northern heart was fired as it had never been before. Nevertheless the republican canvass was destined to end in defeat, although the earlier elections of the autumn indicated a republican victory. In Vermont more than three-fourths of the votes were republican; and Maine, which had been carried in 1855 by a fusion party of democrats and "straight" whigs, was now carried by the republicans by almost eighteen thousand majority. But the October elections were unfavourable; for, while Ohio gave a republican majority, Indiana was lost, and Pennsylvania gave the democratic candidates on the state ticket a majority over the republican and whig vote combined. "The Quakers did not come out," it was said, but all who could read the signs of the time knew that the election was lost for the republicans.^b

Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes, as against 114 for Frémont and 8 (Delaware) for Fillmore. But although defeated the surprising strength shown by the republicans with an acknowledgedly weak candidate was startling, and boded ill for continued democratic success, when once the movement was full grown. Frémont's popular vote was 1,341,264, while Buchanan's was only 1,838,169 and Fillmore's 874,534. But from a sectional point of view the result was most significant, for the republicans carried every Northern state but New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

[1857 A.D.]

Indiana, and Illinois, and their vote in these states was large enough to cause them to be considered doubtful in any future contest. The campaign marked the final disappearance of the whig and "Know-Nothing" parties. Henceforth the real struggle was to be between the democratic and republican parties, which grew every day less national and more sectionalised in character.^a

THE DRED-SCOTT DECISION (1857 A.D.)¹

A brief struggle brought the business of the country out of the financial difficulties which prevailed for some months in 1857; but the strain of politics was not so soon removed, and a decision of the supreme court now hurried the country forward towards the infinitely greater crisis of civil war. Dred Scott was the negro slave of an army surgeon. His master had taken him, in the regular course of military service, from Missouri, his home, first into the state of Illinois, and then, in May, 1836, to Fort Snelling, on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now Minnesota; after which, in 1838, he had returned with him to Missouri. Slavery was prohibited by state law in Illinois, and by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 in the territory west of the Mississippi; and after returning to Missouri the negro endeavoured to obtain his liberty by an appeal to the courts, on the ground that his residence in a free state had operated to destroy his master's rights over him. In course of appeal the case reached the supreme court of the United States. The chief, if not the only, question at issue was a question of jurisdiction. Was Dred Scott a citizen within the meaning of the constitution; had he had any rightful standing in the lower courts? To this question the court returned a decided negative. The temporary residence of the negro's master in Illinois and Minnesota, in the course of his official duty and without any intention to change his domicile, could not affect the status of the slave, at any rate, after his return to Missouri. He was not a citizen of Missouri in the constitutional sense, and could have therefore no standing in the federal courts. But, this question decided, the majority of the judges did not think it *obiter dicens* to go further, and argue as to the merits of the case regarding the status of slaves and the authority of congress over slavery in the territories. They were of the opinion that, notwithstanding the fact that the constitution spoke of slaves as "persons held to service and labour," men of the African race, in view of the fact of their bondage from the first in this country, were not regarded as persons, but only as property, by the constitution of the United States; that, as property, they were protected from hostile legislation on the part of congress by the express guarantees of the constitution itself; and that congress could no more legislate this form of property out of the territories than it could exclude property of any other kind, but must guarantee to every citizen the right to carry this, as he might carry all other forms of property, where he would within the territory subject to congress. The legislation, therefore, known as the Missouri Compromise was, in their judgment, unconstitutional and void.

The opinion of the court sustained the whole Southern claim. Not even the exercise of squatter sovereignty could have the countenance of law; congress must protect every citizen of the country in carrying with him into the territories property of whatever kind, until such time as the territory in which he settled should become a state, and pass beyond the direct jurisdic-

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tion of the federal government. Those who were seeking to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories were thus stigmatised as seeking an illegal object and acting in despite of the constitution.^b

From the opinion of the majority justices Curtis and McLean dissented, the former in an opinion of great power declaring that he did not consider it "to be within the scope of the judicial power of the majority of the court to pass upon any question respecting the plaintiff's citizenship in Missouri, save that raised by the plea to the jurisdiction."

The immediate effect of the extraordinary decision was political rather than judicial. The South, seeing in it an endorsement, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, of the theories long before advanced by Calhoun that it was the duty of congress to protect slavery in the territories, assumed a bolder and more truculent attitude than ever. The North, stunned at first by the blow, gradually came to realise that it really helped to clarify and simplify the great issue before the people. "By this presentation of the iniquity (of slavery) naked and in its most repulsive form, Taney [chief justice] did no small harm to the party which he intended to aid," writes Goldwin Smith,^g who further characterises the judgment as "a gratuitous aggression and an insult to humanity." More radical opinion declared that by this decision the supreme court had abdicated its functions and sullied its ermine by descending into the political arena. Lincoln voiced republican opinion when he declared: "We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it." Douglas found satisfaction in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed, was now held to be unconstitutional, and he and his Northern democratic supporters generally accepted the judgment with a satisfaction that blinded itself to the fact that it also rendered their favourite theory of "squatter sovereignty" a dead letter.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

The character of the advisers with whom President Buchanan surrounded himself was rightly taken at the North to indicate that the new administration would be dominated by and run in the interests of the pro-slavery party. General Cass, who accepted the state portfolio, was understood to be but a figurehead, as Buchanan would direct his own foreign policy. As was expected Howell Cobb, appointed secretary of the treasury, became the master-spirit of the administration.

The Kansas question was still a pressing one. Governor Geary had resigned on the very day of Buchanan's inauguration. The president at once appointed as governor his life-long friend, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's cabinet. Walker was himself a slave-holder and his appointment was hailed with delight by the South. With the president's promise to uphold him in dealing justly with both parties he began his administration full of hope. Before he had been in the territory a month he realised that three-fourths of the population were of the free-state party and his high sense of honour made him at once determine to refuse to be an instrument in subverting or nullifying the popular will. The free-state party refused to take part in the election of delegates to a constitutional convention held on June 15th, 1857, and as a result only pro-slavery delegates were chosen. This convention, assembling at Lecompton in September, made short work of framing the notorious instrument known as the Lecompton Constitution, with provisions for the establishment and safeguarding of slavery.

[1858 A.D.]

Governor Walker had promised, relying on the word of Buchanan, that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people, and therefore declared himself against a movement presently set under way by the ultra-Southern leaders to admit Kansas at once under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. His subsequent action in refusing to sanction flagrant frauds in the October elections gave the free-state party for the first time control of the legislature, and aroused the fury of the pro-slavery men who now began to exert at Washington the same influence that had already undermined the authority of governors Reeder and Geary and made of them earnest free-state advocates.

In order to make a pretence of fair play the Lecompton convention now reassembled and made the preposterous proposal to submit to the people not the constitution they had framed but merely the question of its adoption "with slavery" or "without slavery." This was done. Again the free-state voters refused to go to the polls, and the constitution was adopted "with slavery" by a large majority. Thereupon the territorial legislature with its free-state majority, submitted the entire constitution to the people who rejected it by a large majority, the pro-slavery men this time refraining from voting.

Finally, on February 2nd, 1858, President Buchanan, who had by this time fallen under the spell of the pro-slavery leaders as completely as Pierce had done, sent the Lecompton Constitution to congress with a special message urging that Kansas be admitted under it. The president's action gave an opportunity to Stephen A. Douglas which he, greatly to the credit of his reputation as a consistent statesman rather than a truckling politician, accepted boldly. Four years before, in the hope of winning Southern support to help him to the presidency, he had sacrificed his reputation for sincerity and independence. It had all gone for naught. Now he stood out boldly, and true to his principles of popular sovereignty, refused to consent to force any sort of a constitution upon the people of Kansas. The stand of Douglas made it forever impossible for him to secure a nomination at Southern hands, but it won for him again the undisputed position of leader of the Northern democracy. The Lecompton Constitution, though approved by the senate in spite of Douglas, was defeated in the house through the combination of his followers, now known as the "anti-Lecompton" democrats, with the republicans. Attempts at compromise failed and after the Lecompton Constitution, in accordance with the terms of the English bill, had again been rejected by the voters of Kansas at the polls (August 2nd, 1858), the South at length reluctantly abandoned the attempt to make Kansas a slave state.^a

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE (1858) ¹

The elections of 1858 showed a formidable gain in strength by the republicans, and bore an ominous warning for the democrats. Everywhere the republicans gained ground; even Pennsylvania, the president's own state, went against the administration by a heavy vote. The number of republicans in the senate was increased from twenty to twenty-five, from ninety-two to a hundred and nine in the house; and in the latter chamber they were to be able to play the leading part, since there were still twenty-two "Know-Nothings" in the house, and thirteen "anti-Lecompton" democrats, the followers

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of Senator Douglas. Douglas himself was returned with difficulty to his seat in the senate, and his canvas for re-election had arrested the attention of the whole country. The republicans of Illinois had formally announced that their candidate for the senate would be Abraham Lincoln, a man whose extraordinary native sagacity, insight, and capacity for debate had slowly won for him great prominence in the state, first as a whig, afterwards as an anti-Nebraska man and republican. Lincoln and Douglas "took the stump" together, and the great debates between them which ensued both won for Lincoln a national reputation and defined the issues of the party struggle as perhaps nothing less dramatic could have defined them. In Lincoln's mind those issues were clear-cut enough. "A house divided against itself," he declared, "cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred-Scott decision. What became of the doctrine of popular sovereignty if the people of the territories could not interfere with slavery until they came to frame a state constitution? Slavery could not exist, replied Douglas, without local legislation to sustain it; unfriendly legislation would hamper and kill it almost as effectually as positive prohibition. An inferior legislature certainly cannot do what it is not within the power of congress to accomplish, was Lincoln's rejoinder. The state elections went for the democrats, and Mr. Douglas was returned to the senate; but Lincoln had made him an impossible presidential candidate for the Southern democrats in 1860 by forcing him to deny to the South the full benefits of the Dred-Scott decision.^b

JOHN BROWN'S RAID

The news flashed over the wires from Virginia on the morning of October 17th, 1859, caused a cry of horror to go up from every section of the union. A small army of abolitionists and free negroes, the report said, had raised the standard of revolt in the Old Dominion and seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. The slaves of Virginia, according to the report, were rising against their masters and flocking to the standard of freedom. At the North the news created the most intense excitement. Throughout the South the awful thought that a slave insurrection, so long feared and so fearfully dreaded, had at length come, drowned out reason. Excited imaginations pictured the devastation of property and homes, the nameless horrors to which the women and children would be subjected, the destruction indeed of the whole structure of Southern society. The early reports proved to be greatly exaggerated. John Brown, known already for his bloody exploits in the free-state cause in Kansas, had entered the village of Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16th with a score of followers, including four of his own sons; had there seized the United States arsenal, and had made prisoners of the guards and several citizens who had fallen into his hands. The slaves, even in the immediate neighbourhood were apparently ignorant of his intentions, and remained quietly on their plantations. At daybreak the country people and villagers had risen and compelled him to shut himself and his companions up in the armory. In the desultory firing several had been killed on either side. The arrival of a militia company from Charlestown, and a detachment of United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee, rendered the retreat of Brown impossible, and he retired to the engine-house in the armory yard, where he prepared to sell his life dearly. The next morning Lee's marines battered

[1860 A.D.]

down the door of the engine-house with a ladder and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Brown and his five remaining followers.

Brown was given a fair but hasty trial at Charlestown, and was found guilty of treason, of conspiring and advising slaves to rebel, and of murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was carried out on December 2nd following. Brown's manliness, his unquestionable sincerity and belief in the righteousness of his cause, and the Christian fortitude with which he met his end aroused the admiration even of his enemies. At the North widespread sympathy for the doer was tempered somewhat by agreement as to the lawlessness of the deed. In the light of subsequent events, however, Brown's act was magnified to heroic proportions; he came to be looked upon as the protomartyr of the cause of negro freedom, and "his soul marching on" became an inspiration.^a

SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF JOHN BROWN¹

John Brown was no Cæsar, no Cromwell, but a plain citizen of a free republic, whom distressing events drove into a fanaticism to execute purposes for which he was incompetent. He detested slavery, and that detestation led him to take up arms not only against slavery but against that public opinion which was slowly formulating how best to eradicate it. Woe to the conquered. The North made no appeals for that clemency which slaveholders had alone to consider. Brown had not been lenient to masters, nor were masters bound to be lenient to him. And yet Brown was an enthusiast, and not a felon; the essence of his crime was unselfish. Like the French country maiden who went to Paris to plunge her dagger into a bloody ruler's heart, he meant to rescue good morals from the usurpation of human laws. Corday fulfilled her solitary plan because it was reasonable; John Brown failed in his plan because it was unreasonable: but both, as actors and martyrs, flashing upon the world's attention like new meteors, left examples of self-sacrifice, the one upon the guillotine and the other upon the gallows, which a people could not refrain from exalting. The virgin damsel of grace and beauty, and the grim old man of sixty, stern and sanguinary, who led on his sons, take equal hold of posterity's imagination; of each one it has been said by acute observers that the immediate effect of their deeds was injurious to politics; and yet society in the long centuries is stronger for being thus taught that despotism over fellow men is not safely hedged in by authority. Brown's stalwart, unique, and spectral figure led on, grotesque but terribly in earnest, the next time Virginia's soil was invaded — not, however, for executing any such unfeasible scheme of making the slaves their own avengers, but to apply the war powers of the nation against disloyal masters.ⁱ

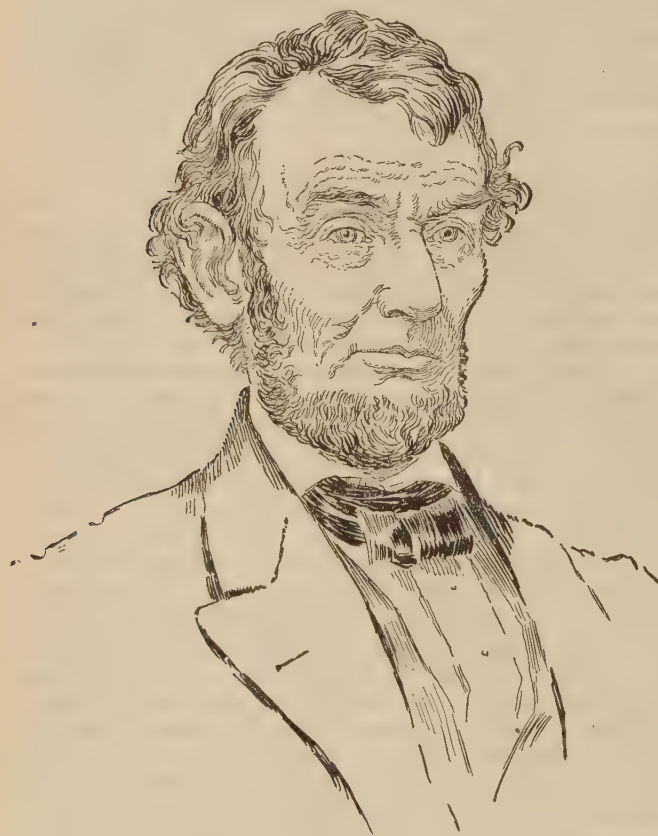
THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1860

The divergence of North and South in population, wealth, and resources was growing greater every year. The political preponderance of the North was also increasing. Since Buchanan's election two new free states had been admitted to the union, Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859. As the time for naming presidential candidates drew near everyone recognised that more than ever before the coming campaign was to be a battle of the sections.

The convention of the democratic party assembled at Charleston, South

Carolina, April 23rd, 1860, the delegates realising fully that they might be called upon to decide questions momentous alike to their party and to the nation. The bold stand taken by Douglas against the cherished policy of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, and the subsequent death of one of his principal supporters, Senator David C. Broderick of California, in a duel with a pro-slavery politician, had aroused the courage and spirit of Northern democrats as never before. They were prepared, for almost the first time

in their history, to assert their rights and refuse longer to be made the tools of the slave power. Eight days were spent in wrangling over a platform. The Southern delegates insisted on pronouncing for the pro-slavery theories advanced in the Dred-Scott decision. The Northern men, however, refused to do more than acquiesce in the Southern demand for Cuban annexation and for the repeal of legislation in the North intended to hinder the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. After an acrimonious debate a platform embodying declarations favouring the last two points was approved by the Northern majority. The majority of the Southern delegates at once withdrew and after an ineffectual attempt to secure a two-thirds majority



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(1809-1865)

Sixteenth President of United States

for any candidate, the remaining members adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th.

Meanwhile the seceding Southern delegations met together in another hall in Charleston and adopted the radical pro-slavery platform rejected by the regular convention. When the latter re-convened in Baltimore on the day set, the tendency of the Douglas delegates to carry things with a high hand resulted in a still further secession of delegates, largely from Southern and border states. The regular convention thereupon proceeded to nominate Douglas for the presidency and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for the vice-presidency. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was subsequently named

[1860 A.D.]

by the national committee to take the place of Fitzpatrick, who refused to run. The second group of seceders joined by some of the original seceders named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon, which nominations were soon after endorsed by the remnants of the first seceders at Charleston. Thus, after the bitterest struggle in its history, the democratic party had at last been torn asunder. It presented the spectacle of two avowedly sectional party groups appealing to the suffrage, not of the nation but of a section.

Before this, however, both the republicans and a new party which took the name of Constitutional Union had made their nominations. The latter party — which was made up largely of former Know-Nothings and Northern whigs who could not as yet bring themselves to join the republican party — met at Baltimore, May 9th. They adopted, instead of a regular platform, a single resolution declaring for the preservation of the union under the constitution, and named John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for president and vice-president respectively.

All eyes were now turned to the republican party, which met in convention at Chicago on May 16th. The platform contained a strong appeal for the maintenance of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and a declaration that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must be preserved. While disavowing any intention to interfere with the established institutions of any state, it denounced the "new dogma" promulgated in the Dred-Scott decision as political heresy, asserting that the normal condition of all federal territories was that of freedom, and that it was the duty of the national government to maintain that condition by law. The immediate admission of Kansas as a free state was demanded, and a protective tariff, internal improvements, and a Pacific railway favoured.

William H. Seward of New York was now, as in 1856, the leading candidate for the presidential nomination and led all others on the first ballot. But, as Woodrow Wilson ^b says, he "was regarded as a sort of philosophical radical, whom careful men might distrust as a practical guide." Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was also a candidate, but his past political affiliations still counted against him. A solution seemed to point to the selection of a less well-known candidate, and on Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, whose political principles had been so unmistakably set forth in his debate with Douglas, a majority of the delegates finally united on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, a former democrat, was nominated for vice-president.

THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

With the subsequent nominations of the two democratic factions already noted, the various presidential tickets were complete. The vital principles upon which the four parties based their appeals to the voter have been thus tersely summed up by Alexander Johnston ^c: "The Bell party wished to have no discussion of slavery; the Douglas democrats rested on squatter sovereignty and the compromise of 1850, but would accept the decision of the supreme court; the republicans demanded that congress should legislate for the prohibition of slavery in the territories; and the Southern democrats demanded that congress should legislate for the protection of slavery in the territories."

With the issue thus clearly drawn, and four candidates to choose from, the republicans had an immense initial advantage. Indeed, it may probably be said that the outcome of the campaign that ensued was scarcely in doubt

from the first. The hopeless breach in the democratic ranks made it out of the question that either faction should carry the national election. The Constitutional Unionists were not well organised, and their appeal was at best a negative one. Indeed, the republicans alone were both confident and united. The only possible danger in the way of their success was in the possibility that the election might be thrown into the house of representatives.

Nevertheless the ensuing canvass was hotly contested. The republicans adopted the tactics of the Harrison campaign of 1840 and throughout the North enthusiasm was aroused by torch-light processions and enormous mass meetings. At the South were heard on every side mutterings of secession and war. The September and October state elections foreshadowed the election of Lincoln, which the results in November more than justified. The republicans carried every Northern state except New Jersey and elected four out of the seven electors even in that state. Douglas received only the votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. Bell carried the three border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Breckinridge carried the entire South. However, while Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes to 103 for all other candidates, they received only a minority of the popular votes. The figures for the latter showed the following results: Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,866,452; Douglas and Johnson, 1,376,957; Breckinridge and Lane, 849,781, and Bell and Everett, 588,879.

SECESSION

"There could be no mistake," says Goldwin Smith,^a "about the significance of the election by Northern votes of a president who looked forward to seeing slavery 'put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate extinction.'" Among the more radical Southerners there is no question but that the result was really welcomed. Conditions in the cotton states were such that their policy no matter how extreme would undoubtedly dominate the section and overcome whatever conservative opposition there was. These extremists made it a point to misrepresent the intentions and principles of the republican party, and their arguments convinced the majority of their people that in dealing with slavery Lincoln and his advisers would not scruple to disregard constitutional guarantees. As proof of this assertion they pointed to the legislation enacted in almost every Northern state which commonly went by the name of "personal liberty laws," the intent of which was plainly to nullify the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and secure for fugitive slaves legal privileges which the federal statutes denied. Pro-slavery agitators made no distinction between the republican party and the detested abolitionists; yet, as Woodrow Wilson,^b a Southern writer, points out, "the vast majority of its adherents were almost as much repelled by the violent temper of the abolitionists as were the Southern leaders themselves." It was this extreme view of the Southern radicals that now became the view of the greater part of the South. When this stage was reached it was manifestly impossible longer to preserve the Union.

South Carolina was the only state in which presidential electors were still chosen by the legislature. After casting their votes for Breckinridge electors on November 6th, the legislators remained in session to await the result in the nation. The governors of the cotton states had taken counsel together regarding the course to be pursued in the event of Lincoln's election, and it had been practically agreed that should one state feel called upon to secede from the Union she would receive the support of the others. Upon this

[1861 A.D.]

assurance the South Carolina legislature now acted. Provision was made for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and a convention was called which met in Charleston, December 20th. This body at once proceeded to repeal the action taken by a previous South Carolina convention, May 23rd, 1788, whereby the federal constitution had been ratified, and declared the dissolution of the union "subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America." South Carolina had spoken, and there were few who did not accept her voice as the voice of the South.

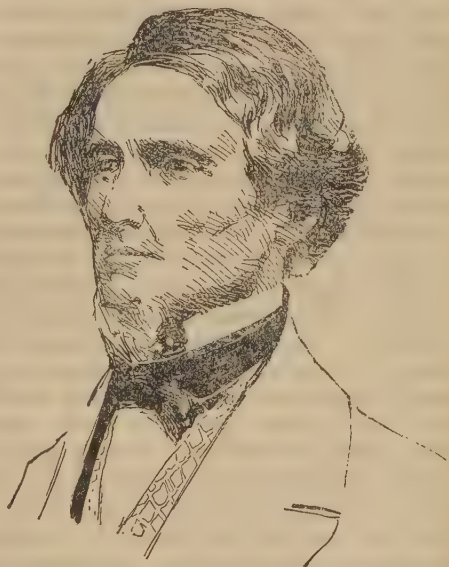
THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Within a month after South Carolina had passed her ordinance of secession, four other states — Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia — in the order named, had left the Union. In each state there was a strong minority which opposed the movement not so much from a disbelief in the right of secession as from a conviction of its inexpediency. But in each case the delegates elected to the special state conventions showed a clear majority for secession. Throughout the South the convention, as Alexander Johnston^e has pointed out, "was looked upon as the incarnation of the sovereignty of the state." The action of these secession conventions was therefore generally accepted as final without any attempted ratification by the people.

On February 4th, 1861, the very day that the Peace Convention met at Washington, representatives from six "cotton states" met at Montgomery, Alabama, to organise a provisional government. The states represented were those above mentioned and Louisiana, which had seceded January

26th. Texas had passed an ordinance of secession, despite the sorrowful protests of Sam Houston, but it had been submitted to the people and not yet ratified. The Montgomery convention adopted a provisional constitution and chose as provisional president and vice-president Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. The name Confederate States of America was adopted. The constitution was made permanent by the vote of the convention (or congress as it now called itself) on March 11th, and under it Davis and Stephens were chosen for a six years' term in the succeeding November without opposition.

Under what claim of constitutional right the Montgomery convention acted, says Alexander Johnston, "passes comprehension." Even granting the right of secession, he continues, that a state convention summoned to decide that question "should go on without any further popular authority or mandate to send delegates to meet those of other states and form a new



JEFFERSON DAVIS

(1808-1889)

national government, which could only exist by warring on the United States, was a novel feature in American constitutional law."

In none of the border states was there at this time a strong popular feeling in favour of secession. But in most of them the belief in state sovereignty and the abstract right of secession was a powerful force to be considered, and the inclination to take up arms to resist any attempt of the federal government to coerce a seceding state was strong. The course of events soon forced upon the border states a decision on this very point, and four of them — Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas — eventually, in the course of the spring of 1861, threw in their fortunes with the cotton states. With their addition the Confederacy reached its final number — eleven.^a

The Theory of Secession¹

The legal theory upon which this startling and extraordinary series of steps was taken was one which would hardly have been questioned in the early years of the government whatever resistance might then have been offered to its practical execution. It was for long found difficult to deny that a state could withdraw from the federal arrangement as she might have declined to enter it. But constitutions are not mere legal documents; they are the skeleton frame of a living organism; and in this case the course of events had nationalised the government once deemed confederate. Twenty states had been added to the original thirteen since the formation of the government and almost all of these were actual creations of the federal government first as territories then as states. Their populations had no corporate individuality such as had been possessed by the people of each of the colonies. They came from all parts of the Union and had formed communities which were arbitrary geographical units rather than natural political units. Not only that, but north of the Missouri compromise line the population of these new states had been swelled by immigration from abroad; and there had played upon the whole northern and northwestern section those great forces of material development which made steadily for the unification of interests and purposes. The West was the great make-weight. It was the region into which the whole national force had been projected, stretched out and energised — a region, not a section; divided into states by reason of a form of government, but homogeneous, and proceeding forth from the Union.

These are not lawyer's facts; they are historian's facts. There had been nothing but a dim realisation of them until the war came and awoke the national spirit into full consciousness. They have no bearing upon the legal intent of the constitution as a document, to be interpreted by the intention of its framers; but they have everything to do with the constitution as a vehicle of life. The South had not changed her ideas from the first because she had not changed her condition. She had not experienced, except in a very slight degree, the economic forces which had created the great Northwest and nationalised the rest of the country; for they had been shut out from her life by slavery. The South withdrew from the Union because, she said, power had been given to a geographical, a sectional party, ruthlessly hostile to her interests; but Doctor von Holstⁱ is certainly right when he says: "The Union was not broken up because sectional parties had been formed, but sectional parties were formed because the Union had actually become sec-

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tionalised." There had been nothing active on the part of the South in this process. She had stood still while the rest of the country had undergone profound changes; and, standing still, she retained the old principles which had once been universal. Both she and her principles, it turned out, had been caught at last in the great national drift, and were to be overwhelmed. Her slender economic resources were no match for the mighty strength of the nation with which she had fallen out of sympathy.

*The Constitution of the Confederacy*¹

The constitution framed by the Montgomery convention, although in most respects a reproduction of the constitution of the United States, was made very explicit upon all points of controversy under the older instrument. The Southern leaders were not dissatisfied with the constitution of the United States as they understood it; they were dissatisfied only with the meanings which they conceived to have been read into it by a too loose and radical interpretation. In the new constitution which they framed for themselves it was explicitly stated that in the adoption of the instrument each state acted "in its sovereign and independent character." Protective tariffs were specifically prohibited, as well as all internal improvements at the general charge. It embodied the principle of the recognition and protection of slavery in all the territories of the new government. It added to the separate weight of the individual states by providing that in the senate, when the question was the admission of a new state, the vote should be taken by a poll of the states; and by according to each of the several state legislatures the right to impeach confederate officials whose duties were confined to their own territory. The demand of three states was made sufficient to secure the calling of a convention for the amendment of the constitution. The states were denied, on the other hand, the privilege which they had enjoyed under the federal constitution, of granting the franchise to persons not citizens under the general law of naturalisation.

Such other changes of the federal constitution as were introduced were changes, for the most part, only of detail, meant to improve the older instrument where experience was thought to have shown it susceptible of alteration for the better. The presidential term was lengthened to six years, and the president was made ineligible for re-election. The president was given the right to veto individual items of appropriation bills, and congress was forbidden to make any appropriations not asked for and estimated by the heads of the executive departments, except by a two-thirds vote, unless such appropriations were for the legitimate expenses of congress itself or for the payment of just claims, judicially determined, upon the government. Congress was given the right to bring itself into closer co-operative relations with the executive by granting seats, with the privileges of debate, to the heads of the executive departments; and it was granted a partial oversight of the president's relations with his subordinates by the provision that, except in the cases of the chief executive and diplomatic agents of the government, no official should be removed except for cause explicitly stated to the senate. The power to emit bills of credit was withheld from congress. The slave trade was prohibited, and congress was empowered to prevent even the introduction of slaves from the states of the Union.

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Much as there was among these changes that was thoroughly worth trying, it was of course impossible to test anything fairly amidst the furious storms of civil war. One of the most interesting of them—the permission to introduce the heads of the executive departments into congress—had actually been practised under the provisional government of 1861; but under the formal constitution the houses, as was to have been expected, never took any steps towards putting it into practice.

The congress was inclined from time to time to utter some very stinging criticisms upon the executive conduct of affairs. It could have uttered them with more dignity and effect in the presence of the officers concerned, who were in direct contact with the difficulties of administration. It might then, perhaps, have hoped in some sort to assist in the guidance of administration. As it was, it could only criticise, and then yield without being satisfied.^b

LAST MONTHS OF BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION

The position of President Buchanan in the months intervening between Lincoln's election and inauguration was a difficult and delicate one. The situation demanded tact, decision of character, statesmanship of the highest order. And none of these did Buchanan possess. Although honest at heart and desirous of preserving the Union, his sympathies were and always had been strongly with the South. To this sentiment he gave expression in his message to congress in December, 1860. This message gave hope to the Southern leaders: for although he deprecated and advised against secession as not being called for by Lincoln's election, he at the same time denied the power of either president or congress to prevent secession. This the South justly took to be an intimation that they would be allowed to withdraw unmolested as far as Buchanan was concerned. By the North the message was received with mingled anger and astonishment. General Cass, the secretary of state, at once resigned his portfolio and was succeeded by Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, then attorney-general, a man of greater ability and decision of character. The secession of South Carolina brought out the strong points in Black's character, and he took at once a determined stand for the Union, in which he was ably seconded by Edwin M. Stanton, who now became attorney-general, and Jos ph Holt, who supplanted Floyd as secretary of war. Their influence led Buchanan to refuse to receive the commissioners sent by South Carolina to treat with the federal authorities concerning the surrender of the forts in Charleston harbour. The pro-Union members of the cabinet received a powerful addition to their strength in January by the appointment of John A. Dix of New York to the secretaryship of the treasury; and his ringing despatch to the revenue officers at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot," aroused the greatest enthusiasm at the North. The new influences at work on Buchanan showed themselves in his special message of January 8th, in which he declared it the duty of the president to use force if necessary to collect the public revenues or protect the national property.

Meanwhile in congress and out of it measures were undertaken looking toward compromise. As early as December 18th John J. Crittenden of Kentucky had introduced into the senate the measure which goes by the name of the Crittenden Compromise. This was considered by a committee including Seward, Wade, Douglas, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs. The compromise consisted of a proposed constitutional amendment restoring the old line of 36° 30' as a limit south of which congress should have no power to interfere

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with slavery in any state or territory. But the Northern republican senators refused to accept it and the amendment was lost. In the house a series of resolutions embodying a similar plan of compromise failed of passage.

The failure of the compromise measures was followed, as state after state seceded, by the withdrawal of the senators and representatives from those states, thus leaving the republicans strongly intrenched in both houses. Several conciliatory measures were now passed by the majority in futile and even cringing endeavour to avert the crisis. One provided for a constitutional amendment forever forbidding congress to meddle with slavery in any state where it already existed, without the consent of that state. Other measures organised the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word about the prohibition of slavery. But all such overtures were too late.

Already the seceding states had given evidence of their intention to cut every tie that bound them to the Union, by seizing the government property, consisting of custom houses, forts, and arsenals, within their borders. Before the close of Buchanan's administration every fort, navy yard, or federal building within the seven seceding states had been seized, with the exception of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. The eyes of the nation were centred on Charleston harbour, where Major Robert Anderson had removed his handful of troops from Fort Moultrie on the mainland to the stronger position of Fort Sumter. The move was an intimation that the fort was not to be given up without a struggle. The determination of both parties was further emphasised when on January 9th the steamship *Star of the West*, which Buchanan had at length been prevailed upon to send to relieve the fort with supplies, was fired upon by the South Carolina shore batteries, and compelled to return with its mission unaccomplished. The first shot of the Civil War had been fired.

THE INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN; FORT SUMTER

Never was a presidential inauguration awaited with such intense interest as that of Abraham Lincoln, March 4th, 1861. Seven states had left the Union and set up a government of their own. Would the new president, the country asked, attempt compromise where congress had failed, or would he proceed vigorously to assert the rights and enforce the laws of the Union with the almost certain result of driving several border states to join their Southern neighbours.

Lincoln's inaugural address was moderate, even conciliatory. He declared that he had neither the intention nor the right of interfering with slavery where it existed. He even expressed his willingness to accept the Fugitive Slave Law. Not a word was said as to the restriction of slavery extension. But with the question of the preservation of the Union he was more explicit. "No state upon its own mere motion," he declared, "can lawfully get out of the Union." Any ordinance that attempted to bring about such a dissolution was, he held, null and void. He would, he declared unequivocally, execute the laws of the Union and defend and maintain its authority in every state. To such an expression of his purposes there could be but one meaning—civil war. And the president's choice of advisers, including such men as Seward for secretary of state and Chase for secretary of the treasury, was taken to mean that the North stood behind him.

The immediate attention of the country remained centred in Charleston

harbour, where Major Anderson still held Fort Sumter. His provisions were running low, and unless relieved he must soon surrender. South Carolina sent a new set of commissioners to Washington to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties. The cabinet hesitated and tried to dissuade the president from acting. At last, however, a decision was reached and notice was sent both to Major Anderson and to Governor Pickens of South Carolina (April 8th) that a vessel was under way to carry provisions to the fort. President Davis called his cabinet together to decide what should be done. Despite the impassioned opposition of Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state, who declared that the first shot fired by the South would "strike a hornet's nest" from which legions would swarm out and sting them to death, General Beauregard was authorised to demand the fort's surrender, and in case of refusal to reduce it.^a

THE FALL OF SUMTER; UPRISING OF THE NORTH ¹

With telegrams from the Davis government directing him to proceed, Beauregard at two in the afternoon of April 11th demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, and after some vain parleying with Major Anderson, which lasted through the night, opened his cannonade by early dawn of the 12th. Startling was the spectacle for this continent, and in scope and consequences unparalleled in the world's history. Throngs of Southern soldiers and civilians poured into Charleston on every train, and the wharves and housetops swarmed with eager gazers. But surrounding the fight in imaginary presence were the millions of anxious inhabitants, North and South, dilating with various emotions, as the telegraph and bulletins of the daily press spread details of the combat through the amphitheatre of a nation. As the ensign of the Union on that slender staff waved its folds, more in reproof than defiance, from the brick ramparts of the little island midway down this harbour, the target of disloyal batteries from three different directions, hearts hardened towards one another with each fratricidal shot. And through the thickening smoke, as the roar of artillery went on, might be dimly discerned now and then a vessel of the provisioning fleet, defining the coast horizon with its spectral hull, watching, but unable to succour. The result of such an unequal duel was not long doubtful. Anderson's brave little garrison, a mere handful for such a contest, and a force barely sufficient to keep a few of the answering guns active, had already exhausted their rations of bread. On the morning of the 13th the barracks of the fort caught fire, and while officers and men were engaged for hours in getting the flames under control so as to save the powder magazine from exploding, the flagstaff fell, struck for the tenth time by hostile shot. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, who was now serving on Beauregard's staff, crossed over in a boat and volunteered honourable terms of surrender, which Beauregard confirmed after Anderson had accepted them. On Sunday, the 14th, Anderson and his command marched out with their property and all the honours of war, saluting the flag they had so gallantly defended; after which they were transferred to the *Baltic* (one of the vessels of the relief squadron), which waited outside, to sail for New York. The captured fort passed simultaneously into the formal custody of a Confederate garrison.

The curtain dropped upon this lurid drama, and sickened hearts at the North knew what next must follow. The same Monday morning's paper on

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the 15th of April, which described Sumter's last tableau, published the president's proclamation, bearing that date, but made and signed Sunday, which called at once into service seventy-five thousand militia for three months, and summoned congress to convene in extra session on the coming July 4th. The phraseology of that proclamation scrupulously observed requirements of the old and imperfect act of 1795, which afforded the only legislative warrant for this new emergency. There was no heart certainly at the North to cavil or criticise when that sober appeal, following the Sumter spectacle, made men at last realise that the loved Union was in danger, and that nothing but heroic sacrifice, as in the days of old, could save it from destruction. This was eloquence enough; and the document inspired pen and tongue like a Pentecost wherever through the rich and populous North the news travelled that Fort Sumter had fallen.

At once the great Union party of the nation sprang to its feet; not, indeed, with all the border allies hoped for, but, throughout the vast and populous region of free states, rallying the loyal in every city, town, and hamlet, and mustering tens and hundreds of thousands among the inhabitants, where thousands alone had been looked for. Party presses, some of them but lately protesting against coercion of the South, vied with one another in eagerness to sustain the president's summons, while the few that hung back were silenced by an indignant community or made to recant. The steamer that bore Anderson and his men into New York harbour, on the 18th of April, brought the flags of Moultrie and Sumter, and enthusiasm was wild to welcome those gallant defenders. All hearts at the free North beat in patriotic unison. Honest democrats and conservatives forgot their old antipathies and fraternised with republicans of every stripe for the old union of states, "one and inseparable." The inspiring utterances of Jackson and Daniel Webster were a thousand times repeated. The surviving ex-presidents of the North, Buchanan among them, gave encouragement. Among Northern statesmen once recreant to freedom, Cass, from his final retirement in Michigan, sent God-speed; while Douglas, for the few brief weeks left to him, threw aside his late sophistries, and, whole-souled in the new cause of upholding the Union, died illustrious. Everett, whose palmy years of eloquence had been given to maintaining, were it possible, a Union of compromise and smothered animosities, now flamed into a pillar of guiding strength by his splendid example.

The strong, sanguine enthusiasm of this first genuine uprising gave token that the republic would not, should not, perish. In public halls, on the village green, or wherever else a united gathering might impress its strongest force, citizens met in mass to be stirred to fervency as at some religious revival. Spokesmen of varying political antecedents occupied the platform together to bear their testimony as honest patriots. Boston rocked thus in old Faneuil Hall; at New York City was held an immense mass-meeting in Union Square, on the 20th of April, under the shadow of Washington's monument, and the ablest leaders of parties hitherto opposing addressed the crowd from three several stands. At a Chicago gathering, where the speaker raised his hand to take the oath of allegiance, the whole audience solemnly rose and repeated the words with him. There were flag-raisings, moreover, at which the national colours, red, white, and blue, were hoisted. One deep-rooted sentiment pervaded old and young throughout these free states — to serve, to sacrifice, but never to surrender. Only two sides of the question were possible at such a crisis — for the Union or against it; only two classes of citizens — patriots or traitors. "Fort Sumter is lost,"

said the *New York Tribune* "but freedom is saved." If there were a few men doubtful or disposed to palliate, they were swallowed into the resistless torrent of sympathy with the administration.ⁱ

John Codman Ropes,^k in his remarkable study of the Civil War, unhappily left unfinished, has expressed perhaps better than any other writer the underlying elements of strength and weakness in the North and South. We are fortunate in being able to quote the following:^a

THE OPPOSING PARTIES¹

Thus the lines were finally drawn. Twenty-two states remained united. These states were preparing to assert their sovereignty by force of arms over the whole length and breadth of the land. Opposed to them stood the eleven states which had seceded, now constituting the Confederate States of America, equally resolute to maintain by the sword their claim to independence.

Population and Material Resources

The parties to this conflict were in many respects unequally matched. The populations of the twenty-two states which adhered to the Union aggregated upwards of twenty-two millions, of whom less than half a million were slaves. The populations of the eleven states which had left the Union numbered together but little over nine millions, of whom about three millions and a half were slaves. There were thus about four times as many free white people on the Union side as there were on the Confederate side. The slaves, however, instead of being a source of anxiety and apprehension, as many in the North confidently predicted would be the case, proved perfectly subordinate. They were trusted to take care of the families where the able-bodied white men had gone to the war, and they never betrayed their trust. They were largely employed in building fortifications. They raised the crops on which the entire South subsisted during the whole war.

In material prosperity the North was far in advance of the South. In accumulated capital there was no comparison between the two sections. The immigration from Europe had kept the labour market of the North well stocked, while no immigrants from Ireland or Germany were willing to enter into a competition with negro slaves. The North was full of manufactories of all kinds; the South had very few of any kind. The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus. The North was infinitely richer than the South in the production of grain and of meat, and the boasted value of the South's great staple, cotton, sank out of sight when the blockade closed the Southern ports to all commerce.

Accompanying these greater material resources there existed in the North a much larger measure of business capacity than was to be found in the South. This was of course to be expected, for the life of the plantation was not calculated to familiarise one with business methods, or to create an aptitude for dealing with affairs on a large scale. The great merchants and managers of large railroads and other similar enterprises in the North were able to render valuable assistance to the men who administered the state and national governments, and their aid was most generously given.

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Army and Navy

The command of the sea naturally fell at once into the hands of the North. With the exception of the losses caused by the unnecessary destruction of the vessels of war in the Gosport Navy Yard, the whole fleet of the United States, all the permanent establishments except the navy yard at Pensacola, and the entire personnel of the navy with the exception of a comparatively few officers remained under the control of the government. There were by no means so many resignations from the regular navy as from the regular army. To the naval officer, whether at sea or in a foreign port, the United States must always have appeared as one nation. The flag under which he sailed was contrasted with the flags of the nations of Europe. He could not but feel—as a rule, that is—that his country was the country which the Stars and Stripes represented, and not the state of his origin. Hence there were comparatively few instances of naval officers who resigned their commissions and tendered their services to their states. Yet there were some instances of this; Buchanan, Tattnall, Semmes, and Hollins were perhaps the most conspicuous of these. On the other hand, Farragut, who rose to be the head of the navy during the war, came from a state which seceded, Tennessee. Moreover, the mercantile marine of the United States, which, in 1861, was second only to that of Great Britain, was almost wholly owned in the North. It was chiefly in the New England States that the ships were built. The sailors, so far as they were Americans, and the greater part of them were Americans, were all Northerners. The owners were nearly all merchants in the Northern Atlantic cities. Hence the government had no difficulty in recruiting the navy to any extent, both in officers and men, from a large class thoroughly familiar with the sea.

The regular army suffered to a marked extent by the resignation of officers belonging in the states which had seceded. The privates and non-commissioned officers with hardly an exception remained faithful to the flag, and continued loyally to serve the government. Not a few officers also belonging in the seceding states, of whom the most distinguished were General Winfield Scott and General George H. Thomas, recognised the United States as their country and cheerfully remained in the army and served throughout the war.

It may be remarked that both sides had to depend to a considerable extent on Europe for supplies of arms and ammunition. This was, of course, much more true of the South than of the North, for the principal arsenals and manufactories of arms were situated in the Northern states. But, so far as importations were needed, it was obviously a perfectly simple matter for the North to procure them, while the vessels containing these precious cargoes for the South were always compelled to run the blockade, and were often captured in the attempt.

The financial situation of the North was, as has been intimated above, vastly superior to that of the South. Had the Confederate government promptly seized all the cotton in the country, paying for it at the market price in Confederate money, and sent it to England before the blockade had become fully established, and there stored it to be sold from time to time as occasion might require, available funds would have been forthcoming sufficient to meet the largest requirements. But this course, though suggested, was not carried out, and finances of the Southern Confederacy fell into the most deplorable condition long before the end of the war.

Difficulties of an Invasion

Superior as the North was in numbers and in resources of every kind, and important as was her command of the sea, it was nevertheless by no means certain that she would succeed in the task which she had laid out for herself. The conquest of the eleven states was in truth a gigantic undertaking. The attempt was certain to be resisted by practically the entire population. This resistance would be made under the direction of generals of high attainments, of acknowledged ability, and of some experience in war. It would be made by upwards of five millions of people of pure American stock, who would be certain to fight with all the fierceness and determination of men fighting in defence of their country against invasion and conquest. There would be on the side of the South no hesitations, no dissensions, no thoughts of surrender. Whatever would be gained would have to be won by hard fighting. It was not possible that the North should make her numerical superiority count to its full extent on a battle-field in the South. All that invading power, even if greatly superior in population, can effect is to preserve a certain superiority in numbers in the theatre of war; how great that superiority shall be must depend on the means of transportation and subsistence and on the number of men required to hold the lines of communication and supply. The number which can be ranged in line of battle on any particular field cannot, therefore, be decided beforehand unless the most careful study has been given to the question by the military authorities. It should also be remembered that while in an invasion every step taken in advance necessarily carries the active army farther from its base of supplies and from its reinforcements, the enemy are by the same causes impelled towards a concentration of their available forces, so that, whatever disparity of strength may have existed at the outset, it is quite possible that at the moment of the decisive collision the forces may be practically equal.

Military Aptitude of the North and South

Finally, if we would estimate correctly the relative power of the parties to this conflict, we must take account of their respective aptitudes for war. The South undoubtedly possessed a more military population than the North, and we do not find that one part of the South excelled another—to any marked degree, at any rate—in the possession of military instincts and aptitudes. Several of the Southern states—Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana among others—possessed excellent military academies. The population, almost wholly occupied in agricultural pursuits, was necessarily accustomed to life in the open air, to horses, to hunting and fishing, to exposure, to unusual physical exertion from time to time. Such conditions of life naturally foster a martial spirit. Then the aristocratic régime which prevailed in the slave-holding states was conducive to that preference of military over civil pursuits which has so generally been characteristic of aristocracies. The young men of the better classes eagerly embraced the profession of arms, as offering by far the noblest opportunities for the exercise of the higher virtues and for attaining the greatest distinction in the state. They made excellent officers, while those below them in the social scale, sharing as they did largely in the same feelings and possessed by the same ideas of life and duty, made admirable private soldiers and warrant

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officers. Endowed with a marvellous capacity of endurance, whether of physical exertion or of lack of food, uncomplaining, ever ready for a fight, the soldiers of the South were first-rate material in the hands of the able officers who so generally commanded them. Their want of strict discipline was, it is true, notorious, but it was chiefly noticeable on the march, where straggling, to an extent unknown in the Federal armies, was a not infrequent feature. They loved fighting for its own sake, and no more willing troops ever responded to the call of their leaders. Their knowledge of woodcraft, gained by lives spent on the plantation or the farm, was always of great service, and often gave them a decided advantage over the numerous town-bred soldiers of the Federal armies.

In the North, on the other hand, there was very little of this enthusiastic sentiment about a military life. One may fairly say that it was rarely to be seen in the Eastern and Middle States; and although it is true that the young men of the West responded with more unanimity and probably with more alacrity to the often repeated summonses to leave peaceful pursuits and take the field, yet this was rather due to the comparative newness of the civilisation in the West than to any specific martial quality in the population. The truth is that the Northern people, whether in the East or the West, were busy, pre-occupied, full of schemes for the development of the country, and for the acquisition of private fortunes; happy and contented in their manifold industries, they detested equally the wastefulness and cruel sacrifices inseparable from fighting. The poetry of war hardly entered into the mind of the Northern volunteer; most certainly the *gaudium certaminis* did not influence his decision to enlist. His course was determined wholly by a sense of duty; for he looked upon the war as a grievous interruption to the course of his own life as well as to the normal development of his country's history. He regarded the Southerners as wholly to blame; and he determined to put them down, cost what it might. His devotion to his country was as deep and strong and unreserved as was that of his Southern opponent; he was as brave, as patient, as unfaltering, as persistent; but he did not take so much interest in the game; he went into camp, he drilled, he marched, he fought, without a thought of saving himself either labour or danger; but it was all weary work to him — distasteful; in his judgment the whole thing was unbecoming a country as far advanced in civilisation as the United States was — it was a sort of anachronism. Hence it cannot be doubted that the Southern volunteers frequently scored successes over their Northern adversaries for the simple and sole reason that to them the game of war was not only a perfectly legitimate pursuit, but one of the noblest, if not the noblest, that could claim the devotion of brave and free men. They went into it *con amore*; they gave to its duties their most zealous attention; and they reaped a full measure of the success which those who throw themselves with all their hearts into any career deserve and generally attain.

Taking all these things together, then, it was plain enough that the task of subjugating the South was certain to be one of great difficulty, even though the resources of the North were so much superior to those of the South. It was also unlikely that the resources of the North would be employed with any great amount of skill and judgment, at any rate at first. The president of the United States was known to be a man of no military training or experience. He was hardly likely to find, at the outset, generals who could plan and carry out the campaigns of invasion which the scheme of conquest required for its accomplishment. The Southern president, on the other hand, was a military man by education and experience; he had been graduated

from West Point; he had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista; he had been secretary of war. His army-list was certain to be made out intelligently, and it was known that he had a choice of excellent officers from among whom to select his ranking generals.

When we add to the considerations above presented that the South was about to fight for her own defence against invasion, to struggle for her independence against armies which were undertaking to conquer her, it was easy to see that all her energies would be aroused, and that it might safely be predicted that the advantage would not always be on the side of the heaviest battalions.^k

PREPARING FOR THE CONFLICT

The president's call to arms was responded to with unprecedented enthusiasm. The quota of every Northern state was filled many times over. At the South, too, enthusiasm was unbounded. Within the week Virginia had seceded and her militia had seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard, which was fired before it was abandoned by the Union officers. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas followed the lead of the "Old Dominion." On April 19th occurred the first bloodshed of the war. The 6th Massachusetts regiment, passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a mob in the streets, shots were exchanged, and four soldiers and a dozen or more of their assailants were killed.

The struggle between the opposing parties in the remaining border states was bitter. In spite of the active efforts of governors Jackson of Missouri and Magoffin of Kentucky, the people of these states after some hesitation declared for the Union. The forty western counties of Virginia refused to abide by Virginia's determination to secede. They now sent delegates to Wheeling, where a state government was organised. Subsequently this government applied to Washington for a division of the state, and congress, adopting the fiction that this was the only constituted government of the state and therefore could consent to a division, admitted the western counties under the name of West Virginia (1863).

Meanwhile the opposing forces were drawing together, and by the end of May an army of sixty thousand was collected in and around Washington. President Davis had issued a call for one hundred thousand volunteers, and the Confederate capital had been re-established in Richmond. Around these two hostile capitals the struggle was soon sure to be begun.

Governor Francis H. Pierpont, provisional governor of the western counties of Virginia, called on President Lincoln for aid in preserving the region for the Union. In response a force was sent under Gen. George B. McClellan and the first real fighting in the Civil War ensued. McClellan, in a short but vigorous campaign, succeeded in clearing western Virginia of Confederates, and re-establishing railway connections between Washington and the West. This early success brought McClellan into the prominence that resulted soon after in his advancement to more important commands.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR (1861-1862)

Congress, in response to a call of President Lincoln, convened in special session at Washington on July 4th, 1861. The problems that confronted it

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were greater and more numerous than any body of American legislators had ever before been called upon to solve. Armies were to be enlisted and organised, a navy to be built, the civil service to be reconstructed. For all these purposes funds were needed, and the national treasury was almost empty. President Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the steps he had already taken to preserve the Union and of the immediate measures required. The legislators responded enthusiastically and loyally. In a little over a month's time measures were passed providing for large increases in the regular army and navy; authorising the president to call for five hundred thousand volunteers for three years or during the war; authorising the secretary of the treasury to borrow \$250,000,000 by issuing bonds or treasury notes; increasing the import duties, and providing for an income tax of 3 per cent. on all incomes of over \$800 per year. On August 6th, the last day of the session, all the acts of the president taken before the meeting of congress, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, were ratified, and he was broadly authorised to confiscate any property used or intended to be used in furtherance of the Confederate cause.

During its next regular session (December, 1861-July, 1862) congress continued its policy of strengthening the finances of the government, and employing every resource to crush the rebellion. The policy was adopted and unhesitatingly persisted in until the end of the war of stimulating industries by high protective tariffs and then utilising their resources by an elaborate system of direct taxation. Specie payment had been suspended by agreement between the government and the banks in December, 1861, and to meet the new conditions, congress, in February, 1862, passed the Legal Tender Act. By this act treasury notes, familiarly known as "greenbacks," were issued to the amount of \$150,000,000, subsequently reaching \$450,000,000, and were made legal tender for every purpose except payment of import duties and interest on the public debt. Supplementary to this the National Bank Act (February 15th, 1863), by which the present national banking system was established, was passed a year later. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, and in July a bill providing for a Pacific Railway. In the latter month, too, the Morrill Tariff Act became a law.

THE OPENING CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

The disunionist activities of Governor Jackson in Missouri and his endeavours to carry that state into the Confederacy hastened the opposing parties into hostilities west of the Mississippi. Jackson, on the pretense of maintaining the state's neutrality, had issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend it against its northern invaders. General Nathaniel Lyon, taking counsel with General Frank P. Blair, had thereupon taken possession of the state capital, Jefferson City, in June. In the following month he established his base at Springfield, where he was joined by a force under Colonel Franz Sigel, bringing his total command up to six thousand men. Against him early in August marched a Confederate force of ten thousand under generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch. On the banks of Wilson's Creek, ten miles from Springfield, a fierce battle was fought August 9th, in which the gallant Lyon, after being twice wounded, was killed while leading his troops. The Federal forces, outnumbered almost two to one, fought on stubbornly for an hour longer, and then retired to Rolla, whither the Confederates, their own army sadly depleted by the struggle, made no attempt to follow them. Any possible advantage the result of the battle might have given them was

thrown away largely through the bickerings of Price and McCulloch. The appointment of Earl Van Dorn to the chief command followed. For six months there were no military operations of importance west of the Mississippi.

In the Federal army the greatest dissatisfaction was soon expressed with General John C. Frémont, who had been appointed to the command in Missouri. Complaints of incompetency and misuse of authority were followed by more serious charges of corruption in granting army contracts. While these charges were being investigated he drew popular attention to himself by issuing an order confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons who had taken up arms against the Federal government in Missouri. This order, known as "Frémont's Emancipation Proclamation," was recognised by Lincoln and his advisers to be premature and impolitic to say the least, and it was seen that it might have an adverse effect on the Union cause in Kentucky. The revocation of the order, and the subsequent removal of Frémont as a result of the charges against him brought upon Lincoln a storm of reproach and disapproval from Sumner and the more radical anti-slavery republicans.

THE BLOCKADE : OPERATIONS ALONG THE COAST

On April 19th, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of all the ports of the seceded states. Steps were at once taken to make the blockade effective. It was a tremendous task, for there was a coast-line of over three thousand miles to be watched. The navy at the time consisted of only forty-two wooden vessels, more than half of which were on foreign stations. But they were hurried home for service, and extraordinary measures at once adopted for converting merchant vessels into ships of war. Northern shipyards were kept busy night and day.

The necessity for the hurry was evident. The vast cotton crop of the South was valueless unless it could be marketed. If the Confederacy could ship its staple crop to foreign markets it could buy with the funds thus obtained guns, ammunition, and munitions of war which might enable it to prolong the contest indefinitely. This was perfectly well recognised by President Lincoln and his secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles. Little by little the embargo was made effective along the whole stretch of coast. But throughout the long contest the dire necessity of the South induced the Confederate naval authorities to take every advantage of its laxity to aid swift sailing merchant vessels to run the blockade. The risks were great, but the reward was greater. In another direction the Confederate naval authorities were active. Their privateers, built at home and abroad, and carrying commissions from the Confederate government, preyed upon the commerce of the North with such disastrous results that despite every effort the American merchant marine, which in 1861 had been, next to England's, the greatest in the world, was by 1865 practically annihilated.

Many of the earliest operations conducted by the Federal government were undertaken for the purpose of establishing naval and military bases along the coast to strengthen the blockade, and from which the navy might more effectively operate against the privateers. One of the earliest of these was that which Gen. B. F. Butler led to Hatteras Inlet on the coast of North Carolina in August, 1861. Of more importance was the expedition in November, 1861, of General Thomas W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont, which successfully reduced forts Walker and Beauregard and captured Port

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Royal on the South Carolina coast. Early in January, 1862, a fleet under Commodore Goldsborough, conveying an army of twelve thousand men under Gen. A. E. Burnside, set sail for Pamlico and Albemarle sounds on the coast of North Carolina. The Confederate fortifications on Roanoke Island were carried by assault, and later New Berne was occupied. By April, 1862, Fort Macon and Fort Pulaski had fallen, the reduction of the latter completely cutting off Savannah from the outside world. These successes rendered effective the blockade from Virginia to Florida and served to establish bases from which important operations could in the future be conducted into the interior.

BULL RUN AND AFTER

While the campaign in western Virginia was still in progress events in the eastern part of the state pointed to an early meeting of the hostile armies in much larger numbers. Public opinion at the North had taken up the cry of "On to Richmond." From the South came back a no less certain cry of "On to Washington!" Finally, in response to the increasing demand for action. President Lincoln and his advisers determined upon a general advance into Virginia. On July 16th, 1861, General Irvin McDowell moved with his army of thirty thousand men in the direction of Manassas, about thirty miles southwest of Washington, where General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, had established his base with a somewhat inferior force. By the morning of Sunday, July 21st, when the two armies at length came together, the Confederates had been reinforced by the command of Gen. J. E. Johnston, which had been hastily ordered up from Winchester and had evaded the Union force of General Patterson set to watch it, so that the two armies were of almost exactly the same strength. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of being better posted and being on the defensive. McDowell advanced to the attack early on the morning of the 21st, his army being divided into three columns under generals Tyler, Hunter, and Heintzelman. Hunter on the right, after hard fighting, drove the Confederates before him until stopped on the slope of a hill by the brigade of Gen. Thomas J. Jackson. Jackson's stubborn resistance, which won for him the sobriquet of "Stonewall," checked the Federal assault until the arrival (about three o'clock in the afternoon) of a fresh contingent of Johnston's command under Gen. Kirby Smith. Beauregard had been on the point of ordering a retreat, but the tide of battle now began to turn against McDowell. Eight thousand fresh troops were hurled upon the flank and rear of the Federal army, which was gradually forced from the field. McDowell vainly tried to stop the retreat, and finding that impossible, attempted to withdraw his forces in order. But confusion prevailed, and his army streamed toward Washington in utter demoralisation. Beauregard and Johnston retained the field, but their forces were too badly disorganised to attempt a pursuit. The losses showed hard fighting. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about fifteen hundred, the Confederates' nineteen hundred, but over thirteen hundred Federals were reported missing.

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused the greatest consternation in the North; in the South the enthusiasm was unbounded. The ultimate result was probably more to the advantage of the North, for it was awakened at last to a realising sense of the vastness of the undertaking which the suppression of the secession movement meant. The South, on the other hand, suffered from the result of over-confidence. One of the first results of the battle at the North was the superseding of McDowell by McClellan. No

further movements of importance were undertaken by either of the main hostile armies in the east until October, the only operations worthy of note being a continuance of the campaigns in the mountains of western Virginia in which General Rosecrans was somewhat more successful than his Confederate opponent, Gen. Robert E. Lee.

THE "TRENT" AFFAIR

Before the war had been in progress many months occurred an international incident which had a significant bearing upon the relations of both North and South with neutral European powers. This was the forcible seizure, on November 8th, by Captain Charles Wilkes and the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto* of James M. Mason and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioners to England and France respectively, en route to England from Havana on the English steamship *Trent*. At the outbreak of the war the South had hoped and expected that England's commercial interest in keeping her cotton-mills running would lead her to look with sympathy on the Confederate cause, if not to render more important aid in money or munitions of war. In some degree their expectations were realised, for the sympathies of the higher classes in England were, at the beginning of the war, undoubtedly almost wholly with the South. The hasty action of the British government in recognising the Confederates as belligerents on May 14th, 1861, which was soon after followed by similar action on the part of France, was looked upon as being evidence of the unfriendly attitude of the Palmerston ministry. But the tactful diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, whom President Lincoln sent as American representative to the Court of St. James, and the powerful advocacy of the Northern cause by John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other Englishmen of influence, had apparently stemmed the tide of hostile feeling, when it was aroused anew by the seizure of the Confederate commissioners.

Mason and Slidell had escaped from Charleston on a blockade-runner and had re-embarked at Havana on November 7th on the British steamer *Trent*. On the next day the *Trent* was overhauled by the *San Jacinto* and the commissioners were seized and carried to Boston, where they were treated as prisoners of war. The news of the capture was at first received at the North with great joy. Wilkes was lauded as a national hero and received ovations at Boston and New York. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks. In England the seizure aroused a universal feeling of anger that was as unreasonable and extreme as were the Americans' demonstrations of joy. The British government at once demanded reparation, and in order to be prepared for a refusal dispatched thirty thousand troops to Halifax. Secretary Seward was rather disposed to assert American rights, believing that he had behind him the great public opinion of the North. But Lincoln, who declared that "we fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," counselled moderation. In this he was upheld by several members of his cabinet and by the more conservative sentiment at the North. Secretary Seward therefore informed Great Britain that the American government disavowed the act of Wilkes, and the commissioners were released and proceeded to England. The better opinion in England was anxious to defend itself from any charge of sympathy for the Confederate cause arising from this affair, and the London *Times* voiced this sentiment when it declared, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

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FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

It was early evident that the attempt to maintain Kentucky in a position of neutrality could not be successful. The geographical location of the state, if nothing more, rendered such an attitude impossible. Its occupation would naturally be one of the earliest steps in the Federal programme of securing control of the Mississippi river. Nor could it be expected that either side would neglect to attempt control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, two of the most important military thoroughfares into the heart of the Confederacy. The Confederate seizure of Columbus on the Mississippi was followed by General Grant's occupation of Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee. The state was thus forced into the struggle, and on September 20th, 1861, its legislature called for troops to support the Union cause.

The campaigns that followed developed into a struggle for the control of the waterways. The Confederates fortified Columbus, New Madrid, and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi, and erected Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Along this line of defence, with Bowling Green in Kentucky as an outpost and Nashville as a centre, General Albert Sidney Johnston distributed his forces. Against these were pitted Federal forces under General Don Carlos Buell at Louisville and General Ulysses S. Grant at Cairo, all being at the time under the supreme command of General Halleck. The first Federal attack on this line came on November 7th when Grant, moving down from Cairo in transports, routed the Confederates under General Pillow at Belmont, opposite Columbus, but was compelled to abandon the place on the reinforcement of Pillow by General Leonidas Polk, who commanded at Columbus. No more fighting of importance occurred until January, 1862, when the Federal forces moved forward all along the line. General James A. Garfield conducted a short but sharp campaign in eastern Kentucky, culminating in the defeat of the Confederates under Gen. Humphrey Marshall at Prestonburg (January 10th). On January 19th General George H. Thomas won a decisive victory over the combined Confederate forces of generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer at Mill Springs. General Zollicoffer was killed; and this, the first substantial Union victory in the West, gave great encouragement to the Federal armies. By these victories eastern Kentucky was freed from Confederate occupation.

Halleck now determined to break the centre of the Confederate line of defence, and for that purpose despatched General Grant with seventeen thousand troops and Commodore Foote with a flotilla of river gun-boats up the Tennessee river to Fort Henry. General Tilghman, the Confederate commander, realised the futility of resistance, and sending the bulk of his forces to reinforce Fort Donelson, surrendered after a mock defence.

Leaving a strong garrison at Fort Henry, Grant at once prepared to advance with fifteen thousand men upon Fort Donelson, where he was destined to win his first laurels as a fighter. Johnston had thought Fort Donelson almost impregnable, and had placed in it a force larger by six thousand than Grant's attacking army, under the command of Gen. John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in Buchanan's cabinet. On February 12th Grant, marching across country from Fort Henry, invested the Confederate fortifications. On the following day he attacked and was repulsed. That night arrived Foote with his gun-boats and General Lew Wallace with his division of infantry. On the 14th Foote attacked with his flotilla, but the fierce fire from the Confederate guns compelled him to retire down the stream with two of his gun-boats disabled. He himself was severely wounded.

That night Floyd, realising that Grant's reinforced troops now outnumbered his, after consulting with his two subordinates, Pillow and Buckner, determined to cut his way out to Nashville. Early the next morning this attempt was made. Ten thousand men were hurled upon the division commanded by General McClelland, which after a gallant defence, was forced by lack of ammunition to retire. If the Confederates had followed up this advantage they might indeed have obtained what they sought—a clear road to Nashville. But General Pillow, who commanded the assault, with almost incredible lack of foresight, withdrew into the fort. Grant at once saw his advantage and gave orders to his troops to retake their former position. At the same time he ordered General C. F. Smith, a brave and experienced soldier, to assault the works in his front. Smith, though a division commander, gallantly led the charge in person. Over rough ground and in the face of a withering fire the Union forces rushed upon the works, and with fixed bayonets carried an important position which practically commanded the entire fort. This position he was able to hold. At the same time Wallace and McClelland had advanced their lines to their former positions so that the fort was more closely invested than ever.

At a council of war held that night, Floyd, who was under indictment at Washington for malversation of government funds while in the cabinet, declared that he meant to escape. Pillow also stated his intention to follow suit; and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, upon whom the command thereupon fell, expressed his determination of surrendering on the following day. Floyd and Pillow, with a small portion of the troops, made good their escape. Buckner's attempt to obtain conditions from Grant the next day were terminated by Grant's famous "unconditional surrender" reply. The fort and 11,500 men were therefore surrendered. Grant had lost in all three thousand men; the Confederate casualties were not nearly so great.

"The capture of Fort Donelson," says Ropes,^k "was not a great affair, judged by the number of the slain, but judged by its moral and strategical results it was one of the turning points of the war. The whole system of the Confederate defence in the West had been broken up." Bowling Green and Columbus were at once abandoned, and Johnston was compelled to construct a completely new line of defence.

ISLAND NUMBER 10 AND PEA RIDGE

After the fall of Fort Donelson the Confederates still maintained strongly intrenched positions at New Madrid and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi; and against these, as a preliminary to opening up the latter river, early in March, 1862, Gen. John Pope was sent with a force of some twenty thousand men. The Mississippi here makes a double loop, New Madrid lying at the bottom of the northern, and Island Number 10 at the bottom of the southern, loop. New Madrid was first made untenable by cutting it off from its source of supply, and it capitulated on March 17th. The capture of Island Number 10 was more difficult, although in this undertaking Pope had the support of Flag-Officer Foote and his gun-boat flotilla. Finally, with much labour, a canal twelve miles long was cut across the isthmus made by the bend in the river, transports were floated through from which troops were landed below the island, and on April 7th a combined land and water attack was followed by the surrender of the island with its valuable stores. The chief result of these successes was the opening of the Mississippi as far as Memphis.

While the operations against Island Number 10 were in progress an



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THE BURNING OF THE CONGRESS IN HAMPTON ROADS

(From the painting by J. O. Davidson)

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important victory was won for the Union arms west of the Mississippi by Gen. S. R. Curtis, who had succeeded to the command in Missouri and had slowly driven Van Dorn out of the state into Arkansas. There at Pea Ridge, in the mountains of the northwestern part of the state, Curtis, with a force of eleven thousand was met by a motley Confederate force of twenty thousand. A two days' conflict ensued (March 7th-8th). At the end of the first day's fighting the outlook was favourable to a Confederate victory, but Van Dorn's troops were not well organised, and a vigorous flank attack by General Sigel on the second day resulted in a decisive Federal victory. The result secured the possession of Missouri to the Union cause, and practically cleared it of Confederate troops for the remainder of the war.

THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

At Hampton Roads, on Sunday, March 9th, 1862, occurred the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. It was the first combat between ironclads and marked a new era in naval warfare. When the Gosport Navy Yard was abandoned by the Federal authorities in April, 1861, the frigate *Merrimac* had been partially burned and sunk. Subsequently the Confederates had raised her, converted her into an ironclad, and renamed her the *Virginia*. She was provided with a powerful battery, her decks, covered with sheets of iron, sloped down to the water line, and she was fitted with an iron ram. On the morning of March 8th the *Merrimac*, as she was still commonly known, steamed out from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, and attacked the Federal fleet. After a fierce but unavailing resistance on the part of the frigate *Congress* and the sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, both were destroyed. The broadsides of the Federal ships rattled against the *Merrimac's* iron sides, and rolled off harmlessly into the water.

On the next morning the *Merrimac* returned to the scene of her previous day's victories, intending to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet. Her achievements of the day before had created the greatest consternation at the North; and the press conjured up pictures of the invincible *Merrimac* exacting tribute from every seaport on the North Atlantic coast. It was not supposed that the Northern navy possessed a vessel that could cope with the destroyer.

But that very morning the little iron-clad *Monitor* had arrived from New York under the command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, and lay at anchor alongside the frigate *Minnesota*, which the *Merrimac* proposed to demolish. Ropes^k calls this opportune coming of the *Monitor* "the most dramatic of the many dramatic occurrences of the war." This little low-decked, turreted iron-clad which the Confederates contemptuously characterised as "a raft with a cheese-box on it," had been built at the Brooklyn navy yard after models of John Ericsson. It was a good deal in the way of an experiment, but the value of the experiment was soon proved. The *Merrimac* bore down upon her with the intention of ramming her, but the *Monitor* skilfully eluded the blow. For several hours the two vessels fought at close range, but neither was able to inflict any serious damage on the other. Commodore Buchanan and several of the *Merrimac's* gunners were wounded. Lieutenant Worden was the only man on board the *Monitor* to be seriously hurt. After he was wounded the *Monitor* withdrew for a few minutes, whereupon the *Merrimac* took advantage of the cessation of the firing to return to Norfolk. The fight itself was a draw, but the real advantage was with the *Monitor*, for the Federal fleet had been saved, the idea of the invincibility of the *Merrimac* shown to

be false. The latter was not again taken into action, and when Norfolk was abandoned a few months later she was burned by the Confederates.^a

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

[General Grant, immediately after the fall of Donelson, prepared to ascend the Tennessee river and break the new Confederate line of defence along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.] On arriving at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee river, some twenty miles from Corinth, he occupied a very strong position on the left bank, intending to hold it until the arrival of General Buell with his army from Nashville. After the junction of the two armies, amounting to more than seventy thousand men, it was intended to move in overwhelming force on Corinth. When Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston learned of Grant's presence at Pittsburg Landing with no more than forty thousand men, he decided to advance suddenly and surprise him, in the hope of winning a victory before Buell's arrival. Circumstances so delayed the operation that Buell's advance division had arrived at Savannah, only nine miles below Pittsburg Landing, on the evening before the attack was made. There has been much discussion as to whether Grant was really surprised on the Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, when the Confederates charged upon his camp. It is perfectly clear that he was not aware of the presence of Johnston's force in his neighbourhood, and did not expect any attack to be made before the middle of the week. When the firing began on Sunday morning Grant was nine miles distant at Savannah. The division of Lew Wallace, seven thousand men, was at Crump's Landing, five miles below the scene of the battle. The position at Pittsburg Landing, where the principal command was exercised by generals McClernand and Sherman, was a strong one, protected on three sides by creeks, which were swollen with backwater from the great river. The open front towards the southwest, marked by a rude meeting-house known as Shiloh church, ought to have been protected by earthworks; this precaution, however, had been neglected. Johnston's plan was to attack by his right flank and cut off the Union army from Pittsburg Landing, which would involve its destruction or capture; but his attack was not correctly planned for that purpose. His force was not sufficiently massed upon his right, and his main blow was directed too near the Federal centre. The attack was conducted with magnificent gallantry, but the resistance of the Federal troops was very obstinate, and although their organisation was much impaired it was with great slowness that they were pushed back. About the middle of the forenoon the Union generals, Benjamin Prentiss, S. A. Hurlbut, and W. H. L. Wallace, secured a difficult position, since known as the Hornets' Nest, and maintained it until late in the afternoon despite all the efforts of the Confederates. Early in the afternoon, while assaulting this position, Johnston was killed, and the command devolved upon General Beauregard. [Here too fell W. H. L. Wallace. The Union forces were steadily driven back toward the Landing; in one of the movements General Prentiss and part of his command were cut off and captured. Nightfall alone brought a cessation of hostilities. At the end of the first day's fighting the victory was undoubtedly with the Confederates.] Lew Wallace's division had been greatly delayed in its march by imperfect information, and Nelson's division of Buell's army had been equally delayed by the detestable spring roads; but at nightfall both these divisions arrived upon the battlefield, adding fifteen thousand fresh men to the Union force; and so many steamboats had now been collected at Savannah that two more

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of Buell's divisions were comfortably brought up the river during the night. It was evident that Beauregard's battle on Monday was fought, not so much in the hope of victory as in order to secure an unmolested retreat. This he accomplished. In the afternoon he withdrew his army with much skill, leaving the Federals too weary to pursue. In this great battle more than twenty thousand men were killed and wounded, and the Federals lost besides three thousand prisoners. It was an important victory for the Federals, inasmuch as it decided the fate of Corinth; but those who blamed Grant for the surprise were perhaps quite as many as those who praised him for the victory.^m

Ropes,^k probably the most brilliant military historian of the war, in criticizing Grant's movements after the battle, says: "There was no reason why Grant should not promptly and unremittingly have followed up his beaten antagonist. It was a case where the enemy were in full retreat, and that too, after having lost very heavily in one battle, and been defeated in the second. But Grant did not act at all. He utterly failed to seize the opportunity. And no better opportunity than this was ever presented to a Federal general during the war."^a

FARRAGUT AT NEW ORLEANS (1862) ¹

The blockade at New Orleans had been peculiarly difficult to keep intact, and several privateers, as well as many merchantmen, had been able to break through. Among these the ram *Manassas* steamed down the river, and made a sudden diversion among the blockading squadron; but it was of short duration, and quite without result. Towards the close of the year Ship Island, near New Orleans, had been occupied by Union troops. General Benjamin F. Butler had charge of this department, but had brought nothing to a head. Admiral David G. Farragut, with David D. Porter second in command, reached the place in the early spring of 1862 to see what could be done. The capture of New Orleans would not only exert a very depressing effect upon the Confederates, but the city would also serve as a base for operations up the Mississippi, in connection with those already moving down.

The approaches to New Orleans by the main channel were held by two strong works, forts Jackson and St. Philip, and the river was patrolled by a flotilla. Farragut moored his mortar-boats below the forts, back of a bend in the river, and for six days bombarded Fort Jackson; but, impatient to secure the city, he determined to try the experiment of running his fleet past the forts, and thus to isolate them. This was a feat never before attempted and of questionable result. But, to the utter astonishment of the Confederates, it was successfully accomplished, and the next day Farragut took possession of New Orleans, evacuated by General Mansfield Lovell on his approach (April 25th).

Porter shortly afterwards received the surrender of the forts—it is claimed on account of a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson—and they were duly occupied. Butler then took possession of the city with his troops.

It must be said in praise of Butler that in provost-marshal work, such as he was called upon to perform in New Orleans, he showed remarkable capacity. The city was never healthier or in finer condition than under his régime. There was, however, just complaint against him in matters connected with

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trade; nor did he make the least attempt to mix suavity of method with strength of action in his government of the city.^l

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

After his defeat at Bull Run General McDowell, as we have seen, was superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General George B. McClellan. McClellan, who was almost unsurpassed as a military organiser, spent the succeeding months to good advantage in constructing a real army out of the disorganised, untrained mass of volunteers he found at his disposal. On November 1st, 1861, General Winfield Scott, who had up to this time retained nominal command of the armies of the United States, was retired, and McClellan was made commander-in-chief.

Shortly before this (October 21st) the two opposing armies had unintentionally met in a fierce battle at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac above Washington, in which the Union forces were defeated with considerable loss, including their gallant commander, Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon. This engagement was the result of an isolated operation, however, and not of a forward movement. So also was the battle of Drainesville, a Union victory in December. Throughout the North now began a demand for an advance, but all through the winter McClellan's troops remained inactive in their quarters. It was not until well into March, 1862, that McClellan, his command now again restricted to the Army of the Potomac, began a movement which he had long had in mind. This was the transfer of his army of one hundred and twenty thousand men to Fortress Monroe on the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers, which was accomplished in the three weeks beginning March 17th. From Fortress Monroe McClellan advanced toward Richmond, his objective point, as far as Yorktown, where he found his way blocked by a Confederate army of eleven thousand under General Magruder. At this moment McClellan learned that President Lincoln had detached McDowell's corps from his army and detained it to ensure the defence of Washington. This action of the president McClellan always declared to be responsible for his subsequent failure.

Without attempting to carry the works by assault — a step which a more energetic general would at least have tried — McClellan settled down to a siege, wasted a month erecting elaborate intrenchments and batteries, only to find when he was at last ready to open fire (May 3rd) that Magruder had slipped away toward Richmond. A pursuit was at once ordered, and at Williamsburg Longstreet was found awaiting them (May 5th). A spirited assault was successfully resisted during the day, with a loss of some 2,200 to the Union forces and 600 to the Confederates. The Confederates withdrew under cover of night, and McClellan leisurely continued his advance up the Peninsula, arriving at the Chickahominy May 21st.

It was during this interval that events occurred in the Shenandoah Valley that for a time placed McClellan's peninsular operations in jeopardy. Two small armies had been left in that locality under Banks and Frémont respectively. It had been planned to have these two forces join to crush the Confederate forces of "Stonewall" Jackson, by whom they were opposed. But this brilliant strategist, whose force had been increased to twenty thousand, completely frustrated their designs, and by a brilliant manœuvre defeated Banks at Winchester on May 25th and advanced so close to Washington as to fill that city with consternation. McDowell was then sent to drive him

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away, but again evading a conflict, Jackson proceeded south and joined the main Confederate army near Richmond.

Before Jackson had effected this junction, however, McClellan had fought and won a bloody two days' battle at Fair Oaks (May 31st-June 1st). This conflict had been precipitated by Johnston, who had taken advantage of a mistake of McClellan in dividing his army, and had fallen upon the two corps of Heintzelman and Keyes which had crossed the Chickahominy. These two generals resisted stubbornly against heavy odds and superior numbers, but were slowly pressed back. Defeat seemed certain when General E. V. Sumner, who with his corps had crossed the swollen Chickahominy on bridges of his own construction, arrived on the scene of battle at the critical moment. Sumner's spirited attack threw Johnston's forces into confusion, the latter commander himself being seriously wounded. The battle was renewed the next morning, but the Confederates soon gave up the fight and withdrew from the field. The losses were heavy, aggregating five thousand for the Union and six thousand for the Confederate forces. McClellan made no attempt to follow up this victory — having an apparently good excuse in his inability to transfer the rest of his army across the river. The battle, therefore, though one of the bloodiest thus far fought, was really only important in the improvement it effected in the *morale* of the Federal army. McClellan again took up his careful advance on the Confederate capital, and by June 25th he had reached a point only four miles from Richmond, the church spires of which could be seen in the distance.

THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND

General Johnston's wound at Fair Oaks incapacitated him from continuing as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, and he was therefore succeeded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. The change was a happy one, for it gave to this brilliant soldier the opportunity to prove the remarkable powers as a strategist and organiser which have placed him in the front rank of generals of all ages. During the month following Fair Oaks, while McClellan remained inactive within sight of Richmond, Lee made every effort to strengthen his defence, and succeeded in gathering together an army of some ninety thousand. At last, toward the end of June, McClellan was ready to move forward with his hundred thousand men. The first fight — the first of the seven days' battles — was fought at Mechanicsville, June 26th, 1862, where Lee's forces, being divided, suffered a sharp defeat. On the following day took place the much fiercer battle of Gaines' Mill. In this engagement Fitz-John Porter, commanding McClellan's right, consisting of some thirty thousand troops, sustained for hours a furious attack of almost twice as many Confederates, retiring across the Chickahominy at nightfall after each side had lost upward of seven thousand, almost three thousand of Porter's casualties consisting, however, of captured. Although Lee retained possession of the field, his losses were out of all proportion to the value of his success.

At this juncture McClellan might have easily swung his main army around upon Richmond had he not been misled into believing Lee's forces twice their actual strength. But he had other plans, and by the morning of the 28th his army was under way to take up a new base to the left on the James river.

McClellan had cleverly deceived both Lee and Jackson, who had expected him to retire the way he had come and had made their preparations accordingly. By the 29th Lee realised his mistake and made haste to attack the

retreating Federal army, but was twice repulsed by their rear-guard at Savage's Station and Allen's Farm. On June 30th the Confederates made a more general attack all along the line at Glendale or Frazier's Farm, but were again checked with great loss. That night McClellan concentrated his entire force on Malvern Hill, where on the next day the last and most severe of the seven days' battle was fought. The battle lasted all day, but the determined Confederate assaults were all successfully resisted. The result was a complete Union victory, the loss to their forces aggregating some 1,600 in killed and wounded, while the Confederate loss was over 5,000. The seven days' fighting had resulted in a loss of 15,849 killed, wounded, and missing to the Army of the Potomac, and 20,135 to the Army of Northern Virginia. "Nevertheless," says Ropes,^k "the moral and political effect of the whole series of movements and battles was entirely to the advantage of the Confederates. Facts are stubborn things; and there was no denying that McClellan had been forced to give up his position on the Chickahominy, where he was within sight of the steeples of Richmond, and to retire, followed — pursued, in fact — by his enemies to the river James, to a point twenty or thirty miles from the Confederate capital. The abrupt change of the part played by the Federal general from the rôle of the invader to that of the retreating and pursued enemy was too dramatic not to arrest general attention."

POPE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN (1862)

In the last days of June, 1862, while McClellan was still struggling on the peninsula, the commands of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont were consolidated under the name of the Army of Virginia and placed under the command of General John Pope, who had won prominence by his victory at Island Number 10. On July 11th, General Halleck was called to Washington and made commander-in-chief of all the land forces of the United States.

Pope early in August prepared to make an aggressive campaign into Virginia, his army having now been reinforced by part of McClellan's force. Lee, meanwhile, relieved of immediate fear of McClellan, had despatched "Stonewall" Jackson again to the North to face Pope. The first encounter between the hostile forces took place at Cedar Mountain, where Jackson repulsed a furious attack made by half as large a force under Banks (August 9th). By August 25th McClellan's army had left the peninsula and Porter's and Heintzelman's corps were now acting with Pope. Lee also had moved northward with most of his army to support Jackson, and thenceforth Pope was on the defensive. Meanwhile skirmishes and small engagements were taking place daily. J. E. B. Stuart in one of his daring raids completely circled the Union army, and Jackson captured the Union stores at Manassas. On August 29th took place the sanguinary battle of Groveton. General Hooker under Pope's orders made the first attack on Jackson, not aware of the fact that he had already been strongly reinforced by Longstreet. Porter, whom Pope had ordered to turn Jackson's flank, was prevented from such a movement by the necessity of holding Longstreet in check. Fighting was resumed next morning (August 30th), and from the fact that the second day's battle took place on exactly the same ground upon which McDowell was defeated in July, 1861, it has been called the second battle of Bull Run. Porter, McDowell, and Heintzelman advanced to the attack but were repulsed with great loss, and a counter attack of Longstreet gradually forced Pope's army back upon Centreville. On September 1st, the third day of continuous fighting, Pope withdrew toward Washington, fighting en route

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the bloody battle of Chantilly, in which the gallant General Kearney lost his life. The losses of the Confederates aggregated nine thousand; of the Federals about fourteen thousand, half of whom, however, were prisoners. Ropes^k says, in summing up Pope's failure, that on the morning of August 30th it was entirely within his power to take a strong position and hold it against any assault Lee could have made. "He made, however," he continues, "the fatal mistake of utterly misconceiving the situation; and, neglecting all precautions, he ordered an attack. Pope (on the 30th) was badly beaten; still he was not forced from the field. But his retreat on that day changed the whole aspect of affairs and stamped the whole campaign as a failure. It was a confession of his inability to meet his antagonist, and it lost him the remaining confidence of his soldiers."

ANTIETAM

Pope resigned his command as soon as he reached Washington, the short-lived Army of Virginia went out of existence, and to McClellan was assigned the task of reorganising his own and Pope's forces into the Army of the Potomac. In a week the disorganised and disheartened troops had been moulded by the hand of the master organiser into a new and effective army. Lee, after his defeat of Pope, had at once started on an invasion of Maryland, and McClellan now set out up the north bank of the Potomac to head him off. On September 14th the forces of Franklin, Burnside, and Reno won two decisive actions, known as the battle of South Mountain. General Reno was among the Federal killed. On the following day, however, a Confederate force under Jackson and McLaws captured a Federal force of twelve thousand at Harper's Ferry without any serious attempt being made to defend the place.

Lee's main army meanwhile had taken up a strong position at Sharpsburg, on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a stream emptying into the Potomac above Harper's Ferry. Here McClellan came up with him, and on this field on September 17th was fought the battle of Antietam. Lee's force was not as large as McClellan's, but by the disposition of his troops and his mode of attacking in succession instead of *en masse* he managed to meet the Federal force at almost every point of contact with an equal force of his own. Hooker opened the battle by a sharp attack on Lee's left on the night of the 16th, renewing it on the next morning; but his assault was stopped by Jackson at the little Dunker church. All day long the tide of battle ebbed and flowed about this point. On the left Burnside's slow attack, not undertaken until afternoon, was undecisive. At night the two armies, depleted and exhausted by one of the hardest day's fighting in all the war, ceased the conflict as if by mutual consent. The next day Lee withdrew his troops from what Dodge^l characterises as for Lee a tactically drawn battle but a strategic defeat, for it marked the end of his first attempt at an invasion of the North. The losses on each side approximated twelve thousand, which points to it as the bloodiest battle thus far fought in the war except Shiloh. Ropes^k says that "it is likely that more men were killed and wounded on the 17th of September than on any single day in the whole war." "The battle," says this same historian, "was in every light most creditable to General Lee and his army, and of General Lee's personal management of the battle nothing but praise can be uttered."

Had McClellan known that Lee was practically out of ammunition and that his force had been depleted by almost one-half through battle and strag-

gling, he would probably have followed up and crushed him. But he was again held back by his absurd and unreasonable fear of the strength of his adversary. It was five weeks before he crossed the Potomac, in response to the urgent commands of President Lincoln and General Halleck, and moved into Virginia. He had proceeded as far as Warrenton, when, on November 7th, 1862, he was without warning removed from his command and superseded by General Burnside.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862 IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

After Shiloh, Halleck moved the Union lines forward to Corinth, which was abandoned by the Confederates. The army of the Ohio under General Buell now became the centre of interest. Early in the summer of 1862 Buell advanced toward Chattanooga, but he was forestalled by the energetic Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. Later in the summer Bragg moved northward toward Louisville, meanwhile sending his lieutenant, General Kirby Smith, to take Lexington and threaten Cincinnati. Buell reached Louisville before Bragg and marched forth to meet him with a nearly equal force. Bragg retreated but Buell overtook him at Perryville (October 8th, 1862), where a severe battle was fought, Buell sustaining a loss of almost 4,000 and Bragg a thousand less. Bragg, however, continued his retreat that night, and owing to Buell's dilatory tactics made good his escape into Tennessee. Complaints against Buell resulted soon after in his being replaced by General W. S. Rosecrans. Elson² points out an interesting parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland. "Both ended in failure," he says. "In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle at night and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were successful without a great victory in driving the Confederates from border-state soil."

During the same period covered by this campaign General Rosecrans was winning at Iuka and Corinth the laurels that pointed to him as Buell's successor. In the battle of Iuka (September 19th), Rosecrans had administered a sharp defeat to Sterling Price. Two weeks later at Corinth he was in turn attacked by Price and Van Dorn (October 3rd and 4th), but won a brilliant victory, losing only 2,500 men to the Confederates' 4,200.

After taking command of the Army of the Ohio, now renamed the Army of the Cumberland, Rosecrans remained for some weeks quietly in Nashville. On the day after Christmas, 1862, he moved his army of forty-seven thousand men in three divisions, under Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, toward Bragg's headquarters at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, forty miles distant. The armies met on the last day of the year on the banks of Stone river. The fierce onset of General Hardee turned the Union right under McCook, but the stand of Thomas and the heroic efforts of Rosecrans saved the day and the first day's battle was a drawn one. On the first day of the new year the armies rested preparing for a renewal of the conflict on the next. The battle of January 2nd was hotly contested and resulted in a victory for the Union arms. Rosecrans had lost thirteen thousand men to Bragg's ten thousand, but the latter's immediate withdrawal from Murfreesboro with his crippled army opened the way for the Union advance to Chattanooga the following summer.

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EMANCIPATION

For the first year and a half of the war President Lincoln had adhered strictly to his original intention of keeping the character of the struggle a war for the preservation of the Union. He realised that the mass of the Northern people would at first have held back from an abolition war. As Woodrow Wilson^b says, had the war been short and immediately decisive for the Union, the Federal power would not have touched slavery in the states. But the war had dragged on, it showed no signs of ending, and despite his natural disinclination to take any steps toward abolition the president had to acknowledge that the current of events was tending in that direction.

Indeed many steps had already been taken toward emancipation. As early as May, 1861, Gen. B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe had refused to return slaves to their owners, declaring them to be "contraband of war," a phrase which came thenceforth to be jocularly applied to all fugitive slaves. Then (August, 1861) came the first of congress' confiscation acts, which applied to slaves, and General Frémont's disallowed order already mentioned. A similar order of Gen. David Hunter in South Carolina was overruled in 1862. On April 16th, congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June, 1862, it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all territories of the United States, which then existed or in the future should be acquired.

To the same congress the president addressed a special message urging the co-operation of that body with the authorities of any border state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves with compensation. The second confiscation act, passed July 17th, 1862, pronounced free all slaves who should seek the protection of the government, if their owners had been directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion. On July 22nd President Lincoln, to the surprise of most of his cabinet, read them the draft of a proclamation of emancipation which he proposed should take effect on January 1st, 1863.

At Seward's advice the president decided not to issue the proclamation until after some signal Union victory in the field. Meanwhile the more radical republicans continued to denounce the president's inaction. Horace Greeley's famous open letter to the president, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," appeared in the New York *Tribune*, and brought forth a reply from Lincoln to the effect that he personally desired emancipation, but that his first duty as president was to save the Union with or without emancipation.

By September Lincoln had fully determined that it would serve to stimulate the North if the war were made a war against slavery as well as for the preservation of the Union; and that thereby the dread of foreign intervention would be practically eliminated and the South be placed irrevocably in the wrong in the eyes of the civilised world.

Then came Antietam, and on September 22nd he issued a preliminary proclamation giving notice that unless the Southern states returned to their allegiance to the Union within a hundred days thereafter he should proclaim the slaves within their borders free. This warning he carried out in his formal Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1st, 1863. Questions as to the constitutionality of the measure must be answered by the simple statement that it was a war measure. There was no actual constitutional or statutory warrant or authority for the edict. Lincoln's own explanation was that "measures otherwise unlawful might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground."

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

General Ambrose E. Burnside had been one of McClellan's staunchest friends, and had been besides a loyal supporter of the administration. Twice he had refused the offer of the command, declaring himself to be incompetent for such authority. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon him. Washington, his friends told him, had asserted a similar disbelief in his own abilities. "It was left, however," says a recent writer (Elson *n*), "for Burnside to do what Washington never did—to prove his assertion to be true." Though well liked by rank and file, Burnside suffered from the first by not having the fullest confidence of his corps commanders. Realising this, he made the mistake of not seeking their advice to the extent he should have done.

The two armies lay facing one another south of the Potomac, scarcely thirty miles apart. The Union army, 120,000 strong, was encamped about Warrenton. Dividing his forces into three grand divisions commanded respectively by generals Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, Burnside abandoned McClellan's carefully prepared plan of campaign and advanced at once against Lee, who had concentrated his army of eighty thousand veteran troops on the heights of Fredericksburg on the lower Rappahannock.

Before Burnside was prepared to attack, Lee had so strongly fortified Marye's Heights, naturally a well nigh impregnable position, as to render the success of an attack from the front almost impossible. Yet against this position Burnside hurled his army on December 13th, 1862. But the force of his attack was weakened by lack of concert between his wings under Sumner and Franklin. These officers and their troops did all that mortal men could do. Again and again, in spite of the most terrible losses, they tried to carry the Confederate position. At nightfall the Union forces were drawn together into Fredericksburg and thence transported across the river. The loss to Burnside's army was over twelve thousand; Lee lost less than half as many. "No other such useless slaughter," says Dodge,¹ "with the exception perhaps of Cold Harbor, occurred during the war."

Burnside in desperation declared that he would lead the assault in person the next day, but his officers prevailed upon him to withdraw. Lee, who, had he known the extent of the Union losses, might have followed up his repulse by a successful offensive campaign, let the opportunity slip.

As for the Army of the Potomac, it had never been so demoralised. It needed a new commander who could hold the confidence of his officers and men, which Burnside had utterly forfeited. Late in January the command was entrusted to General Joseph Hooker, who at once set at work to reorganise the army. By the end of April he was ready to act.^a

General Hooker initiated the Chancellorsville campaign by a cavalry raid on Lee's communications intended to move about his left and far to his rear; but sheer blundering robbed this diversion of any good results. He followed up this raid by a feint under Sedgwick below Fredericksburg, while he himself so cleverly stole a march on Lee by the upper Rappahannock that within four days he had massed forty thousand men on the enemy's left flank at Chancellorsville before the latter had begun to divine his purpose.

But there Hooker paused. Indecision seized his mind. He frittered away a precious day, and when he finally advanced on Lee the latter had recovered himself and was prepared to meet him. After barely feeling his adversary, "Fighting Joe" retired into the Wilderness to invite attack, while Lee, with half his force but thrice his nerve, sharply followed him up. The

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terrain to which the Army of the Potomac had been thus withdrawn was well named. It was one vast entanglement of second growth timber and chaparral, to the last degree unfitted for the manœuvres of an army.

With his wonted rashness, but relying on his adversary's vacillation, Lee divided his army and sent Jackson around Hooker's right to take him in reverse and cut him off from United States Ford, while his own constant feints on the centre should cover the move. Meanwhile Hooker weakened his right by blind demonstrations in his front, and enabled Jackson to complete his manœuvre and to crush at a blow the 11th corps (O. O. Howard's) which held that flank and to throw the army into utter confusion. In this moment of his greatest triumph "Stonewall" Jackson fell at the hands of his own men.

On the morrow, with "Jackson" for a watchword, by dint of massed blows upon Hooker's lines where but one man in three was put under fire, Lee fairly drove the Union army into a corner, from whence its dazed commander, with eighty thousand men, cried aloud for succour to Sedgwick's one corps fifteen miles away, still fronting the defences at Fredericksburg. Under quite impossible orders this gallant soldier captured Marye's Heights, where Burnside had lost thirteen thousand men, and advanced towards his chief. But Lee, trusting to Hooker's panic to keep him bottled up, turned upon Sedgwick, drove him across the river after an all-day's fight, and again confronted Hooker, who, dizzy and nerveless, sought safety in retreat to his old camps.

This ten days' passage at arms was glorious to the Confederate soldier's valour and to his leader's skill, while the Federals lost all save honour. With an effective only half as great, Lee had actually outnumbered Hooker whenever he had struck him. While a fraction of the Union forces were being decimated, the rest were held by Hooker in the leash at places where they were uselessly fretting to join their brothers in the fray.^m

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG ¹

With one voice the South, inspired by the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, demanded an invasion of the North. In response to this demand, Lee, early in June, 1863, crossed the Potomac and concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, in preparation for an invasion of Pennsylvania, leaving Hill and Stuart with a considerable force to divert Hooker. Hooker, however, evaded them, and started in pursuit of Lee. Hooker's late movements had shown faultless strategy and indomitable energy, but neither Lincoln nor Halleck, remembering Chancellorsville, could have entire confidence in him. Finally, resenting their interference, he sent in his resignation, which was at once accepted.^a

Few words sum up Hooker's military stand. As a corps commander, or with orders to obey, unless jealousy warped his powers, he was unsurpassed in bravery, devotion and skill. For the burden of supreme command he had neither mental calibre nor equipoise. Self-sufficiency stood in lieu of self-reliance.

Into Hooker's place quietly stepped business-like Meade, and unhampered by Halleck, whose favourite he was, continued to follow up the invaders. Ewell was at York and Carlisle, and might cross the Susquehanna and capture the capital of the state. Meade therefore moved northward from Fred-

[¹ Reprinted from Theodore A. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War*, by permission of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

erick, Md., intent upon loosening Lee's grip on that river. This he effected, and Longstreet and Hill were ordered, not towards Harrisburg, but through the South Mountain passes; for Lee, as soon as he knew of Meade's direction, became fearful for his communications. And he was moreover troubled by the naked defence of Richmond, which prize could have been secured by a vigorous attack by General Dix from Fort Monroe with more ease than at any time during the war had the attempt been made. Lee, therefore, determined to draw back and make a diversion east of the South Mountain range to engage Meade's attention. Lee's plan of invasion had been thwarted; but his army must be defeated.

Having divined the purpose of his adversary, Meade selected the general line of Pipe Creek for his defence, and threw his left wing, preceded by cavalry, forward to Gettysburg as a mask. Lee also aimed to secure this point, for it controlled the roads towards the Potomac. The 1st and 11th corps met the van of Lee's army under A. P. Hill, on the north of the now historic town. A severe engagement ensued in which doughty General Reynolds lost his life, and the Federals, after Ewell came upon the field, were driven back through the town with heavy loss, but unpursued. Hill and Ewell waited for Longstreet. This check to the enemy's advance led to results worth all the sacrifice.

Few conflicts of modern times have become so familiar, in art and story, as the battle of Gettysburg. Only its chief features need be recalled. South of the quiet little town, covering the road to Baltimore, lies a chain of hillocks and bluffs shaped like a fish-hook. At the barb rises Culp's Hill, along the back what is known as Cemetery Hill, and the shank, running north and south, is formed by a hilly slope terminating in a rocky, wooded peak, called Round Top, having Little Round Top as a spur. On this eligible ground the retreating Unionists were rallied and speedily reinforced, while Meade, at Hancock's suggestion, brought the army forward from Pipe Creek to secure it.

Meanwhile Lee cautiously advanced his own troops, and forgetting that he had promised his corps commanders that he would not in this campaign assume a tactical offensive, resolved to give battle. Longstreet's preference was to seize the Emmetsburg road beyond the Union left, and manœuvre Meade out of his position by compromising his communications with Washington. But there lurked in the healthy body of the Army of Northern Virginia a poisonous contempt of its adversary. This was the natural outcome of Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Lee was morally unable to decline battle. He could not imperil the high-strung confidence of his men.

As the second day dawned he must, however, have watched with throbbing anxiety the Federal line rapidly throwing up defences on just such a formidable crest as he himself had held at Marye's Heights. For Lee gauged better than his men the fighting qualities of his foe.

His general line lay along Seminary Ridge, parallel to Cemetery Hill, and about a mile distant, with his left thrown round and through the town to a point opposite Culp's, in order, Longstreet, Hill, Ewell. He was thus formed in concave order of battle, the Army of the Potomac having been thrown by the lay of the land into substantially the convex order.

By noon Lee had perfected his plans, and Longstreet opened an attack on a weak salient thrown out by Sickles from the general line of the Union left towards the Emmetsburg road. The possession of Round Top would take the Federal line in reverse, and Sickles' position, an outward angle, could

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be enfiladed in both directions, and if lost would seriously compromise this point. Longstreet was not slow to clutch at the advantage thus offered. But the foresight of Warren, after a desperate struggle, secured Round Top; and though Longstreet wrested from Sickles his salient, he secured only an apparent benefit not commensurate with his loss.

On the Union extreme right, Ewell had meanwhile gained a foothold on Culp's Hill, and, as night fell, Lee was justified in feeling that the morrow would enable him to carry the entire ridge. For he believed that he had effected a breach in both flanks of the Army of the Potomac. Indeed at the close of the second day the gravity of the situation induced Meade to call a council of his corps commanders. It was determined to abide the result at that spot. Officers and men were in good spirits and equal to any work.

Lee was tactically in error as to Longstreet's supposed success on the left. It had in reality rectified Sickles' position. The real line of the Federal army was undisturbed. And Meade at daylight attacked Ewell in force, and after a hard tussle wrenched from him the ground commanding Culp's. Thus Lee had failed to effect a permanent lodgment on either Federal flank, and Meade had thrown up strong field works to defend them. There was no resource for him but to break the Federal centre.

He accordingly massed nearly one hundred and fifty guns along Seminary Ridge, and at one o'clock p. m. opened fire. Owing to the limited space for the batteries, barely eighty guns from the Federal side could answer this spirited challenge. For two hours lasted the fiery duel, when Lee launched Pickett, "the Ney of the rebel army," with a column of thirteen thousand men, to drive a wedge into the centre of the Union line. A column charged with so desperate a duty — the forlornest of forlorn hopes — should contain none but picked troops. Pettigrew's division in the assaulting column was unable to hold its own. And though Pickett's Virginians actually ruptured Hancock's line and a few of the men penetrated some fifty yards beyond, he met an array in front and flank which rolled him back with fearful loss. Lee's last chance of success was wrecked.

The instinct of a great commander might have seized this moment for an advance in force upon the broken enemy. But Meade cautiously held what he had already won, rather than gain more at greater risk. Beaten, but not dismayed, Lee spent all the morrow and until after daylight next day preparing for retreat, and yet in a mood to invite attack. And he would have met it stoutly. But Meade was content. He would adventure nothing. He had won the credit of defeating his enemy; he lost the chance of destroying him. He may be justified in this, but not in failing to follow up Lee's deliberate retreat with greater vigour. It must however be admitted that in almost all campaigns, a similar criticism may be passed — after the event. There is always a term to the endurance and activity of armies and their commanders.

In this most stubborn battle of modern days the Federal army lost 23,000 out of 93,000 engaged; the Confederates 22,500 out of 80,000 men, besides 5,400 prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded, twenty-two and a half per cent., is unexampled in so large a force. Lee retreated by way of Williamsport, undisturbed save at a distance, and after some days was followed across the Potomac by Meade.¹ The Confederate main line of defence was now re-established to the south of the Potomac in the region of the Wilderness, with centres at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Men and officers alike were forced to the conclusion that invasions of the North were not, on the whole, the best sort of operations in which to engage.^a

THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

In the midsummer of 1862 Halleck was appointed general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and in that capacity transferred his headquarters to Washington, leaving Grant in command at Corinth. His force had been so depleted by Halleck's scattered operations that the Confederates now made an attempt to drive him down the Tennessee river. The result was, as we have seen, the battles of Iuka and Corinth early in October, 1862. It was the prelude to Grant's first movement against Vicksburg. That city had been fortified and guarded by the Confederates in such wise that it was deemed impregnable, and it might well have been thought so. The place is situated on a steep and lofty bluff at the junction of the Yazoo river with the Mississippi.

The latter flows in a serpentine course through a low flat basin about forty miles in width. It is perpetually changing its course, and the land on either side is intersected in all directions by sluggish streams and stagnant lakes, the remnants of its abandoned channels. In such a country operations with an army are impossible. At long intervals, however, the river flows entirely on one side of its basin and washes the foot of the steep hills by which it is bounded. Wherever such a cliff occurred, as at Columbus, Memphis, and other points, it was defended by the Confederates, and when they lost it they lost the river down to the next similar point. Now the combination of circumstances at Vicksburg was peculiar. Its position was too lofty to be taken by the fleet unaided, but the only direction from which it could be safely approached by an army was from the rear, that is to say, from the east; and the correct line of approach was that of the Mississippi Central Railway with Memphis for the Federal base of supplies. For an army coming up or down the Mississippi the problem was almost insoluble. It was impossible to get in the rear of the city by landing to the north of it, for the approaches were there guarded by batteries on Haines Bluff which could shoot down any assailing column faster than it could advance. On the other hand, an army landing to the south of Vicksburg incurred the risk of starvation, since the guns of Vicksburg prevented supplies from passing down stream, while the guns of Port Hudson two hundred miles below equally prevented them from passing up. Grant's first movement against Vicksburg [in the autumn of 1862] was the correct one, along the Mississippi Central Railway; but because of his deficiency in cavalry, his line of communications was cut and he was obliged to retreat upon Corinth. Meanwhile [December, 1862] a separate expedition under General Sherman had been sent down the Mississippi river. It landed at Chickasaw Bayou, and attempted to storm the works at Haines Bluff in order to gain a foothold to the north of Vicksburg. This enterprise met with a bloody repulse. [McClernand who succeeded Sherman made an expedition up the Arkansas River but was called back by Grant who complained that the main object of the campaign was being overlooked.] A period of intrigue succeeded, the result of which was that Grant felt obliged to abandon his first plan and take his whole army down the river to Vicksburg. After arriving on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mighty stronghold, the problem before him was to get his army into its rear. Two fruitless months were spent in attempts to navigate the intricate and tortuous system of bayous in order either to land the army northwards without encountering the guns of Haines Bluff, or to carry supply-ships southwards by routes not commanded by the batteries of Vicksburg. Meanwhile Grant's popularity greatly declined, and President Lincoln was urged to remove him from command. But

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Lincoln's reply was, "I rather like the man; I guess we will try him a little longer." At this crisis Grant conceived a most daring scheme; and having heard it condemned by every one of his generals, he proceeded to try it on his own responsibility. On the 16th of April Porter's fleet was taken down the river below the city, sustaining slight damage from its batteries. Feints were made to the northward, while the body of the army was rapidly marched to Bruinsburg, about twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected near that place, and the Confederates were defeated in an obstinate battle at Port Gibson. This obliged them to evacuate Grand Gulf (May 3rd, 1863), the strongest of the outposts to the southward. From Port Gibson Grant then proceeded to march northeasterly upon the city of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, intending to find and defeat General Joseph E. Johnston who was approaching to relieve Vicksburg. Grant's object was to throw himself between Johnston's army and that of Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg, and to defeat them in detail. In order to do this it was necessary for him to keep his army concentrated, and he could not spare troops to guard his line of communications with the Mississippi river. He therefore cut loose from his base altogether and conducted this marvellous campaign upon such food as his men could carry in their knapsacks or seize in the course of their march. To avert certain ruin it was necessary that he should be victorious at every point; and he was. Having defeated Johnston in two battles, at Raymond (May 12th) and again at Jackson (May 14th), he instantly faced about to the west and marched against Pemberton who had come out to intercept his supposed line of communications. In a bloody battle at Champion Hill (May 16th) Pemberton was totally defeated, and his ruin was completed the next day at the Big Black river. Pemberton then retired into Vicksburg with the remnant of his force, while Sherman approached Haines Bluff in the rear and compelled the enemy to evacuate it. The supposed insoluble problem was now virtually at an end, for Grant's line of supplies from the northward was opened and made secure. Mindful of the possibility that Johnston might sufficiently recover strength to interrupt operations, Grant tried to carry Vicksburg by storm, and two assaults were made which were repulsed with great slaughter. He then resorted to siege operations, and by the third day of July the city was starved into submission. By this brilliant campaign Grant's reputation was at once raised to a very high pitch. He was made major-general in the regular army, and henceforth was allowed to have his own way in most things.^m

CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

For six months after the battle of Stone River Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland lay quietly at Murfreesboro facing Bragg. No operations of any magnitude were attempted, though several cavalry raids were undertaken — that of Forrest and Wheeler against Fort Donelson, and of Morgan, the Confederate guerilla, into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio being the most noteworthy. Urged by both Halleck and Grant, Rosecrans late in June prepared to advance upon his enemy. In a brilliant series of manœuvres Rosecrans outgeneralled his adversary and compelled him to change his base time and again. The occupation of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge by generals George H. Thomas and McCook rendered Bragg's position at Chattanooga, whither he had retired, untenable. Finally in attempting to pursue Bragg through the difficult mountain passes to the south, the two armies came face to face at Chickamauga Creek. Bragg, who had meanwhile been

reinforced by Longstreet with a part of the Army of Northern Virginia, had now about seventy thousand men to Rosecrans' sixty thousand. He began the battle (September 19th, 1863) by falling upon the Federal left under Thomas who managed to hold his position against overwhelming numbers throughout the day. The fight was renewed the next day. The removal of Wood's division from the Federal centre left a gap which Longstreet at once took advantage of. The Federal army was thus divided, its right being completely swept from the field. On the left, however, the redoubtable Thomas, now cut off from the main Union army, re-formed his lines, and though outnumbered two to one withstood again and again the furious attack of the whole Confederate army. Well did he earn his title to the name, "Rock of Chickamauga" which has been applied to him. "No more splendid spectacle appears in the annals of war," says Dodge,¹ the military historian, "than this heroic stand of Thomas in the midst of a routed army, and in the face of an enemy the power of whose blows is doubled by the exultation of victory." Thomas later withdrew in perfect order to Chattanooga where Rosecrans and his defeated corps had preceded him. Rosecrans had been badly worsted in battle, but the net result of the campaign was rather in his favour, and Thomas' staunch stand had so weakened Bragg that it was some time before he could take the offensive. The losses at Chickamauga were sixteen thousand for the Federal, and eighteen thousand for the Confederate army.^a

Rosecrans, as we have said, retired with his army into Chattanooga, but had not sufficient force to hold the crests of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, which were forthwith occupied by the Confederate army. This operation left the Union army without any good line of communications. The only route by which food could be brought was a long and difficult wagon road over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains known as Waldron's Ridge. Drenching rains set in, the mules died on the route and blocked up the way, and presently the Union army suffered for want of food. Indeed, something like a famine set in, and nearly all the horses perished for want of forage. At this crisis Grant was appointed to command all the armies west of the Alleghanies, increased by the transfer of two corps from the Army of the Potomac to that of the Cumberland. His first proceedings were to supersede Rosecrans by Thomas, and to order up Sherman from Vicksburg. By a beautiful series of operations an excellent line of communication was opened by General William Farrar Smith, and the sufferings at Chattanooga were relieved. On the arrival of Sherman's force it was moved by a circuitous and secret route to the north end of Missionary Ridge near Chickamauga station on the Dalton Railway, by which Bragg received his supplies. At this time Longstreet, who, as we have seen, had taken part in the battle at Chickamauga, was engaged in a subsidiary operation. He had been imprudently sent away by Bragg to lay siege to Knoxville, and his line of communications was also the railway from Dalton. Bragg's left wing occupied the summit of Lookout Mountain, while his centre and right stretched along the crest of Missionary Ridge for a space of five or six miles. Under these conditions Grant's plan of battle was simple. His reinforcements from Virginia, commanded by General Joseph Hooker, were in Lookout Valley. He proposed to make a demonstration with these troops which should engross Bragg's attention, while Sherman at the opposite extremity of the field should storm the northern end of Missionary Ridge, cut off Bragg from the Dalton Railway and crush his right wing, thus wrecking his army; but the battle, as fought, proceeded upon a very different plan. The accidental breaking of a pontoon bridge

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left in Lookout Valley one division of men which had been destined for Sherman's part of the field. This additional force so far strengthened Hooker that in the course of the fight which ensued upon Lookout Mountain he carried the whole position by storm, driving the Confederates down upon Missionary Ridge.

On the other hand, Sherman's enterprise was frustrated by an unforeseen obstacle. After he had surmounted the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge he was confronted by a yawning chasm which none of the Federal glasses had been able to detect, and as there were no good topographical maps its existence was unknown. The crests beyond were crowned with Confederate artillery, and well manned. In these circumstances, the part that Sherman played, though a very useful one, was different from what had been intended. On the second day of the battle he attacked the heights before him; he was unable to carry them, but his pressure upon that vital point was so strong that it led Bragg to keep on reinforcing it at the expense of his centre, which was confronted by the army of General Thomas. Presently Grant, fearing for Sherman and wishing to stop this northward movement of Confederates, ordered four of Thomas' divisions to make a bayonet charge in front. They were to carry the Confederate works at the foot of Missionary Ridge and then halt and await orders. At that moment Grant was building better than he knew. The line of twenty thousand men swept like an avalanche over the works at the foot of the ridge, and then in an uncontrollable spirit of victory kept on without orders, making their way up the perilous height. As they reached the top they broke through the Confederate centre in at least six different places, while at the same moment Hooker, who had come down from Lookout Mountain, overwhelmed Bragg's right and sent it tumbling in upon his routed centre. In a few moments the remnant of the Confederate army was a disorderly mob fleeing for life. This great victory secured for the northern army the line of the Alleghanies, as the capture of Vicksburg had secured the line of the Mississippi.^m

GRANT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The winter of 1863-1864 was a quiet one. On the last day of February, 1864, congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general and President Lincoln promptly appointed Grant to that position, following the action up in a few days by making him commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. At once Grant developed his plans for a grand campaign which he confidently hoped would end with the downfall of the Confederacy.^a His main purpose was to mass and move at the same time against the two great Confederate armies in the field, that of Lee in his immediate front (in Virginia) and that of Joseph E. Johnston at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to which, at Chattanooga, was Sherman, Grant's second in command and his successor in the West, to whom he chiefly looked for co-operation. Sherman was to bear from Chattanooga, making Johnston's army and Atlanta his objective points; he was to penetrate the interior of the Confederacy as far as possible and inflict all possible damage on its war resources, but the mode of operation was left largely to his discretion; Grant chose the most difficult task for himself; to conquer and capture Lee's army was his prime object, with the fall of Richmond as its necessary result, and he thought it better to fight this wary antagonist without his stronghold than within it. Lincoln had learned by hard experience that it was better to leave his generals to manage their own campaigns, and he made no attempt to interfere with Grant's plans. In a fare-

well message he wrote him, "The particulars of your plan I neither know nor seek to know. I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you."

THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN: THE MARCH TO THE SEA

It was, as we have seen, a principal part of Grant's plan of campaign, on assuming supreme command of the armies, that Sherman should march upon Atlanta. While preparations were being made for this movement part of Sherman's army was employed in the expedition of General N. P. Banks and Commodore Porter up the Red river in Louisiana, which, although resulting in some sharp battles, had little influence on the great strategic movements east of the Mississippi, and can here only be mentioned.

The distance by direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only about one hundred miles, but the country is rough and broken and in the way lay General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the ablest of Southern generals, with a veteran army of sixty-five thousand men. Sherman's army in three wings under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and J. M. Schofield, numbered over one hundred thousand, but as he advanced he was compelled to leave such a considerable force to guard his line of supplies to Nashville that his effective army was never far superior in strength to that of his adversary. Johnston adopted the policy of fighting only when attacked, of intrenching every step he took, and of offering battle only when conditions seemed to favour him. Sherman began his advance on May 7th, 1864. He first came up with Johnston at Resaca, but the Confederates evacuated their intrenched positions without a very spirited resistance (May 13th). Day by day Sherman pushed carefully and slowly forward. Fighting was frequent, but a pitched battle was never ventured. "Like two wrestlers," says Dodge,¹ "as yet ignorant of each other's strength or quickness, they were sparring for a hold. Neither would risk giving odds." The nearest to a general engagement was the battle of New Hope Church (May 25th-27th) but the result of the action was indecisive. By the end of May each army had lost in the aggregate about ten thousand men, conspicuous among the Confederate slain being General Leonidas Polk, the warrior-bishop of Louisiana.

Toward the middle of June as Sherman approached Marietta he found Johnston firmly intrenched across his path. From June 14th to June 28th fighting was almost continuous. On the latter date he abandoned his careful tactics, and made a rash assault on the Confederate works at Kennesaw Mountain only to be repulsed with great loss, General Daniel McCook being among his dead. Again resuming his flanking tactics he was soon within a few miles of Atlanta. At this juncture President Davis, who had never been on friendly terms with Johnston, dismissed him for what he was pleased to call his "dilatatory tactics" and gave the command to General J. B. Hood, a fearless fighter but not to be compared with his predecessor as a tactician.

The change of commanders had its immediate result in the battle of Peachtree Creek (July 20th) in which an assault of Hood's was repulsed with severe loss. On July 22nd began the general engagement known as the battle of Atlanta in which Hood's losses reached eight thousand and Sherman's less than half that number, although among them was his brave and able lieutenant, General McPherson. On July 28th Hood was again defeated at the battle of Ezra Church, after which he retired within the city of Atlanta about which Sherman daily tightened his coils. Hostilities continued for another month, when Hood, despairing of holding the city longer, made good his escape.

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Sherman entered and took possession on September 2nd. The first object of his campaign was accomplished. Conservative estimates of the losses of the two armies during the Atlanta campaign (May 7th-September 1st) place those of the Union forces at 32,000, while those of the Confederates must have exceeded 24,000.

After remaining six weeks in Atlanta, Sherman left Thomas to look after Hood, who was marching northward with the expectation of drawing Sherman after him, and on November 15th set out on his historic march to the sea. His army was sixty-two thousand strong in two columns, under General O. O. Howard and General Henry W. Slocum. By the middle of December the army, having met with little opposition, had covered the three hundred miles to the coast, reduced Fort McAllister, south of Savannah, and opened up communications with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in preparation for the capture of Savannah. Before the siege was actually begun however, General Hardee, the Confederate commander, had evacuated the city by night and Sherman entered it without opposition December 21st.

THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

While Sherman's army was closing in around Atlanta, Admiral Farragut won his famous naval fight in Mobile Bay. The harbour of Mobile was protected by three formidable forts, Gaines, Morgan, and Powell, which made it the most important and the strongest Confederate position on the Gulf of Mexico. It had long been the centre for Confederate blockade runners and the Federal blockade had never been made effective. After months of delay Farragut accompanied by a land force under General Gordon Granger moved upon the city. The troops were landed on an island at the entrance to the bay. On August 5th Farragut — he himself strapped to the mast of his flagship the *Hartford* that he might not fall if shot — entered the harbour with his fleet in the face of a terrific fire from the forts. One of his ironclads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo, but the rest advanced and engaged the Confederate fleet. First the forts were silenced, then after a fierce defence the entire fleet including the powerful ram *Tennessee* surrendered or were sunk. Forts Gaines and Morgan were soon after surrendered to Granger, but Mobile itself, though its importance was destroyed, held out some months longer.

THOMAS AND HOOD IN TENNESSEE

General Thomas, whom Sherman had left to cope with Hood in Tennessee, had under him at first only twenty-seven thousand men as compared to a Confederate force of almost twice the size. By the end of November however, he had been reinforced and had gathered at Nashville an army of about fifty thousand. Against Hood who was now marching rapidly on Nashville he sent General Schofield to retard his advance and, if the opportunity offered, to give battle. Schofield took a strong position at Franklin, where Hood impetuously attacked him November 30th, 1864. Again and again Hood vainly hurled his superior numbers against Schofield's well posted force. The assaults were continued till well into the night, but every one was repulsed with success. Hood's loss was six thousand. Schofield's less than half as many. The next day Schofield retired unmolested to Nashville.

In a few days Hood was before Nashville, where he waited two weeks. On December 14th Thomas was ready to attack. His tactics were as simple as they were faultless and effective. On the morning of December 15th he

advanced, bearing heavily with his right under General A. J. Smith and was successful in crushing and turning Hood's left flank. At the end of the day he had won a certain victory, but Hood still remained to be thoroughly crushed. It was afternoon of the 16th before a general assault was ordered, but it was made with such vigour and spirit that all resistance was overcome. Hood's line was broken in a dozen places and his army was soon swept from the field in a demoralised mass. With scarcely half of the force with which he had begun the battle, Hood escaped across the Tennessee. Not in the whole Civil War had any army suffered such a complete and disastrous defeat as this. It marked the termination of armed resistance to the Union arms west of the Alleghanies. Thomas deserved and received the highest praise for his signal triumph. Of him Dodge¹ says that "he perhaps falls as little short of the model soldier as any man produced by this country."

FORT FISHER; SHERMAN IN THE CAROLINAS

It was now planned that Sherman should march northward from Savannah through the Carolinas and aid Grant in crushing Lee in Virginia, and on February 1st he left Savannah with an army sixty thousand strong. Preliminary to this movement, however, took place the capture of Fort Fisher, which guarded the harbour of Wilmington, North Carolina. This was accomplished January 15th, 1865, by a strong fleet under Admiral Porter co-operating with a land force under General Terry.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas was slower and more difficult than his march from Atlanta to the sea, for he had to cross instead of follow the river courses, and his advance was more stubbornly opposed. Columbia, S. C. was occupied on February 17th after a sharp conflict with a Confederate force under General Wade Hampton. Charleston too was abandoned and almost destroyed by flames from the burning cotton which the fleeing Confederates had fired. Sherman moved on toward Goldsboro, defeating Johnston, who had again been given a command, in a sharp battle at Bentonville (March 16th). At Goldsboro, which he reached March 23rd he was joined by Schofield with a part of Thomas' army and Terry's force from Fort Fisher. His force now numbered ninety thousand men. While Sherman was slowly closing in on Johnston, the Union cavalry leader Stoneman made a successful raid in western Virginia for the purpose of cutting Lee off from any possible railway communication with the west.

THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN

Grant divided the Army of the Potomac into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Of this army numbering now all told almost one hundred and fifty thousand, Meade was placed in immediate charge, Grant himself of course retaining supreme command. Sheridan, brought from the west, commanded his cavalry. Grant's own plan for overcoming Lee was by means of hard blows rather than by manœuvring. His motto was "continuous hammering." "His belief," says Dodge,¹ "seems to have been that skilful tactics exhibited weakness. Other and greater soldiers have for a time been subject to this delusion. He was to discover his error in his first clash of arms."

The Union army crossed the Rapidan May 4th, 1864, and entered the heavily wooded region near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness. Fighting began at once, for Lee, who knew well the ground, saw his advantage in

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attacking his adversary where his superior numbers could not be used to the best advantage. The battle of the Wilderness was fought on May 5th and 6th. No tactical movements of any account were possible owing to the nature of the country, and the conflict resolved itself into a series of disconnected battles. The fighting was furious and the slaughter terrific, but at the end of two days' struggle nothing had been decided. Grant had lost over seventeen thousand men, including General Wadsworth. Lee's loss was slightly over twelve thousand.

Grant having come to the conclusion that little good could come of hammering Lee as he stood, next attempted a flank movement toward Spottsylvania Court House. But Lee was there before him. Every day there was severe fighting. On the Union side General Sedgwick was killed. On the Confederate side their dashing cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, fell in conflict with Sheridan's cavalry. "I mean to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," stubbornly wrote Grant. The battle of Spottsylvania proper took place on May 10th and 12th, both armies resting on the 11th. It exhibited some of the most furious assaults and desperate defences of all the war. The hardest fighting took place on the 12th as a result of Hancock's repeated attempts to take the Confederate's salient. Of this remarkable struggle Elson writes "He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as 'the death angle,' the hand to hand fighting which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile, and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive or standing. One tree nearly two feet in diameter was literally cut in two by musket balls." The losses in the two days' battle were about equal, footing up to the terrible total of thirty-six thousand. Yet like the battle of the Wilderness its result was undecided.

For a week the hostile armies lay quiet, exhausted by their terrific struggle. On May 21st Grant again moved forward by his left toward Richmond. The two armies again came face to face on almost the exact ground where the battle of Gaines' Mill had been fought two years before. Lee had posted his army in a practically impregnable position with his centre at Cold Harbor, and from this position Grant with almost incredible lack of discretion attempted to dislodge him. There could have been but one result. The Union columns were mowed down like grain before the reaper. In a little over a half hour more than seven thousand of them lay dead or wounded on the ground. The Confederate loss was very small. All military critics agree that this assault was the greatest error in all Grant's military career, a judgment, the justness of which he himself acknowledges in his *Memoirs*. Grant now abandoned his plan of a direct advance on Richmond and proposed to change his base to the James River and march upon the Confederate capital from the south.^a

The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or to destroy Lee's army. He had done neither. But he had lost sixty thousand men in five weeks without inflicting corresponding loss upon the enemy. The 2nd corps alone had lost four hundred men a day from the time of leaving the Rappahannock. The full significance of this is apparent when the force of each army at the inception of the campaign is called to mind. Grant had numbered one hundred and twenty-two thousand men; Lee some seventy

thousand. This fearful loss was the result of assaults in mass undertaken without the aid of that skill which Grant knew well how to employ, though he neglected to do so. Whenever Grant resorted to manœuvring, he succeeded measurably. Whenever he attacked all along the line, he failed utterly.

Criticism cannot depreciate the really great qualities or eminent services of General Grant. His task was one to tax a Bonaparte. That he was unable to put an end to the struggle by means less costly in lives and material, if not indeed by some brilliant feat of arms, cannot detract from the praise actually his due for determined, unflinching courage. It rather adds to the laurels of Lee. It cannot be asserted that any other Northern general could here have accomplished more against the genius of Lee. And it was Grant who, in the face of the gravest difficulties political and military, was able to hold the confidence of the nation and to prevent that party at the North which was clamouring for peace from wrecking the success now all but won. But his truest admirers admit Cold Harbor to have been a grievous mistake. And all who appreciate at its solid worth Grant's ability as a leader regret that in this great struggle with Lee he should have failed to employ the full resources he so abundantly possessed.

THE SINKING OF THE "ALABAMA"

A noteworthy combat between the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* and the United States ship *Kearsarge* occurred off Cherbourg, France, on June 19th, 1864. Among the vessels preying upon American commerce three English-built cruisers had been pre-eminent, the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Georgia*. The last two were captured respectively in Bahia Harbour and at sea.

The *Alabama*, under command of Captain Raphael Semmes, had been sought by the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, and sailed out of Cherbourg to accept her challenge. The tonnage and crews of each were about equal. The armament of each was what the English considered the best for war vessels of that size. They were typical craft. The *Alabama* was an English vessel, mounting English guns and carrying an English crew; the *Kearsarge* an American vessel with American guns, and out of one hundred and sixty officers and men all but eleven were American-born citizens. Both were wooden vessels, but the *Kearsarge* hung her chain cables over the sides to protect her engines.

It was a fair fight, but of short duration. The fire of the *Kearsarge* was the more deliberate and proved very destructive. The *Alabama* surrendered within an hour in a sinking condition. Semmes was picked up in the water by an English vessel, and escaped capture. The loss of the *Alabama* was about forty men. On the *Kearsarge*, which was but slightly injured by her opponent's fire, only three men were wounded.¹

In its two years' career of destruction the *Alabama* had destroyed sixty-nine merchant vessels, and ten million dollars worth of property.

SHERIDAN'S SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN (1864)

While the North was coming slowly to a realisation of the appalling sacrifices of Grant's Wilderness campaign, the chief interest in the war in the east centred in the Shenandoah Valley. In the first weeks of July, 1864, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early to threaten Washington. On the 14th Early was in sight of the capitol's dome and might have captured the city, but while

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he hesitated the city was reinforced. He then turned up the valley and on July 30th one of his detachments crossed into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg. At this juncture Grant appointed Sheridan to the command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah valley with instructions to devastate the region to such an extent that it could not henceforth support an invading army. Sheridan entered the valley with forty thousand troops and, after some manœuvring, on September 19th met and defeated Early at Winchester, the latter's losses reaching three thousand six hundred. Three days later he won another victory at Fisher's Hill, Early's loss being twelve hundred.

Sheridan then proceeded up the valley, laying waste as he advanced. Early continued to evade a pitched battle, giving way before the Union advance. On October 19th Sheridan's army was at Cedar Creek, but he himself was absent, having been called to Washington some days before for a conference. Early took this occasion for an unexpected attack, which was made so unexpectedly and with such impetuosity that the superior Union forces were driven from their camps. Their retreat almost became a rout. But the opportune and dramatic arrival of Sheridan, who made his famous ride from "Winchester fifteen miles away" which T. Buchanan Reade has immortalised in verse, stemmed the tide. The Federal troops were rallied and re-formed, and in turn Early was forced from the field he had almost won. Thenceforth he made almost no attempt to oppose the victorious Sheridan, as a result of which the Shenandoah valley and northern Virginia were virtually free from hostilities during the rest of the war.

WAR-TIME POLITICS: LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION

The bombardment of Fort Sumter had for the moment practically wiped out all party lines in the North. But such a condition could not last long. The powerful democratic party that had been for half a century the greatest political organisation in the nation was not by any means destroyed. Most of the Lincoln administration's purely military measures the democratic leaders either agreed to or acquiesced in. But they early found a plausible issue in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the series of arbitrary arrests that followed. Congress in ratifying the president's action and extending his power added to his great authority as commander-in-chief that of a military dictator. The arrests were opposed even by some prominent republicans, and by the democrats were made the subject of the bitterest criticism.

It was not long before the democrats found other things to criticise, such as corruption in the letting of army contracts, favoritism in military appointments, and undue extravagance in expenditures. In the fall elections the party made gains in the strongest republican states, chose governors in New York and New Jersey, and largely increased its congressional representation. The passage of the Conscription Act by congress in March, 1863, was followed by a renewed outburst which in July in New York and other cities took the form of armed opposition, suppressed only after the use of military force and considerable loss to life and property.

Among the leaders of the more radical democrats, or "copperheads" as they were called by their opponents, was Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. In canvassing the state for the democratic nomination for governor in 1863 his denunciations of the administration were so extreme that it was determined by General Burnside to arrest him for incendiary utterances. He

was therefore arrested, tried, and found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments" and was sentenced to confinement during the war. This finding Lincoln commuted to banishment to the Confederacy. Vallandigham eventually escaped to Canada. While there he was named as the democratic candidate for governor of Ohio but was overwhelmingly defeated by John Brough.

With the approach of the presidential election of 1864 there developed within the republican party a powerful opposition to Lincoln's renomination. Thaddeus Stevens, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and others openly favoured Chase. Popular sentiment, however, was all with the president, and his renomination was secured without opposition. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was named for vice-president with the idea of favouring Southern unionists and proving to the world that the war was not a sectional struggle.

A group of radical republicans, however, placed John C. Frémont in nomination. The democratic convention meeting at Chicago, August 9th, 1864, nominated General George B. McClellan for president and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president on a platform that pronounced the war a failure and demanded that efforts at once be made to secure peace on the basis of a restored Union. McClellan repudiated the declaration that the war had proved a failure, but a reaction at once set in in favour of Lincoln. Frémont wisely withdrew from the contest. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay were the most powerful campaign arguments. McClellan carried only three states, receiving twenty-one electoral votes to two hundred and twelve for Lincoln. The people, as Lincoln pithily put it, had decided that it was "not best to swap horses while crossing a stream."

PETERSBURG AND APPOMATTOX

After the disaster at Cold Harbor, and the change of base to the James river, Grant advanced upon Petersburg. Without attempting a regular siege, he posted his army so that he could operate against Richmond at pleasure while keeping his eye on the Confederate works before him. To strengthen his own position however he spent some weeks in constructing an elaborate system of intrenchments. An attempt made to assault the Confederate fortifications, after a mine had been exploded beneath them (July 30th, 1864) resulted in a repulse with considerable loss. Fighting continued all along the line for some months, but with the coming of autumn it grew more infrequent and both armies practically suspended hostilities till Spring.

Meanwhile the condition of Lee's army was becoming critical. It was realised that Richmond could hold out but little longer and preparations were at once made to move the army south to co-operate with Johnston in North Carolina. Grant expected some such move, and late in March, 1865, sent Sheridan to gain a foothold in the Confederate rear. The result was the battle of Five Forks (April 1st, 1865) in which Sheridan won a brilliant victory. On the following day a successful general assault was made on Petersburg, and on the same evening Lee began the evacuation of Richmond, amidst scenes of almost unparalleled disorder. Union troops entered the city on the 3rd. The only thought of Lee and Davis was now of escape, but Grant had determined that they should not get away from him.

Slowly but surely the superior Union forces closed in upon the remnants of Lee's once great army. Ewell, Pickett, and a considerable part of the

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army were cut off and forced to surrender. Lee crossed the Appomattox and hurried toward Lynchburg only to find Sheridan and Ord blocking the way. Further resistance appearing useless, nothing was left but surrender, and on April 9th he sent a white flag to Grant asking terms of surrender. The two commanders met at Appomattox Court House. The terms offered by Grant and accepted by Lee provided for the release of officers and men on parole, not to take up arms against the United States, the officers to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. The captures and desertions of the past week had so reduced Lee's force that only 28,231 were surrendered. On April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman, President Davis, escaping into southern Georgia, was captured near Irwinville May 10th. On May 26th, with General Kirby Smith's surrender of the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi, the Civil War in America came to an end.

THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

While the North was thrilling with joy at Lee's surrender, and while both North and South were beginning to breathe with relief that the great struggle was near its close, the one man who more than any other was responsible for the preservation of the Union was stricken down by the hand of an assassin. On the night of April 14th, 1865, while watching the performance of a play at Ford's Theatre, Washington, President Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was concerned in a plot to murder all the chief officials of the government. He died shortly after seven o'clock the following morning and was buried at his home at Springfield, Illinois, on May 4th. Never before in the history of the nation had the people so generally, so sincerely mourned the death of any man. To the president's nobility and greatness of character, his close friend and associate, John G. Nicolay, pays this tribute:^a

"The declaration of Independence was his political chart and inspiration. He acknowledged a universal equality of human rights. He had unchanging faith in self-government. Yielding and accommodating in non-essentials, he was inflexibly firm in a principle or position deliberately taken. 'Let us have faith that right makes might,' he said, 'and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Benevolence and forgiveness were the very basis of his character; his world-wide humanity is aptly embodied in a phrase of his second inaugural: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all.' His nature was deeply religious, but he belonged to no denomination; he had faith in the eternal justice and boundless mercy of Providence, and made the golden rule of Christ his practical creed. History must accord him a rare sagacity in guiding a great people through the perils of a mighty revolution, and admirable singleness of aim, a skilful discernment, and courageous seizure of the golden moment to free his nation from the incubus of slavery, faithful adherence to law, and conscientious moderation in the use of power, a shining personal example of honesty and purity, and finally the possession of that subtle and indefinable magnetism by which he subordinated and directed dangerously disturbed and perverted moral and political forces to the restoration of peace and constitutional authority to his country, and the gift of liberty to four millions of human beings. Architect of his own fortunes, rising with every opportunity, mastering every emergency, fulfilling every duty, he not only proved himself pre-eminently the man of the hour, but the signal benefactor of posterity. As statesman, ruler, and liberator civilisation will hold his name in perpetual honour."

SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN¹

"There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen!" said Stanton, in tears, at this president's death-couch; and, probably, for a eulogy so brief no fitter one could have been pronounced. Well did that stern subordinate—headstrong, impulsive, born to be unpopular—realize how much of his own splendid opportunity and success in achieving he owed to that generous and genial direction. Abraham Lincoln need hardly be compared with the great rulers of mankind in other ages and countries; it is enough to take him in his most admirable adaptation to the age and country in which his destiny was cast. He clearly understood the thirty millions of Americans over whom he had been placed by the people's choice, and the tremendous task given him by his Maker to be accomplished. Lincoln was not a profound scholar, but his mind was acute and his logical faculties clear and active; he had a lawyer's self-culture to comprehend the relations of republican society; he had studied American political history and problems of government, and no one understood better his country's institutions, state and national, in their practical workings. He had fair public experience, besides; and his excellence as an administrator in affairs lay in his consummate tact and skill as a manager and director of political forces under the complex and composite system of this American government. Though not among the chief founders of the new national party which brought him into the presidency, he promptly came forward as one of its leaders, and once placed in direction, he guided it confidently for the rest of his life, unapproachable as chieftain and popular inspirer. As president of the United States he harnessed together the greatest intellects of this party—statesmen diverse as the winds in temper and sentiment—better capable than himself to push forward the car of legislation or handle the multifarious details of executive work; and he held the reins over them with infinite considerateness and discretion, conciliating, assuaging rivalries, maintaining good humour, and encouraging each to his greatest work. He kept his cabinet in the closest touch with congress, and both cabinet and congress in generous accord with public opinion, which last he carefully watched and tilled like a good gardener, planting seed, nurturing the growth of new ideas, and bringing, in proper time, the ripe fruit. Raw haste, the falsehood of extremes on one side or the other, he sedulously avoided; yet he sowed and cultivated. And, once again, while conducting the cause of the whole Union, of national integrity, he was yet highly regardful of state pride and state magistracy, seeking not suppression but assistance; and the harshest military rigour he ever exercised over state rebellion was tempered by clemency, forgiveness, and compassion. Not an insurgent commonwealth of the South did he attempt to reorganise and reconstruct, save through the spontaneous aid of its own recognised inhabitants and such native and natural leaders of the jurisdiction as were found available. The armed potency, almost unexampled, which Lincoln exercised through four distressful years, was always exercised unselfishly and as a patriot, in the name and for the welfare of the real constitutional government which he represented, and for the permanent welfare of the whole American people. Rarely leaving and never going far from the nation's capital during that entire period, he there came in contact with people from all parts of the land—soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, and by his rare personality, in whose external expression pathos and humour were remarkably

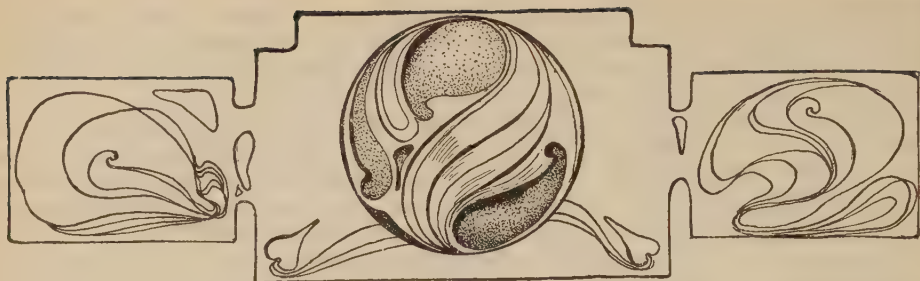
[¹ Reprinted from James Schouler's History of the United States, by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company. Copyright, 1899, by James Schouler.]

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blended, he dispelled unfavourable prejudice and endeared himself gradually to all classes of the people, at the same time giving reassurance as of one genuine, self-possessed, and trustworthy, who knew well his responsibilities and was capable of exercising them.

The fame of Abraham Lincoln, enhanced by the deep pity felt for his sad and sudden taking-off — the martyrdom of a misconception — has reached the stars, and will spread and endure so long as human rights and human freedom are held sacred. For Americans his name is imperishably joined with that of Washington, under the designation "Father," which no others yet have borne — the one saviour and founder; the other, preserver and liberator. Washington's work was as completely finished as one great human life could make it; and had Lincoln been spared to the end of the presidency for which he was re-chosen, the capstone to his monument would surely have been inscribed "Reconciler." For no man of his times could so wisely and powerfully, or would so earnestly have applied himself to the compassionate task of binding together the broken ligaments of national brotherhood and infusing through the body politic once more the spirit of common harmony and content. Nothing but the clouds of false prejudice and rumour could anywhere have obscured or prevented the rays of so warming and regenerating a personal influence.





CHAPTER XI

THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK BY

FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES, PH.D.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LINCOLN

THE period in United States history popularly called the Reconstruction Period is usually made to apply, though somewhat indefinitely, to three administrations: that of Andrew Johnson and the two terms of Ulysses S. Grant. It was then that the great economic, social, and constitutional havoc wrought by the war was partly repaired and the former governments of the subdued states were in a measure restored. Nevertheless, it should be clearly borne in mind that during the continuance of the whole war the federal government was occupied with the question, "What is to be done with the revolted states when the fortunes of war shall have put their fate in our hands?"

During the first part of the war it was generally understood that the seceding states would be restored to their former status—that it would be a process of restoration rather than one of reconstruction. The slavery question, however, soon brought about a radical change in sentiment among the people, which in turn was soon reflected in congress. To restore the old governments under their former constitutions, however, meant the continuance of slavery, and this, in the light of subsequent developments, became impossible. The whole question, therefore, soon resolved itself into an attempt to make reconstruction along the lines of the elimination of slavery, square as nearly as possible with restoration. It was an attempt to reconcile two unreconcilable theories; the elimination of slavery from the social and constitutional fabric of the revolted states meant reconstruction of that fabric, and reconstruction was totally incompatible with restoration. People, congress, and president could not agree as to the means of attaining that object. Out of this mass of conflicting councils there gradually evolved, however, a scheme which later became known as the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. This plan was put into operation before the close of the war in those states that had been wrested from the Confederacy.

In his first inaugural address President Lincoln made the following significant statement: "It follows from these views that no state, upon its own

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mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken."

This paragraph states succinctly President Lincoln's view of the status of the seceding states, not only as he held that view at the beginning of his administration but as he maintained it to the end of his life. This view soon led him into conflict with the radicals like Sumner and Wade in the senate and Henry Winter Davis and Stevens in the house.

No sooner, however, had Congress given its official stamp to the president's theory than a radical departure from it made its appearance in that body. February 11th, 1862, nine resolutions were offered in the senate by Charles Sumner, the first of which read as follows:

"Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any state may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the constitution, and when maintained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the state of all rights under the constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the state as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress, as other territory, and the state being, according to the language of the law, *jelo de se*, ceases to exist."¹ This was the first attempt to force upon congress the policy of *væ victis*.

In a speech before the house of representatives, January 8th, 1863, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, placed this view upon the grounds of expediency, not upon constitutional grounds. "They will find," he said, "that they cannot execute the constitution in the seceding states; that it is a total nullity there, and that this war must be carried on upon principles wholly independent of it. They will find that they must treat those states now outside of the Union as conquered provinces and settle them with new men, and drive the present rebels as exiles from this country."²

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction is fully set forth in the proclamation of President Lincoln (1863) which was sent to congress with his annual message, in which he says:

"I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly or by implication participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforth keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit. And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such state at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it

¹ *Congressional Globe*, 736, 737.

² *Congressional Globe*, 243.

and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a state government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognised as the true government of the state, and the state shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.'

"And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive; . . . and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."¹

There were thus, shortly after the beginning of the war, two plans of reconstruction in the field, the Presidential Plan and the Congressional Plan. The government was carried by slow and imperceptible steps, though at the same time surely, from one to the other. That is to say, from the doctrine "that a state is indestructible, that it cannot commit treason, that upon its mere motion it cannot lawfully get out of the Union, to the arbitrary conclusion that its maintenance of secession by force works an abdication of all its rights under the constitution of the United States." How this change of attitude towards the seceding states was brought about is, in fact, the larger part of the history of reconstruction. Congress was compelled almost daily to consider its constitutional limitations.

The application of the Presidential Plan to actual conditions brought forth not only criticism of Lincoln but even vituperation. Congress looked upon it as a usurpation of its own sacred powers, and many people, to the extent that they understood it at all, considered it as at least ultra-constitutional. The president was accused of weakness, of despotism, of vacillation, of personal and party aggrandisement—all in one breath. Nor did these criticisms emanate from democratic sources alone; they came from republican sources as well. February 15th, 1864, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, reported a bill from the house committee on rebellious states the purpose of which was clearly set forth in its title: "To guarantee to certain states whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government."² The bill was intended to give effect to Article IV, section 4, of the federal constitution, and represented an attempt to harmonise the conflicting views of the different factions of the republican party with regard to the status of the seceding states and their relation to the federal government.

The bill finally passed both house and senate (July 2nd) without modification and went to the president for his approval. There it was subjected to a pocket veto—congress having adjourned *sine die* before the expiration of the ten days allowed the president by the constitution in which to sign bills, or veto them, or not pass upon them at all.

On the 8th of July (1864) following, the president issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the bill had been presented to him for his approval "less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment" of the session. That, while "unprepared by a formal approval" of the bill to be "inflexibly com-

¹ McPherson's *Political History of the United States during the Rebellion*, pp. 147, 148.

² *Congressional Globe*, 3,448, July 1st, 1864, and H. R., 244.

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mitted to any single plan for restoration"; and, while also "unprepared that the free-state constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana" should be "set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens" who had set up the same as to further effort, or "to declare constitutional competency in congress to abolish slavery in the states" (hoping, at the same time, that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation might be adopted)—nevertheless, he was "fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill, as one very proper for the loyal people of any state choosing to adopt it." Furthermore, that he was at all times prepared to "give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as military resistance to the United States" should have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof should have "sufficiently returned to their obedience to the constitution and the laws of the United States." That, in such cases, military governors would be appointed with "directions to proceed according to the bill." This proclamation was, in effect, serving notice that he would proceed according to his own plan of reconstruction, and would adopt that embodied in the dead congressional bill only to the extent he deemed advisable.¹

This proclamation created a furor among the adherents of the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. A protest was issued signed by Henry Winter Davis, who had reported the bill in the house, and by Senator Wade, who had reported it in the senate. The proclamation was declared to be "a document unknown to the laws and constitution of the United States" and a "grave executive usurpation."

A final attempt to pass the Reconstruction Bill through congress failed on the 22d of February, 1864, and the session closed on the 4th of March, thus leaving the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction, for the time being, the sole possessor of the field.

Tennessee was the first of the seceding states sufficiently under the control of the military forces of the United States to warrant an attempt at reorganisation. By the 25th of February, 1862, Nashville, the capital of the state, was occupied by the federal army. Prior to that event (February 22nd), and, in fact, in anticipation of it, General Grant had issued an order annulling the jurisdiction of state courts and placing the adjudication of cases in the hands of the authorities duly established by the United States government. West Tennessee was placed under martial law, but with the understanding that it would be restored to a normal government as soon as conditions warranted it. The president then appointed Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, military governor with the rank of brigadier-general. Johnson was a former governor of Tennessee and became Lincoln's successor in the presidency. "Tennessee," said Johnson, "is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be out. The bonds of the constitution and the federal power will always prevent that. This government is perpetual; provision is made for reforming the government and amending the constitution, and admitting states into the Union; not for letting them out of it. The United States sends an agent or a military governor, whichever you please to call him, to aid you in restoring your government. Whenever you desire, in good faith, to restore civil authority, you can do so, and a proclamation for an election will be issued as speedily as it is practicable to hold one."

By 1864 the state executive committee of the republican party deemed

¹ For text of proclamation, see Scott, *Reconstruction During the Civil War*, Appendix C.

conditions ripe for summoning a convention of the people. The convention met on the 9th of January, 1864, and exceeded its instructions by itself submitting to the people "amendments abolishing slavery, and prohibiting the legislature from making any law recognising the right of property in man." A full state ticket was nominated by the convention, including W. G. Brownlow for governor. The ticket was elected without opposition. The legislature met at Nashville on the 3rd of April, and two days later ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution. The fact that the election was held according to the state law of 1852 is evidence of the intention of the federal authorities to restore the ancient government of the state except to the extent that it recognised slavery as an institution.

January 20th, 1864, General Steele, the military commander of Arkansas, was ordered to hold an election on March 28th, for the election of a governor. The amended constitution was adopted at the polls and a governor and state and county officials were elected. When the legislature assembled two United States senators were chosen.

A military governor, George F. Shepley, was appointed for Louisiana in 1862. Little or no progress was made under this organisation. None was made, in fact, until the president took the matter of reconstruction entirely into his own hands. This marks the change from the old faction of restoring the governments in the same condition as they were before the rebellion to the open application of the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Through General Banks, on January 8th, 1864, an election of state officers was ordered by proclamation to take place February 22nd. These officers were to constitute the civil government of the state, under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much as relate to slavery. September 5th the new constitution emancipating the slaves and prohibiting property in man forever was adopted, and the government was organised on the 3rd of October. Five congressmen were chosen and members of the legislature, and later two United States senators. The senators and representatives were not admitted. This reconstruction of Louisiana in 1864 was the first instance of the kind under the plan set forth in the Amnesty Proclamation.

The beginning of the year 1865 ushered in many events that were clearly indicative of an early close of the war. In the mean time, however, the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, forever abolishing slavery, had been accepted by congress in January, though it was not proclaimed by the secretary of state until the 18th of December, after having been ratified by three-fourths of the states. On the 4th of March, upon the occasion of his second inauguration, Lincoln spoke the following truly great words: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."¹ But Lincoln's last public address was delivered on the evening of the 11th of April before a great multitude of people gathered about the White House, to convey their congratulations to the president and to signify their joy at the sure prospect of peace. It was his last public utterance, likewise, upon the subject of reconstruction and the criticisms levelled at his policy towards it as practically illustrated in Louisiana. It sums up very aptly his theory of reconstruction as modified by the experience of his first term in the presidential office:

¹ A. Lincoln, *Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 656, 657.

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"We all agree that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states is to again get them into the proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but, in fact, easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these states have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restoring the proper practical relations between these states and the Union, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the states from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it."¹

No words could express greater common-sense than is found in this informal address. The question as to whether the states had ever been "out of the Union," he considered as academic: as bad when taken as the "basis of a controversy," as "good for nothing at all"; as merely a "pernicious abstraction"; as practically an immaterial question, that could have no other effect "than the mischievous one of dividing our friends." He frankly acknowledged that if his plan of reconstruction, then in practical operation in Louisiana, failed, he would withdraw it and try another plan.

Three days later—on the evening of the 14th—Lincoln was assassinated. "The expectation that the nation would have the same calm, sagacious, and unselfish judgment which had held the helm of affairs so wisely and firmly amid the tempests of a four-years' war, through the yet more difficult task of reconstruction, was at once and remedilessly disappointed. It had now to traverse an unexplored sea, with its unknown currents, without chart to point out rocks and shallows, and in ignorance, of course, of what new storms might rise."² "With the ship barely over the bar," said the *London Spectator*, "the pilot falls dead upon the deck, and it must be well, but the sailors may be pardoned if for the moment they feel as if the harbour would never be attained."

We can say with considerable degree of assurance that, had Lincoln lived, he would easily have triumphed in his policy of reconstruction and would have readily defeated the faction that had arisen against him under the leadership of Sumner. He had already triumphed over the protest of Wade and Davis. "He was master of the situation, and had he been left to command it, there is every reason to believe that the faction which disturbed him a few days before his death would have been crushed."³ The assassin's pistol had deprived the Southerners of their kindest and most powerful friend.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHNSON

On the day after the assassination of President Lincoln—at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th—Andrew Johnson took the oath of office. In answer to the question as to what policy would be pursued, he replied that it must be left for development as the administration progressed, and that his own past course in connection with the rebellion would have to be regarded as a guarantee for the future. "I know it is easy, gentlemen," he said to a delegation from New Hampshire, "for anyone who is so disposed to acquire

¹ *A. Lincoln, Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 673-675.

² Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, p. 589.

³ Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, p. 65.

a reputation for clemency and mercy. But the public good imperatively requires a just discrimination in the exercise of these qualities. The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven."

Many were disposed to regard his advancement to the presidency at that particular juncture as but another evidence of providential favour, if not of divine interposition, by which the nation was to be saved from what many feared might prove Mr. Lincoln's ill-timed leniency and misplaced confidence.¹ Johnson now found himself face to face with the great problem of reconstruction. His view of this momentous question seems to have been substantially much like that of Lincoln, but there was a wide difference between the characters of the two men. Johnson had not a "touch of Lincoln's genius for understanding and persuading men," and was at the same time sadly lacking in tact and discretion. "Of equally humble origin," says Woodrow Wilson, "he had risen, by virtue of a certain pugnacious force and initiative of character, to high posts of public trust; but his powers had never been schooled or refined as Lincoln's had been—they always retained their native roughness; he was rash, headstrong, aggressive to the last. The party which had elected him, too, was already inclined to suspect him. Although a Union man, he had been a democrat. He had been senator from Tennessee when that state seceded, but had treated her act of secession with contempt, ignoring it, and remaining at his post in the senate. He sympathised with Southern men, however, in almost everything except their hostility to the Union; held strict views of state rights with an ardour and stubbornness characteristic of him; and was sure to yield nothing for the sake of accommodation. He could not be right without so exasperating his opponents by his manner of being right as to put himself practically in the wrong."²

He declined to seek the advice of congress in the embarrassment of his position, and subjected himself, in a large measure, to the counsel and influence of his cabinet. This was particularly significant inasmuch as he had made no changes in this body since Lincoln's death. Probably Mr. William H. Seward, the secretary of state, exerted more influence over the president than any other member of the cabinet. Mr. Blaine holds, that by his arguments and by his eloquence Mr. Seward "completely captivated the president. He effectually persuaded him that a policy of anger and hate and vengeance could lead only to evil results," and that the president was gradually influenced by Mr. Seward's arguments, though their whole tenor was against his strongest predilections and against his pronounced and public commitments to a policy directly the reverse of that to which he was now, almost imperceptibly to himself, yielding assent. "The man who had in April avowed himself in favour of 'the halter for intelligent, influential traitors,' who passionately declared during the interval between the fall of Richmond and the death of Mr. Lincoln that 'traitors should be arrested, tried, convicted, and hanged,' was now about to proclaim a policy of reconstruction without attempting the indictment of even one traitor, or issuing a warrant for the arrest of a single participant in the rebellion aside from those suspected of personal crime in connection with the noted conspiracy of assassination."³

On the 29th of May two decisive steps were taken in the work of reconstruction. Both steps proceeded on the theory that every act needful for

¹ H. Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, pp. 593, 594.

² Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 257, 258.

³ J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

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the rehabilitation of the seceded states could be accomplished by the executive. The first step taken was the issuance of a Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon to "all persons who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the existing rebellion." Thirteen classes of persons, however, were excepted from the benefit of this pardon. Of these classes, the first six were nearly identical with those excepted in President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8th, 1863.¹

By the middle of July, three months after the assassination of Lincoln, the whole scheme of reconstruction was in operation. Proclamations appointed governors also for all the states but four. For the reconstruction of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, different provisions were made. The "Pierpont government," with headquarters at Alexandria, was recognised as the legitimate government of Virginia. A course very similar to that adopted in Virginia was followed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

The voters in those states who were qualified under the proclamation to do so at once held constitutional conventions and created governments more or less squaring with Johnson's idea of a republican form of government within the meaning of the constitution. This was done in every state, except Texas, by the autumn of 1865, and senators and representatives were elected ready to apply for admission to congress as soon as that body should assemble. When congress assembled, however, on the 4th of December, it was in no mood to consider favourably these new state governments. The unfavourable attitude was, in a measure, due to certain laws passed by those governments which seemed to have in view the direct purpose of keeping the negroes in "involuntary servitude." The South looked with apprehension upon the liberty accorded a "labouring, landless, homeless class." Consequently, a number of the "reconstructed" governments—especially Mississippi and South Carolina—had passed statutes restraining the freedmen in matters relating to employment, labour contracts, and vagrancy. To the Southern legislatures these restraints were considered reasonable enough, but to congress they were looked upon as evidences of bad faith. These circumstances made congress the more willing to listen to those who advocated a more radical policy of reconstruction, having as their professed object the complete submission of the Southern states to the will of the federal government. According to the views of those who advocated this radical policy, resistance to the laws and constitution of the United States had resulted in the suspension of all federal law in so far as the rebellious states were concerned. Furthermore, that law did not revive in those states until congress declared it in force after the conditions incident to its revival had been complied with satisfactorily. In brief, congress would rehabilitate the states when and in the manner it pleased.

The practical adoption of this theory of reconstruction by congress marks the beginning of the policy of "Thorough." Congress assembled in December with more than a two-thirds majority in both houses. The temper of congress was shown immediately upon organising. The names of all the states that had seceded were omitted from the roll-call.

On the 30th of April a reconstruction committee reported a joint resolution embodying a comprehensive amendment to the constitution. It was designed to protect the rights of the negroes of the South, and fix the basis of representation in congress. This resolution was concurred in by the two houses of congress, June 13th, 1866, and when ratified by the proper num-

¹ For text, see McPherson's *History of the Reconstruction*, pp. 9, 10.

ber of states became the Fourteenth Amendment. It made "all persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," citizens both of the United States and of the several states of their residence. It provided for a reduction of the congressional representation of any state that should deny the franchise to male citizens of voting age. It likewise excluded from federal office those who had served the Confederacy until congress should pardon them, and likewise invalidated all debts or obligations "incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." President Johnson had no power to veto the resolution, but he sent a message to congress on the 22nd of June expressing his disapproval of it.

But this was not the first clash between the president and congress. On February 6th, 1866, congress passed a bill establishing a second Freedmen's Bureau, the first one, passed March 3rd, 1865, having limited the existence of the "bureau" to one year. The first act had given the bureau rather wide authority to assist the liberated slaves in finding means of subsistence and in helping them to secure their new privileges and immunities. The second bill increased these powers greatly and made it a penal offence, triable and punishable by federal military tribunals, to attempt to interfere with in any way the civil rights and immunities of the freedmen. The president vetoed this bill, February 19th, on the ground that it violated constitutional guarantees in that no person by our organic code should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and that taxation should never be imposed without representation. February 21st, the bill was again put upon its passage, but failed to become a law—not having secured the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate. There were still some republicans in congress who did not see fit to break with the president, at least openly. The third Freedmen's Bureau Bill, of July, 1866, was a much milder document, as it did not make violations of the proposed law a criminal offence. Nevertheless, July 16th the president vetoed the bill, and congress promptly repassed it the very same day the veto message was received.

In March, 1866, congress had sent to the president for his approval a bill "to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication." This was the first Civil Rights Bill. The president vetoed it on the 27th of March, and on the 9th of April congress passed it over his veto. The president's veto was accompanied by an elaborate message, in which he claimed that the bill was both unwise and in excess of the constitutional powers of congress. This marks definitely the breaking-point between the president and congress. The president accepted the issue, and congress decided to follow its own plan of reconstruction without his assistance.

The president might yet have carried with him a considerable following had he showed the slightest tact and good judgment. His friends, both republicans and democrats, called a convention, at which they made a demonstration of loyalty to the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. But Johnson took this show of support as a warrant for making violent speeches against congress and acting in a most intemperate manner generally. The fall election resulted in an overwhelming victory for congress. The republican majority in the next house would be as large as in the present one. Congress came together in December determined to curb the president and to formulate means by which the recalcitrant Southern states, that had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, could be made to accept it. Besides the ten Southern states included in the rebellion, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland had voted

[1866-1867 A.D.]

against the amendment. Tennessee was the only geographically Southern state that voted for it. Meanwhile, however, President Johnson, although thus obstructed in the work he had assumed in reorganising the Southern states, had continued issuing proclamations. On the 2nd of April, 1866, he issued a proclamation declaring the state of war ended, and civil authority existing throughout the United States. Later, he issued an amnesty proclamation, modifying that of May 29th, 1865, wherein "thirteen extensive classes of persons were altogether excepted and excluded from the benefits thereof," so that "the full and beneficent pardon conceded" in that proclamation "should be opened and further extended."

But all this was to go for naught before the high-handed congressional programme framed by a caucus of republican members upon the assembling of congress. Congress then proceeded to carry out its policy of "thorough" with regard to reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act was passed over the president's veto, March 2nd, 1867—thus making the executive power of appointment to and removal from office subject to the approval of the senate. Then, by a rider to the Appropriation Bill, General Grant, already in command of the whole military force of the government, was made practically independent of the president. Johnson was compelled to approve this obnoxious rider in order to save the General Appropriation Bill. Congress also established universal suffrage in the District of Columbia over the president's veto, January 8th, 1867, and in the territories, January 10th, 1867. The latter bill became a law by reason of the failure of the president to sign, or return it with his objections, within ten days after presentation to him. Nebraska was admitted to the Union, March 1st, 1867—Nevada having been added to the list of states October 31st, 1864. The bill admitting Nebraska was passed over the president's veto.

All this legislation, however, was little more than paving the way for the great Reconstruction Act of March 2nd, 1867, which was repassed the same day the president's veto message was received. This remarkable piece of legislation was entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states." Tennessee had already been admitted to representation and was excluded from the provision of the act. The Southern states were to be grouped into five military districts. It was made the duty of the president to "assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to enforce his authority." These officers were given full civil and criminal jurisdiction; and all interference under colour of state authority with the exercise of military authority under the act was to be null and void. The provisions were made, however, that no cruel or unusual punishment was to be inflicted and no sentence of death was to be carried into effect without the approval of the president. Section 5 of the act outlined the process of reconstruction. This process was outlined in still greater detail by a Supplemental Reconstruction Act, passed March 23rd, 1867. The military commanders were given the power to enroll in each state, upon oath, all the male citizens of one year's residence who were not disqualified to vote by reason of felony or excluded under the terms of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Then they were to hold a general election in each state for the purpose of selecting delegates to a state convention. These conventions were then to frame constitutions extending the franchise to all classes of citizens who had been permitted to vote for delegates—without restriction as to "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." These constitutions were to conform with the constitution of

the United States "in every respect," and were to be submitted to the same body of electors for ratification. If congress passed favourably upon the constitution of a state thus submitted, then that state would be admitted to representation so soon as its new legislature should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. After these provisions of the act had been complied with, military jurisdiction over that state was to cease. It was furthermore provided, that "until the people of said rebel states shall be by law admitted to representation in the congress of the United States, any civil governments which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same." Such was this extraordinary act.

This act erected in each of the ten states a vice-royal rule outside of the constitution. President Johnson summed up his objection to the bill in a sentence of his veto message: "I submit to congress whether this measure is not, in its whole character, scope, and object, without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have shed so much blood and expended so much treasure."¹

"Such was the policy of 'thorough' to which congress had made up its mind. Its practical operation was of course revolutionary in its effects upon the Southern governments. The most influential white men were excluded from voting for the delegates who were to compose the constitutional conventions, while the negroes were all admitted to enrolment. Unscrupulous adventurers appeared to act as the leaders of the inexperienced blacks in taking possession, first of the conventions, and afterwards of the state governments; and in the states where the negroes were most numerous, or their leaders most shrewd and unprincipled, an extraordinary carnival of public crime set in under the forms of law. Negro majorities gained complete control of the state governments, or, rather, negroes constituted the legislative majorities and submitted to the unrestrained authority of small and masterful groups of white men whom the instinct of plunder had drawn from the North. Taxes were multiplied, whose proceeds went for the most part into the pockets of these fellows and their confederates among the negroes. Enormous masses of debt were piled up, by processes both legal and fraudulent, and most of the money borrowed reached the same destination. In several of the states it is true that, after the conventions had acted, the white vote was strong enough to control, when united; and in these, reconstruction, when completed, reinstated the whites in power almost at once. But it was in these states in several cases that the process of reconstruction was longest delayed, just because the white voters could resist the more obnoxious measures of the conventions; and in the mean time there was military rule."²

On the 22nd of June, 1868, an act was passed for the admission of Arkansas. The president vetoed the bill on the 20th of March, but congress passed it over his veto on the 22nd. Three days later a similar act was passed admitting the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. This bill was vetoed by the president on the 25th, and passed over his veto by congress on the same day.

January 27th, 1870, Virginia was admitted into the Union; on the 3rd of February, Mississippi; Texas, March 30th.

Virginia was required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal

¹ For text, see McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, pp. 166-172.

² Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 268, 269.

[1868-1870 A.D.]

constitution, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment, before she could be admitted to the Union. The same requirement was made of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. A sufficient number of ratifications had already been obtained for the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 28th of July, 1868, it had been finally proclaimed part of the fundamental law. The Fifteenth Amendment was likewise adopted by the necessary number of states, and was finally declared in force March 30th, 1870. Congress had proposed it February 26th, 1869. It declared that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude; and that congress should have power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

In the mean time the breach between congress and the president grew wider and wider. The congressional policy of "thorough" was met at every point by the presidential power of veto. Not content, however, with exercising his constitutional prerogatives, he went out of his way to show in every way possible his bitter contempt for congress and its policy of reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act of March 2nd, 1867, had sought to deprive the president of the power of removing even cabinet officers without the approval of the senate.

This was the law that in the end furnished the issue that brought the quarrel between congress and the president to its finality. August 5th, 1867, President Johnson demanded the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, in the following words: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as secretary of war will be accepted." Secretary Stanton replied to this demand for his resignation on the same day in the following words: "In reply," he said, "I have the honour to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of secretary of war before the next meeting of congress." The president then suspended him from office, August 12th, as the terms of the act permitted him to do, and empowered General Ulysses S. Grant to act as secretary of war *ad interim*. Stanton "submitted under protest, to superior force," but denied the president's right to suspend him without the advice and consent of the senate. When congress reassembled, the senate, on January 13th, 1868, refused to sanction the removal. The president thereupon, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act (which he considered a "palpable invasion of his constitutional privileges"), determined to remove Stanton. This he did on February 21st, 1868, and announced the fact to the senate in a communication to that body on the same date. General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, was at the same time designated secretary of war *ad interim*. But Stanton refused to quit his office and made a direct appeal to the house for protection. The house then determined to impeach the president of high crimes and misdemeanours in office.

As early as November 25th, 1867, Mr. Boutwell, from the committee on the judiciary, had submitted a report to the house recommending the impeachment of the president, but the resolution had not prevailed by a large majority. On January 27th, 1868, a committee, called the committee on reconstruction, was appointed to inquire into the state of affairs. This committee, on February 24th, submitted a report recommending the impeachment of the president, and it was adopted by a vote of 128 to 47. A committee of two was appointed to notify the senate, and another committee of seven was appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment. The trial was begun in the

senate on the 5th of March, and later eleven articles of impeachment were presented to the senate sitting as a court. Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase presided at the trial, and after having had the oath administered to him by Associate Justice Nelson, in turn administered it to the various senators. On the 6th of March an order was adopted directing Johnson to file an answer to the articles, returnable on the 13th instant. The president's counsel asked for forty days in which to prepare an answer, but this request was denied, and the senate decided upon the 30th instant as the time for the beginning of the trial.

On May 16th the first vote of the court was taken on the eleventh article, with the result of thirty-five for "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." Ten days later, May 26th, a vote was taken upon the second and third articles, with the same result as on the eleventh article. A motion was then carried that the court adjourn *sine die*. Judgment of acquittal was then entered by the chief justice on the three articles voted upon. Johnson's escape was very narrow; a two-thirds majority was required to convict, and but one vote was wanting. Five republican senators had declined to vote with their party. Stanton resigned his position of secretary of war on the same day of the adjournment of the court.

In the presidential election of that year (1868) Johnson was an impossible candidate for either party. The republican nominating convention, meeting at Chicago, just four days after the failure of the impeachment proceedings, nominated General Grant for the presidency. The democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. The reconstruction issue was squarely met. Three Southern states did not take part in the election, not having been reconstructed, and most of the rest were in possession of negro majorities. Two hundred and fourteen electoral votes were cast for Grant and eighty for Seymour. The aggregate popular majority of the republicans, however, was but a little more than 300,000 in a total vote of nearly 6,000,000.

March 4th, 1869, Johnson's tempestuous administration came to a close. It was "crowded with perplexities for the constitutional lawyer and the judicious historian alike."¹ One event of considerable importance had marked the foreign relations of the government. On October 31st, 1861, a joint convention had been signed at London between England, France, and Spain. The object of this agreement was to send an expedition against Mexico, "to demand from the Mexican authorities more efficient protection for the persons and properties of their (the allied sovereigns') subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their majesties by the republic of Mexico." It was not long, however, before the designs of the French became apparent to the other allies and to the world. The emperor of the French "walked his own wild road, whither that led him," and established a sort of feudatory monarchy in Mexico, and persuaded the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, to accept the throne. The archduke was a man of pure and noble character, but evidently wanting in strength of purpose.

The United States government protested against these high-handed doings of the French from the very first. But the emperor Napoleon, quite positive that the United States were going to pieces and that he would have the Southern Confederacy as a friend and ally in his vast schemes, ignored these protests. After the tide turned, however, and the rebellion was at an end, the United States government demanded of Louis Napoleon the withdrawal of

¹ Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, p. 272.

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his troops from Mexico. A significant movement of troops was made in the direction of the Mexican frontier and the French were compelled to withdraw (March, 1867). Maximilian remained and endeavoured to raise an army of his own to defend himself against the growing strength of the Mexicans under Juarez. But the latter conquered at last, and Maximilian was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot, June 19th, 1867. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure, and the Monroe doctrine was triumphantly asserted and maintained.

Another event of importance of an international character was the Fenian invasion of Canada. On the night of May 31st, 1866, about nine hundred men, under Colonel O'Neil, crossed from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Their object was the destruction of the Welland Canal. After a series of rather unimportant engagements with varying success, they were driven back by Canadian regular and volunteer troops. Another Fenian expedition aimed at reaching the capital at Ottawa, and a band of marauders crossed the border from Vermont, but both were easily driven back. The invasions continued spasmodically in 1870 and in 1871, but all with the like result. The Fenian troubles, being, as they were, attacks by the Irish-Americans upon British sovereignty, roused strong feeling in Canada against the American authorities.

In March, 1867, definite negotiations between the United States and Russia for the purchase of Alaska were opened by the Russian minister at Washington. After negotiations covering about two months, a treaty was ratified transferring Alaska to the United States for a consideration of \$7,200,000 in gold. The usual proclamation was made by the president of the United States, June 20th, 1867, and the transfer was made on the 18th of October following.

RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF GRANT

During the two administrations of Grant normal conditions of government and of economic and intellectual life were gradually restored. Nevertheless, before this happy result was brought about the republican party had yet to complete its policy of reconstruction. President Grant communicated the fact of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to Congress in a special message on the 30th of March, 1870. May 31st, 1870, and April 20th, 1871, congress enacted laws having in view making effective the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. These laws were popularly known as the "Force bills." Conspiracy to take away from any person the rights of a citizen was made a penal offence. Furthermore, the acts provided that inability, neglect, or refusal by any state to suppress such conspiracy, to protect the rights of its citizens, or to call upon the president for aid, should be "deemed a denial by such state of the equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. Such conspiracies, if not suppressed by the authorities, were likewise declared "rebellion against the government of the United States." The president was authorised to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any district. In the spring of 1872—conditions in the South having very materially improved—congress permitted some of the harsher portions of the act of 1871 to lapse. This was followed up, May 22nd of the same year, by a General Amnesty Act. Those who had served the Confederacy after having served the United States in a judicial, military, or naval capacity, or in the higher grades of administration and political freedom, were excepted from the provisions of the act.

The Force Bill of 1871 was enacted as a result of the peculiar conditions existing in the Southern states after the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Reconstruction had resulted in a condition of affairs in which the most prominent whites were disfranchised and deprived of the right to hold public offices. Their slaves were enfranchised and unfriendly, and sometimes dishonest strangers from the North filled their judicial and other offices. Some of these offices were filled by ignorant negroes. The Southern states resisted this state of affairs, and resistance took the form of organised intimidation and terrorism. "It made an objective point of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, ministers of the gospel, and school teachers—all adventurers from the North, or men who had in quest of fortune immigrated into these states. All of these classes were regarded as public or private enemies. They were designated by the opprobrious title of 'carpet-baggers.' The history of these outrages fills many volumes of reports made by joint and separate committees of the two houses of congress. Very soon after the close of the Civil War, almost as soon as the Reconstruction acts were begun to be put in operation, secret societies were organised in various states of the South."¹ The object of these societies was to prevent the exercise of political rights by the negroes. They assumed various fantastic names, such as the Brotherhood, the Pale Faces, the Invisible Empire, the Knights of the White Camellia. But all of these were finally merged into the Ku-Klux Klan.

This formidable organisation was said to have originated in 1866 with the object at first of only scaring the superstitious blacks. From this, however, it soon went to using its power in the most cruel manner for the furtherance of political ends—to crush out republicanism in the Southern states, to prevent the negroes exercising their political rights, and to exclude from all political offices those who depended mainly upon negro votes for their election. The strength of the Ku-Klux Klan in Tennessee was estimated at forty thousand, and it was supposed to be still stronger in other states. Virginia was fairly well exempt from Ku-Klux outrages, while North Carolina and Tennessee presented numerous cases. "The members were sworn to secrecy, under penalty of death for breach of fidelity. Their ordinary mode of operation—as gathered from the mass of evidence—was to patrol the country at night. They went well armed and mounted. They wore long white gowns. They masked their faces. Their appearance terrified the timid and superstitious negroes who happened to see them as they rode past, and who then regarded them as ghostly riders. But most frequently they surrounded and broke into the cabins of the negroes; frightened and maltreated the inmates; warned them of future vengeance; and probably carried off some obnoxious negro, or carpet-bagger, whose fate it was to be riddled with murderous bullets, hung to the limb of a tree, or mercilessly whipped and tortured, for some offence, real or imaginary, but generally because he was active in politics or in negro schools or churches."² Senator Scott, in a speech in the senate, based upon personal investigation, gave a summary of the extent of the Ku-Klux outrages. In ninety-nine counties in different states he found five hundred and twenty-six homicides and two thousand and nine cases of whipping. Furthermore, it was stated by the congressional committee that investigated the subject, that in Louisiana alone in the year 1868 there were more than one thousand murders, and most of them were the result of the operations of the Ku-Klux. In October, 1871,

¹ S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 453.

² S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 455.

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the president suspended the privilege of *habeas corpus* in South Carolina in nine counties, so flagrantly prevalent were the Ku-Klux outrages.

The Force Act, however, was destined to outrun popular feeling. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, showed a decided tendency towards a conservative construction of the changes brought about by the war. In the case of *Texas versus White*, it held that the states maintained their statehood intact, though at the same time it sustained congress even in its extreme policy of reconstruction. In 1873 the court was called upon to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution in the celebrated Slaughter-House Cases. In these cases the political and constitutional powers of the Southern states were held to be unimpaired, and the control of the state over the general privileges of its citizens was declared intact, notwithstanding the last two amendments.

In fact, a general reaction from extreme partisanship and a violent reconstruction policy was noticeable throughout the North. The Force Act had come dangerously near the suspension of state government in the South, and there was a growing disposition in the North, even among republicans, to regard the treatment far more dangerous than the disease. As the first term of Grant's administration drew to a close, the political parties again made the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction the chief issue of the campaign. The president was in accord with this plan of reconstruction and was consequently subjected to much criticism. Nevertheless, he was renominated by the republicans for the presidency, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as the vice-presidential nominee. The "liberal republicans" bolted the regular party and nominated for the presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. They adopted a platform declaring local self-government a better safeguard for the rights of all citizens than centralised power. Universal amnesty for the Southerners was favoured. The democrats accepted the nominees of the liberal party and endorsed the platform. The movement was supported by many other prominent republicans besides Greeley, among them Charles Sumner, Stanley Matthews, Carl Schurz, and David A. Wells. "As the campaign went on, the Greeley movement developed remarkable strength and remarkable weakness. Speaking for years through the *New York Tribune*, Mr. Greeley had now, in a remarkable degree, the respect and even the affection of the country. His offer to give bail for Jefferson Davis in his imprisonment, and his staunch advocacy of mercy to all who had engaged in rebellion as soon as they had grounded arms, made him hosts of friends even in the South. He took the stump himself, making the tour of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and crowds of republicans came to see and hear their former champion. But the democrats could not heartily unite in the support of such a lifelong and bitter opponent of their party. Some supported a third ticket, while many others did not vote at all. Mr. Greeley, too, an ardent protectionist, was not popular with the influential free-trade element among the liberals themselves."¹ The campaign was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciations. Mr. Greeley was overwhelmingly beaten. The democrats carried but six states, and those were all in the South. Within a month after the election Mr. Greeley died, at the age of sixty-one, broken down by "over-exertion, family bereavement, and disappointed ambition."

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction was thus once more emphatically sustained at the polls. Election troubles were of frequent occurrence

¹ E. B. Andrews, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

during Grant's second term in those Southern states in which the negroes were most numerous or most thoroughly organised under white leaders. Both of the contestants, no doubt, were to a considerable extent in the wrong. In a number of these states the electoral machinery was in the hands of negro managers who had the support of the federal officers authorised by congress for the protection of the negroes in their political rights. These supervisors, marshals, and deputy-marshals were not slow, of course, to take advantage of every opportunity for their personal advancement. On the other hand, the Southerners used every means of preventing the negroes from voting. Where persuasion and bribery would not bring about the desired end, intimidation and actual violence were often resorted to. The turmoil finally reached a climax in Louisiana. Since 1872 the whites in that state had been chafing under the republican rule of Governor Kellogg, who was accused of ruinous extravagance in the use of the state's credit. In the autumn of 1872 rival returning boards in Louisiana certified to democratic and republican majorities in the choice of state officers and presidential electors. Both of these boards were irregularly constituted, but both claimed to be the legal board. As a result, rival governments were erected and it took congressional interference to effect a compromise. The republican governor was kept in office through the support of the federal troops, but his opponents were given control of the house of representatives of the state legislature.

"In August, 1874, a disturbance occurred which ended in the deliberate shooting of six republican officials. President Grant prepared to send military aid to the Kellogg government. Thereupon Penn, the defeated candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1872, issued an address to the people, claiming to be the lawful executive of Louisiana, and calling upon the state militia to arm and drive 'the usurpers from power.' Barricades were thrown up in the streets of New Orleans, and on September 14th a severe fight took place between the insurgents and the state forces, in which a dozen were killed on each side. On the next day the state-house was surrendered to the militia, ten thousand of whom had responded to Penn's call. Governor Kellogg took refuge in the custom-house. Penn was formally inducted in office. United States troops were hurried to the scene. Agreeably to their professions of loyalty towards the federal government, the insurgents surrendered the state property to the United States authorities without resistance, but under protest.

"A sullen acquiescence in the Kellogg government gradually prevailed. Other electoral difficulties occurred in 1874 and 1875 in Arkansas and Mississippi. The republican officials asked the president to send federal troops, but none were sent.

"General Grant declared that, while he felt bound to intervene, he found it an 'exceedingly unpalatable' duty; and when calls for troops came later from other states, he replied, with evident impatience, that the whole public was 'tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South,' and that the great majority were 'ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government.' He had never shown any vindictive feeling towards the South, and there can be no doubt that in directing federal troops to interfere to cut the puzzling knots of Southern election snarls, he acted with the same simple sense of duty towards the laws that had characterised his soldier predecessors, Jackson and Taylor."¹

The most important of the treaties that marked President Grant's terms

¹ Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 276, 277.

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of office was the Treaty of Washington, concluded with Great Britain May 8th, 1871. This treaty made provisions for the settlement of the following important questions: the northwestern boundary—a portion of which had been too vaguely determined by the treaty of 1847; the Canadian Fishery Dispute; and the *Alabama* Claims.

The question of the northwestern boundary was referred to the decision of the German emperor, William I. The treaty of 1847 had not left it clear whether the boundary line through the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland should be run so as to include the island of San Juan, with its group, in the United States or in Canada. The emperor decided in 1872 in favour of the contention of the United States.

The fisheries dispute had its origin at the very beginning of the nation. It has continued to be a source of international trouble down to the present time. The treaty of 1871 seemed only to confuse matters more than before. The Canadians were permitted, by its provisions, to go as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel; free trade in fish-oil and in all salt-water fish was granted; and, in recognition of the fact that mere reciprocity was supposed to give the United States a decided advantage, that nation was required to pay Canada \$5,500,000. This agreement was so thoroughly unsatisfactory that the United States took the earliest possible opportunity (July 1st, 1883) to abrogate it.

As early as 1863 the United States had sought satisfaction from Great Britain for the damages sustained to shipping from the Confederate cruisers sailing from English ports. Of these, the *Alabama* had proven most destructive. Attempts were made to settle the claims in 1865, but without success.

On the 26th of January, 1871, the British government proposed the appointment of a joint high commission to meet at Washington, for the settlement of questions connected with the Canadian fisheries.

On May 8th the commission completed a treaty which received the prompt approval of both governments. The British government expressed its regret for "the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." It furthermore agreed that the *Alabama* Claims should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration to be composed of five arbitrators, to meet at Geneva, at the earliest convenient day, when all questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, should be decided by a majority of all the arbitrators.

The tribunal held its first conference at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871.

The American claim for damages was based on losses inflicted by fourteen cruisers and four tenders, but the award did not allow the full claim. The tribunal found that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligation" with respect to the cruisers *Alabama* and *Florida*, and the several tenders of those vessels; and also with respect to the *Shenandoah* after her departure from Melbourne, February 18th, 1865, but not before that date. In fact, with regard to the *Alabama*, the culpability of the British government was so evident that even the English arbiter, Sir Alexander Cockburn, voted in favour of the American claim.

The tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, awarded to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as indemnity. Of this sum about \$2,000,000 represented interest at six per cent. Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British arbiter, was the only member of the tribunal who voted in the negative.¹

¹ See in detail, C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*.

A movement was made in the right direction when, after Grant had called attention to the need of reform, the first Civil Service Reform Act was passed by congress, March 3rd, 1871. The president appointed a commission, and congress appropriated \$25,000 to defray its expenses. A like sum was voted next year, but after that nothing was granted until June, 1882, when \$15,000 was grudgingly appropriated. Nevertheless, the act of 1871 was a beginning, and its provisions formed the basis of subsequent legislation and afforded encouragement for further efforts to those who had the reform of the civil service at heart.

The civil service was not the only branch of the government that needed reforming; congress itself was sorely in need of a reform movement. By 1869, both the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads had been completed across the continent with the aid of enormous government grants. The interests of the Union Pacific, financial as well as constitutional, had been assumed by a corporation chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania. This corporation became known as the *Crédit Mobilier*. On the meeting of congress in December, 1872, the speaker of the house called attention to the charges made in the preceding campaign that the vice-president, Mr. Colfax, the vice-president elect, Mr. Henry Wilson, the secretary of the treasury, several senators, the speaker of the house, and a large number of representatives, had been bribed during the years 1867 and 1868 by presents of stock in a corporation known as the *Crédit Mobilier*, to vote and act for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. On the motion of the speaker, an investigating committee was appointed.

This committee reported, February 18th, 1873, and recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, for "selling to members of congress shares of the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* below their real value, with intent thereby to influence the votes of such members." Likewise the expulsion of James Brooks, of New York, for receiving such stock. The house modified the proposed expulsion into an "absolute condemnation" of the conduct of both members. Other members of congress were exonerated on the ground that they had no knowledge of the illegitimate purposes of the transaction. Still other members escaped because of the absence of conclusive proof of their guilt. Nor did this congress abate the public's suspicion of its guilt by passing the "Salary Grab" Bill. This bill increased the salaries of representatives and senators, and retroactively included the salaries of the members of the existing congress. It was repealed at the next session.

In 1875 the "whiskey ring" was brought to light. This was a more or less close association between distillers and federal officials for the purpose of defrauding the government of a large amount of the internal revenue tax on distilled spirits; and, furthermore, of employing a part of the proceeds in political corruption. Grant's secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was impeached for accepting bribes in making the appointments in his department. He was impeached and tried, but was acquitted on the ground that, having resigned, the senate was without jurisdiction in the case. The civil suit brought against him was dismissed. The whole of Grant's second term was characterised by a state of official demoralisation. "Inefficiency and fraud were suspected even where they did not exist."

Two events of financial importance occurred during Grant's two terms that should not be passed over in silence. One was the speculation in gold and the consequent "Black Friday" of September 24th, 1869. The other was the so-called "demonetisation of silver" and the panic of 1873.

When gold ceased to circulate, in 1862, speculation in it began as a result

[1873 A.D.]

of the depreciation of paper. In 1869 a clique of speculators in New York (of which Jay Gould, president of the Erie Railway, was one) thought to corner the market in gold and thus make an immense fortune. This clique, succeeding in getting control of a large percentage of the gold in the East, forced the price of that metal up to 164. But there was some hundred millions of gold in the United States treasury, more or less, and the president of the United States or the secretary of the treasury might at any time throw it on the market. The price had reached its highest point and the whole speculative world was in a feverish condition, when it was suddenly announced that the government would sell. The price immediately fell to 135, and the power of the clique was broken. This day—September 24th—has passed into history as Black Friday.

By an act of February 12th, 1873, the silver dollar of 412½ grains was dropped out of the list of silver coins. It was merely a nominal demonetisation of silver, for the real demonetisation of that metal had been accomplished in 1853. Important consequences have been attached to this act of 1873. It "has even been absurdly charged that the law was the cause of the commercial crisis of September, 1873. As if a law which made no changes in the actual metallic standard in use, and which has been in use thus far more than twenty years, had produced a financial disaster in seven months! But while the act of 1873 had little importance in changing existing conditions, it had an influence of a kind which at the present time can scarcely be over-estimated. Had the demonetisation of the silver dollar not been accomplished in 1873 and 1874, we should have found ourselves in 1876 with a single silver standard, and the resumption of specie payment on January 1st, 1879, would have been in silver, not in gold; and fifteen per cent. of all our contracts and existing obligations would have been repudiated. The act of 1873 was a piece of good fortune, which saved our financial credit and protected the honour of the state. It is a work of legislation for which we cannot now be too thankful."

The panic of 1873 differed very materially from the great panics of 1837 and 1857. The causes of the earlier panics were fairly evident. But in 1873 trade was good; everyone was busy and wanted money to carry on industry. Railroads had been built to an unprecedented extent. During the half decade ending with 1873, \$1,700,000,000 had been thus spent in the country. But these outward evidences of prosperity were the real evidences of a coming crisis. Industry was very largely upon a paper basis. Speculation was rife, and it was only a question of a short time before the crisis was bound to come. The supposed wealth consisted mainly of the bonds of these railroads that would not pay dividends for years, and worthless mining and manufacturing stock. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The Chicago fire of October, 1871, by which \$192,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and the Boston fire of November, 1872, which resulted in the loss of \$75,000,000, no doubt must be classed as a partial cause of the disturbed condition of industrial affairs of 1873. The circulation of depreciated paper money led to a free contraction of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities, and states, and this, of course, led to speculation.

On the 18th of September the panic came. On the morning of that day, Jay Cooke, the agent of the United States government, with some \$4,000,000 held on deposit from all parts of the country, and with \$15,000,000 of

Northern Pacific paper, suspended. Next day the banking firm of Fisk & Hatch went under. Terror became universal. At eleven o'clock on the 20th the New York Stock Exchange, for the first time in its history, closed its doors. For ten days the New York Clearing-House had to suspend. Products of all kinds declined in price, as well as stocks and bonds. Factories either ran on short time or shut down entirely. But money flowed into New York from Europe and the West, and the public began to purchase stocks freely, tempted by the low prices.

The United States continued to advance in material welfare notwithstanding these drawbacks. The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 would be sufficient proof of this. The Centennial was not a financial success, but it illustrated aptly the great material prosperity the United States had made during the century of its existence. On July 4th of the centennial year Colorado was admitted to the Union.

Before bringing President Grant's two eventful terms to a close, reference should be made to the act of July 14th, 1870, amending the naturalisation laws, and the act of January 14th, 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879. The first act was merely a completion of the policy of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution. It admitted to citizenship, besides "free white persons," "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." Stringent provision was also made against the fraudulent naturalisation and registration of aliens. Federal supervisors were appointed to enforce the regulations in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES

The scandals brought to light in the republican party during the second administration of Grant bore their fruits. The former vital question of reconstruction could no longer be made the winning issue of the campaign. Furthermore, the republican party had to bear, in a measure, the responsibility for the financial distress of 1873. The democrats had secured every Southern state except Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and the republican governments in these states were upheld only by the aid of bayonets. But what is more surprising is the fact that in the elections of 1874 and 1875 the democrats carried their state tickets in several Northern states, and elected their candidate for governor in Massachusetts. Moreover, they were overwhelmingly successful in the congressional elections. The republican majority of almost one hundred was supplanted by a democratic majority of almost the same size. There was every indication of a political revolution at the next presidential election.

The republicans, after a long struggle between rival factions, nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, with William A. Wheeler, of New York, for vice-president. The democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. Thirty-eight states participated in the election. Once more the democratic party seemed to sweep the country. The morning after the election, November 8th, nearly every republican newspaper conceded the election of Mr. Tilden. He was believed to have carried every Southern state, and New York, Indiana, New Jersey, and Connecticut in addition. The whole number of electoral votes was 369, and upon this estimate the democratic candidate would have had 203 and the republican candidate 166. But the existence of dual govern-

[1877 A.D.]

ments in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and an election complication in Oregon, threw the whole result into grave doubt and precipitated the most extraordinary contest that has taken place in the history of the country. If the republicans lost a single vote, the democratic candidate would be elected.

In four states—South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon—there were double returns. In South Carolina the republicans claimed that the negroes had been intimidated by white rifle-clubs, the democrats that “detachments of the United States army stationed near the polls had prevented a fair and free election. Although the board of state canvassers certified to the choice of the Hayes electors, who were chosen on the face of the returns, the democratic candidates for electors met on the day fixed for the meeting of electors and cast ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were allegations of fraud on both sides. The canvassing board and the governor certified to the election of the Hayes electors, but, fortified by a court decision in their favour, the democratic electors also met and voted. In Louisiana there was anarchy. There were two governors, two returning boards, two sets of returns showing different results, and two electoral colleges. In Oregon the democratic governor adjudged one of the republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the democratic list. The republican electors, having no certificate from the governor, met and voted for Hayes and Wheeler. The democratic electors, whose appointment was certified to by the governor, appointed two others to fill the vacancies, when the two republican electors would not meet with him, and the three voted for Tilden and Hendricks.”¹

The contest was now transferred to the halls of congress. The senate, which was republican, held that the Twenty-second Joint Rule, which had been in force in the counts of 1865, 1869, and 1873, and which provided that no disputed electoral vote could be counted unless both houses concurred in counting it, had not been re-enacted by the present congress, and hence was not in force. The house, which was democratic, took the opposite view. Republicans claimed that the power to count the votes belonged to the president of the senate; democrats maintained that it belonged to congress and that no vote could be counted against the wishes of the house. Threats were made that Hayes should never be inaugurated, and military organisations to support Tilden’s claim were formed in several states. Happily, peaceful counsels prevailed, and in January, 1877, the famous Electoral Commission Act was passed. This act created a commission of fifteen—five to be selected by the senate, five by the house, four associate justices of the supreme court who were designated by the act, and a fifth to be selected from the remaining associate justices by these four. It had been expected that the fifteenth member would be David Davis, a justice with democratic leanings but supposedly free from any marked prejudice one way or the other. But just before the bill became a law the democrats and a few independent republicans in the Illinois legislature unexpectedly elected Justice Davis to the United States senate, and he therefore declined to serve upon the commission. Justice Bradley, a republican, was selected as the fifteenth member.

The commission thus contained eight republicans and seven democrats; and when the disputed cases were submitted to it, all were decided in favor of the republicans by a strict party vote. An attempt in the house to prevent the completion of the count failed because of the opposition of the speaker, Samuel J. Randall, and because friends of Hayes promised that if

¹ Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 329, 330.

he were allowed to become president he would refuse to support the republican state governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. On the early morning of March 2 Hayes was declared elected by 185 to 184. On the 5th of March (the 4th being Sunday) he was inaugurated without any disturbance. The country acquiesced in the decision, but the democrats have always maintained that Tilden was elected.

One thing was perfectly manifest to men of both parties—that provision should be made against the recurrence of such a dispute. However, it was not until February 3rd, 1877, that a bill providing for the counting of the electoral votes was approved by the president. The Electoral Count Bill, as this bill was called, throws upon the state, as far as possible, the responsibility of determining how its own presidential vote has been cast. The president of the senate opens the electoral certificates in the presence of both houses; he then hands them to the tellers (two from each house), who read them aloud and record the votes. If there is a dispute, the set of returns certified to by the officially constituted state tribunal is accepted. Should there be two rival tribunals, the vote of the state is not counted unless each house separately agrees to accept one of them as official.

One of President Hayes' important acts after his inauguration was the withdrawal of federal troops in 1877 from South Carolina and Louisiana. The republican governments in these states were at once superseded by democratic governments. Inasmuch as Florida had already gone democratic, that party was now in entire control of the South. Hayes was criticised for what was termed his flagrant inconsistency for repudiating the very state governments to which he had been entirely indebted for his election to the presidency. However that may be, the action of the president brought a welcome peace. Affairs at once became normal and the congressional policy of reconstruction had almost run its course. "With the disappearance of the carpet-bag and negro governments, the third era in the political history of the South, since the war, began. The first had been that of exclusively white suffrage; the second, that of predominantly negro suffrage. In the third, universal suffrage and complete legal equality were soon perceived to mean in practice the full supremacy of the whites."¹ The South was no longer the country it was before the war. During the sixteen years between 1860 and 1876 it had experienced something like an industrial revolution. It became a great economic force working along entirely new lines of industrial development. Its old labour system had been swept away, and it was now prepared to enter the industrial contest with the rest of the world.

Many believed that the so-called "demonetisation of silver" in 1873 would, if persisted in, work a hardship to taxpayers during the process of paying off the national debt. A bill was therefore passed through congress in 1878, known as the Bland Silver Bill. The passage of the act was due to causes easily described. "It was part of the opposition to the contraction of the currency and the resumption of specie payments, which forms the most important episode of our financial history between 1867 and 1879. No doubt some additional force was given to the movement in favour of the use of silver from the desire of the silver-mining states and their representatives that the price of the metal should be kept up through a larger use of it for coinage. But this element, while sometimes prominent in the agitation, was not then (as it has not been in more recent years) of any great importance by itself. The real strength of the agitation for the wider use of silver as money comes

¹ J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 483.

[1878-1879 A.D.]

from the coining of large masses of the people that the community has not enough money." ¹ This act provided for the purchase by the government, each month, of not less than two million dollars' worth, and not more than four million dollars' worth, of silver bullion, for coinage into silver dollars at the rate of 412½ grains of standard silver (or 371½ grains of fine silver) for each dollar. The secretary of the treasury was given discretion as to the amount he should purchase between those limits. No secretary purchased a greater amount than the minimum during the time the act was in force. The number of silver dollars actually coined each month depended, of course, upon the amount of silver bullion that could be purchased by two millions of dollars in the medium of exchange. After the resumption of specie payment, when greenbacks became redeemable in gold, the number of silver dollars coined was, of course, greater than before when the greenbacks were irredeemable. This piece of legislation restored the silver dollar to its full legal-tender character, but the disparity in value between it and the gold dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 was so great that congress did not confer the right of free coinage upon silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto, February 28th, 1878. By another important provision of the act, silver certificates could be issued against the deposit of silver dollars. Those who supported monometallism prophesied that the issue of these silver dollars would drive out gold. But it is inflation of the currency, and not debasement of it, that tends to drive out the metal of greater value. The new coinage was limited in amount, and the increased demands of commerce for money more than took up the increased amount of the currency. Silver dollars and silver certificates floated at par with gold; and gold, instead of leaving the country, came into it in increased amounts.

In accordance with the act of January 14th, 1875, the government began the payment of specie in liquidation of greenbacks on the first day of January, 1879. Specie payment had been suspended since 1862. This resumption of specie payment was due very largely to the efforts of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury. He accumulated before January 1st, 1879, \$138,000,000 of coin (nearly all of it gold) by the sale of 4½ per cent. government bonds redeemable in 1891. This was about 40 per cent. of the outstanding greenbacks. Thirteen days before the time appointed for the resumption of specie payment the greenbacks had reached par. As soon as the people were assured that the greenbacks were as valuable as gold, there was no inclination to demand the gold. The paper money was preferred as being more convenient.

Important labour difficulties marked a part of the administration of Hayes. In 1877 there was an extensive strike along the entire systems of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central railroads. The freight and passenger service was completely demoralised, and the militia and United States troops had to be called out to quell the rioting. Among the real causes of these labour troubles were, undoubtedly, the vast number of undesirable immigrants who had come to the country, the introduction of communist and anarchist doctrines from Europe, the arrogance of capitalists, and the greed and lawlessness of the newly developing trusts and gigantic corporations.

Nevertheless, great industrial progress was being made by the country, and was, in a way, responsible for some of the disturbance. The submarine cable between the United States and Europe was successfully laid in 1869,

¹ Tammig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, p. 5

and one likewise between the United States and England in 1875. Again, in 1869, continuous transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts had been made possible by the junction of the Union Pacific Railway with the Central Pacific. Consolidation was the rule. The application of electricity to practical purposes received a decided impetus in 1875, when the dynamo was made practicable. The invention of Edison in lighting by electricity in 1878 took us several steps still farther in advance. Add to this the inventions of Alexander Graham Bell, in conveying sounds by means of the electric wire, and the practical utilisation of these inventions, in 1877, in the telephone, and we have a wonderful record of industrial development.

The second congress was democratic in both branches. But the democrats were not united, and were, in addition, inclined to be led astray by financial and industrial fallacies. Consequently the party was unable to reap any distinct advantage by reason of its control of congress. The Bland Silver Bill had been passed over the president's veto only by a combination with republicans. Real legislation was almost at a stand-still. With his own party Mr. Hayes had but little more influence than had Johnson. Nor did he have a real hold upon the country. "His amiable character, his lack of party heat, his conciliatory attitude towards the South, alienated rather than attracted the members of his party in congress. He withdrew the troops from the Southern states to let politics there take their normal course, and yet he appointed the one-time members of the discredited returning boards to federal offices, as if to console them for their loss of power. He was not aggressive enough to draw a party of his own about him."¹

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

Upon his return from a trip around the world, General Grant was again placed in nomination for the presidency at the republican national convention meeting at Chicago, June 5th, 1880. This was due to the efforts of the reactionary section of the republican party. A deadlock in the convention ensued, however, between Grant and Blaine, and as a result James A. Garfield, of Ohio, received the nomination. The democrats nominated General W. S. Hancock, of Gettysburg fame. Garfield was elected, having received 214 electoral votes, as against 155 for Hancock. The democrats carried every Southern state, but no Northern states except New Jersey, California, and Nevada. The popular vote was very close, being for Garfield 4,454,416, and for Hancock 4,444,952. The so-called greenback party (which had appeared four years before) received 308,578 votes for its presidential candidate, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; and the prohibition candidate, Neal Dow, of Maine, received but 10,305 votes. The object and principles of the greenback party were set forth in several paragraphs of its platform as follows: "That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the government, and not by or through banking corporations, and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private. Legal-tender currency [the greenback notes of the Civil War period] should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law."²

¹ Wilson, *A History of the American People*, Vol. V, pp. 149-151.

² McPherson, *Handbook of Politics for 1880*, pp. 195, 196.

[1881-1884 A.D.]

Garfield had owed his nomination to the deadlock created in the convention by the supporters of Grant and Blaine. This deadlock was caused largely by the continuation of the fight between two violent factions in the republican party called the "stalwarts" and the "half-breeds." The "stalwarts" controlled the distribution of appointed offices under the federal government during the administration of Grant, and contemptuously gave the name "half-breeds" to their dissatisfied republican opponents. Garfield did his best to effect a settlement between the hostile factions, and did not recognise one faction more than another. The inevitable outbreak of hostilities came, however, when the president made nominations in New York which were distasteful to Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the "stalwart" forces. Garfield had made up a strong cabinet with Blaine as secretary of state, and the New York appointees were supporters of the latter, and not of Conkling. The open break came in the presentation of the name of William H. Robertson for the collector of the port of New York, who was particularly objectionable to the New York senators. Consequently, in order to force an issue with the president, both of the senators, Conkling and Platt, resigned and appealed to the New York legislature to sustain them in their course by a re-election. This the legislature, to their very great chagrin, refused to do, though not until after a bitter contest.

The bitter passions engendered within the party as a result of this furious contest no doubt had something to do with the tragedy that soon ensued. On the morning of the 2nd of July, 1881, as President Garfield was upon the point of taking a train at the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway in Washington, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, Charles Jules Guiteau. The president lingered for eighty days, but finally died, on September 19th, at Elberon, New Jersey. Guiteau was tried and finally executed for the crime on June 30th, 1882, though there was much doubt as to his sanity. Vice-President Chester A. Arthur became president for the remainder of the term.

The assassination of President Garfield called the attention of the whole country to the need of civil service reform. Congress was no longer able to resist the pressure of public opinion. On January 9th, 1883, the Pendleton Civil Service Act was passed by congress with overwhelming majorities in its favour, both of the parties having united in its support. President Arthur promptly signed the bill on the 16th. This act authorised the president, with the consent of the senate, to order appointments to the civil service to be made after competitive examinations. Likewise, to appoint three civil service commissioners who were to have the management and development of the system.

The canvass of the twenty-fifth presidential election was bitterly personal. The republican national convention, meeting at Chicago, June 3rd, 1884, had nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for president, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for vice-president. The democratic national convention, meeting in the same city, July 8th, had put forward Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for president, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for vice-president. The election was an exceedingly close one, its result turning upon a plurality of only 1,149 in New York, by which the thirty-six electoral votes of that state were given to Cleveland. This secured his election—he having secured 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The democrats carried every Southern state, and, in addition, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, and continued in control of the house of representatives, while the republicans continued to have a small majority in the senate.

This election was characterised by a "bolt" from the republican party of a group of men and their supporters noted for intelligence and social position. They supported civil service reform, denounced Blaine as a representative of corrupt political methods, and endorsed the democratic nominees. The movement was supported by George W. Curtis and Carl Schurz, among other prominent republicans, and likewise by several influential independent republican newspapers. These men called themselves "independent republicans," but were called "mugwumps" by the "straight-out" republicans.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1885-1889 A.D.)

The accession of the new administration to power brought two important subjects prominently before the country: (1) civil service reform and (2) tariff reform. Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to a rigid enforcement of the Pendleton Act, and many of his supporters believed he would extend the reforms to other branches of the civil service. Mr. Cleveland did not make a clean sweep among the office-holders, but as his term advanced it became evident to many of his supporters who favoured civil service reform that the pressure of office-seekers and office-holders was proving too strong for the president's resolution.

In 1882 congress appointed a tariff commission which travelled through the country, taking testimony, and made a report to congress. With this report as a basis, congress made a slight reduction of duties. Little else was done until President Cleveland, in his message of December 6th, 1887, finally committed the democratic party to tariff reform. In this message the president stated that "our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. Our progress towards a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savours too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory."

This message inspired a more united effort in the house to modify and simplify the tariff. The committee on ways and means, under the leadership of Mr. Mills, of Texas, reported a bill to the house on April 2nd, 1888. This bill proposed a reduction in the *ad valorem* duties (which ranged from 40 per cent. to 90 per cent.) of from 30 per cent. to 45 per cent.

The bill passed the house, but was defeated in the senate, where the republicans had a majority. In fact, the protectionists of the senate substituted a bill generally raising the duties instead of lowering them. The tariff question thus became the great issue in the election of 1888.

In 1887 congress passed an Interstate Commerce Act which forbade discrimination in rates, the "pooling" of rates by competing lines of railways. Furthermore, such railways were not permitted to divide their earnings. The interstate commerce commission was likewise established with semi-judicial powers to enforce the act. Another important act of Cleveland's administration was the act regulating the presidential succession. This act was introduced by Senator Hoar, was passed by congress, and was approved by the president, January 18th, 1886. By previous statutes, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or disability of both president and vice-president, the presidency passed in order to the temporary president of the senate and the speaker of the house. This made possible the defeat of the will of the people as expressed in the election by putting in the presidency a man of the opposite party from the president's. Or, in case of the death of both president

[1868-1890 A.D.]

and vice-president between two congresses, there would be no legal or constitutional successor to either place. The death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, brought this to the attention of the people in a most forcible manner. Had President Arthur died at any moment between September 19th, 1881, and the meeting of the forty-eighth congress in December, the latter eventuality would have occurred. The Presidential Succession Act, therefore, devolved the succession upon the members of the cabinet in the order of the historical establishment of their several departments, beginning with the secretary of state. Both parties in congress agreed to a repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, by which congress had attempted to limit President Johnson in his powers of dismissal from office in 1867. Two other important questions arose during this administration of President Cleveland—two questions that had become chronic in their recurrence—namely, the question of the exclusion of the Chinese and the fisheries dispute. Mr. Cleveland's tariff message made the issue of the next campaign. The democrats had accepted the issue under protest, but the president's message gave them an unmistakable policy with which to go before the people in 1888. The president had not taken counsel with the leaders of his party, and they warned him that his stand might cost him his re-election. Nevertheless, he was firmly convinced that he was in the right, and had made up his mind to meet the issue squarely.

The republican national nominating convention met at Chicago, June 19th. Mr. John Sherman, of Ohio, was at first the leading candidate; but on the eighth ballot Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, received the nomination for president. The republican platform favoured bimetalism, the building up of the merchant marine, the reform of the civil service, and the admission of new states. The main issue, however, as in 1884, was the tariff, and the platform declared emphatically in favour of protection. The democrats met at St. Louis in July, and nominated Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for president and vice-president respectively. The convention declared for the Mills Bill—that is, not for absolute free trade, but for very heavy reductions in the tariff.

The campaign turned on the issue of protection or free trade in spite of the democratic disclaimer that their policy did not mean absolute free trade. The democrats were defeated. The popular vote for Mr. Cleveland was over one hundred thousand greater than that for Mr. Harrison; but the latter had a majority of sixty-five in the electoral college (233-168). The republicans also carried the house and retained their control of the senate. They thus once more had possession of the presidency and both branches of congress.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON

The republicans now took advantage of their control of both houses of congress and the presidency to revise the tariff. This step was undoubtedly due to the attack made upon the protective system by Cleveland in his message to congress in December, 1887. Under the chairmanship of William McKinley, of Ohio, the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill known as the McKinley Bill, which was finally accepted by both houses, and upon receiving the signature of the president became a law, October 1st, 1890. The bill swept away most of the duty on refined sugar (one-half cent a pound) and admitted all raw sugar free. For this action the republican party was accused of playing into the hands of the "Sugar Trust." To placate the domestic producers of sugar, a bounty of two cents a pound, the rate of the preceding

duty, was given them. These domestic producers produced only about one-tenth of the amount of sugar consumed in the country, and the bill had in view particularly the stimulation of the beet-root culture. This policy still further emphasised the determination of the republican party to rely solely upon protective duties for the customs revenue. There was a considerable advance on woollen goods, while on cotton goods of the better grades the duties were particularly high. The most important change in duties on metals was the increase of the duty upon tin plate. This commodity had never been produced in the United States, and the increase of the duty upon it to $2\frac{2}{10}$ cents per pound (equivalent to about 70 per cent. upon the value) was a direct manifesto by the republican party that not only should duties be placed upon commodities for the purpose of supporting an industry, but likewise with the direct object in view of establishing an industry. At the late instance of the state department, this tariff bill provided for reciprocity through special treaties with other countries. This congress also enacted what has become known as the Sherman Law. By its provisions, it became the duty of the secretary of the treasury to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver and to issue in place of the silver thus purchased treasury notes. The amount of the silver that was to be coined was left to the discretion of the secretary—depending upon what he deemed necessary for the redemption of these notes. The avowed object of the bill was to keep the silver money equal to gold, for, as the bill declared, it is the “established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other on the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.” The coinage of silver dollars was accordingly “suspended by the treasury on July 1st, 1891; a change which was the occasion of some vociferous abuse and equally vociferous praise, but which in reality was of no consequence whatever. For a month or two after the passage of the act the price of silver advanced rapidly, and at its highest, in August, 1890, touched \$1.21. But the rise proved to be but temporary. After September a steady decline set in, and continued almost without interruption through 1892, when the price had gone as low as 85 cents.”¹

In addition to the unsettled fisheries dispute, President Harrison's administration inherited the always chronic Behring Sea controversy. The United States claimed that it had acquired from Russia exclusive rights in Behring Sea, at least with regard to seal-fishing. This the British government, representing the Canadians, denied, holding that there could be no exclusive rights outside three miles off shore. By an agreement of February 29th, 1892, the whole question was submitted to arbitration.

There were seven arbitrators in all—two represented the United States, two represented Great Britain, and one each was appointed by the French, the Italian, and the Swedish governments. The court of arbitration met at Paris on March 23rd, 1893, and decided that all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and the seal fisheries in Behring Sea east of the water boundary passed unimpaired to the United States under the treaty of March 30th, 1867; that the United States has not any right of protection or property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit.

A bill “to absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States,” reported by Mr. Geary, of California, was passed by the house, April 4th, 1892. In the senate a substitute was reported and was adopted. A compromise bill, slightly modifying the house bill, was the result.

¹ F. W. Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, pp. 50, 51.

[1892-1893 A.D.]

Among the treaties of Harrison's term was a tripartite arrangement concerning the Samoan Islands with Germany and Great Britain, which gave omen of a coming departure from the traditional policy of continental confinement, so as to extend American influence, conjointly with that of European powers, far across the Pacific.

During this administration, Oklahoma Territory was opened up to settlement (March 22nd, 1889) and seven new states were admitted to the Union. North Dakota and South Dakota were proclaimed states by the president November 3rd, 1889; Montana, November 8th, and Washington, November 11th, of the same year; likewise Wyoming, July 10th, 1890, and Idaho, July 3rd, 1890.

On May 31st, 1889, occurred the Johnstown flood, caused by the breaking of a dam, and as a result of which at least five thousand persons lost their lives, and property worth \$10,000,000 was utterly destroyed. October 2nd, 1889, representatives of the leading governments of Central and South America, together with the republic of Mexico, met representatives chosen by the United States in the so-called Pan-American congress held at Washington. The object of the congress was to bring the three Americas into a closer union for purposes of trade and of mutual advantage.

The revolution that occurred in Chili during the autumn of 1891 was the indirect cause of a controversy between that country and the United States. One act after another following the revolution finally led to an attack, October 16th, upon United States sailors who had landed at Valparaiso from the United States ship *Baltimore*. As a result, two United States sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. A suitable apology was not exacted from Chili until after the United States government had issued a practical ultimatum demanding one, and fortifying it by most ominous preparations for war.

The republicans, meeting at Minneapolis in June, 1892, nominated Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid for president and vice-president respectively. The democrats, meeting at Chicago in the same month, nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson. The republican party affirmed protection linked with reciprocity as the true tariff creed. Cleveland swept the country with an unexpectedly large electoral and popular vote. For the first time since 1861 the republicans lost control of the executive and both branches of congress. The most striking feature of the elections was the great losses of the republicans in the West.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1893-1897 A.D.)

"On the 4th of March, 1893, for the first time in the history, a president returned to the White House which he had once vacated, to resume official authority and succeed his own successor. Cleveland's new inaugural address was in a serious strain, as though foreboding the business distress of the country now near at hand, and his own doubts about uniting upon a judicious line of policy the new and incongruous elements that had borne him back to power."¹

On the 4th of July, 1894, the republic of Hawaii, named from one of the Sandwich Islands, was established. It was modelled on the government of the United States, and President Cleveland formally recognised it as a "free, sovereign, and independent republic." This was not done, however, until

¹ James Schouler, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th edition), Vol. XXXIII, article on "United States," p. 592.

after an interesting chapter in the diplomatic history had nearly closed. In 1893 a part of the inhabitants of Hawaii had risen in revolt against an attempt of their queen, Liliuokalani, to promulgate a new constitution obviously for the purpose of increasing her power in the government. The revolution was successful, and the provisional government established was immediately recognised by the United States minister, Mr. Stevens. Commissioners were sent to Washington to apply for annexation, and on the 16th of February, 1893, President Harrison sent a message to the senate, submitting an annexation treaty and recommending its ratification. Meantime, the United States minister at Honolulu, on the 9th of February, acting without instructions, had established a protectorate over the islands. While the treaty was pending, Mr. Cleveland became president, and one of his first acts after inauguration was the withdrawal of the treaty from consideration by the senate. The president then despatched a commissioner, Mr. Blount, to the Hawaiian Islands to examine and report upon the circumstances attending the change of government. The report of the commissioner and the decision of the president, as given in the latter's message to congress, December 18th, 1893, was that "the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. I mistake the American people if they favour the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one; and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory." The president offered to use his best efforts to restore the *status quo* if a general amnesty would be granted to the supporters of the provisional government and the past buried. This the queen refused to do, and the provisional government continued in power, promulgating a republican constitution, July 24th, 1894.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was not accomplished until the administration of President McKinley. Their annexation was then urged by Captain Mahan and other naval men, who held that they were needed as a military base of defence and of naval operations in the Pacific. June 16th, 1897, the president transmitted to congress a new treaty providing for the annexation of the islands. The opposition to the treaty was so strong that in all probability the plan would have failed had the war with Spain not rendered the islands doubly desirable from a military and naval standpoint. A joint resolution to accept the offered cession was therefore carried through congress, and was approved by the President on the 7th of July, 1898.

December 17th, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to congress relating to the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, that startled the country. Preceding this message, the government had been engaged in an extensive correspondence with the government of Great Britain relative to a peaceful settlement of the whole difficulty. But the correspondence had come to naught, the British government having refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. The president's message was peremptory and threatening, and congress supported it with alacrity. Pursuant to the president's suggestion that a commission be appointed to ascertain the "true divisional line" between Venezuela and British Guiana, congress, December 20th, passed an act authorising the appointment of such a commission and appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of its work. Fortunately, the president's message did not provoke the same warlike feeling in England that it

[1895 A.D.]

did in the United States, and even in the latter country the bellicose spirit was soon superseded by a desire for arbitration. The president appointed a commission of five, which, after organisation, at once addressed a letter to the secretary of state suggesting a friendly intimation to the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela that their assistance and co-operation would be welcome in securing evidence. The British government met the overture in a friendly manner. However, before the labours of the commission were completed, the governments of the United States and Great Britain had already come to a practical understanding. After much preliminary correspondence, on the 2nd of February, 1897, a treaty between the two countries was signed at Washington embodying an agreement to arbitrate the dispute. The tribunal was to consist of five jurists: two on the part of Great Britain, two on the part of Venezuela, and the fifth to be selected by the other four. The first four were provided for in the treaty—the two representing Venezuela being justices of the supreme court of the United States. The tribunal met in Paris on the 15th of June, 1899, and on the 3rd of October of the same year rendered what is said to have been a unanimous decision. It was in the main favourable to the contention of Venezuela.

The victory of the democrats in the twenty-seventh presidential election led to a revision of the tariff, only four years after the embodiment of the extremest doctrine of protection in the McKinley Act. In 1894 the democratic members of the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill which, when finally enacted into a law, became known as the Wilson Bill. The senate, however, raised the duties somewhat and restored many specific duties. After a long and bitter struggle in conference between the two houses, the senate bill was finally accepted unchanged on the 13th of July, 1894. The president refused to sign the bill, but permitted it to become a law without his signature. In general, this tariff made but one important change—the placing of wool upon the free list.

By the summer of 1893 the country's financial condition had become so critical that on June 5th the president declared his purpose to call an extra session of congress to meet in the first half of September. "Hard times" had come to multitudes of people. There had been a money panic in the spring of the year, and it had been followed by many disastrous failures. Mr. Cleveland's message to congress, August 8th, embodied an exposition of what he considered to be the evils of the Sherman Act of 1890, and concluded with an earnest recommendation that its purchase clause be immediately repealed. The repeal measure was carried. This put a stop to further buying of great quantities of silver, and checked the making of silver dollars. Then a slow recovery of business confidence began, which was much retarded and disturbed, however, by the uncertainty of congressional action on tariff and currency questions.

On the 28th of January, 1895, President Cleveland, in a special message to congress, renewed his appeal which he had made at the opening of the session for legislation to correct the mischievous working of the existing currency system. But his suggestion was not acted upon by congress. The silver interests were too strong, and the government was forced to make a new issue of bonds under the old act for the replenishing of its gold reserve and the maintenance of its financial credit. In every instance, the issuance of bonds was condemned by the opponents of the administration.

The industrial disturbances throughout the country continued but little unabated. In the spring of 1894 (March 25th), a horse-dealer, named Coxey, led an "army" of the unemployed from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, to

demand relief from the government. The movement was imitated in other parts of the country, and soon other "armies" began their march from the Pacific states, from Texas, and from Massachusetts. A more motley gathering had never taken place in the history of the country. In all, these "armies" were made up of five or six thousand persons and were composed of honest men seeking work, of tramps and criminals seeking to avoid work, and of younger men looking for fun and excitement. Coxey and a few of his men (about 350) succeeded in reaching Washington by May 1st, where Coxey was merely arrested for walking on the grass in the White House grounds. Having accomplished nothing, his "army" was soon disbanded.

The movement, however, was very significant of the unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of industrial affairs. It was followed shortly afterwards by a strike of some four thousand workmen employed in the car shops of the Pullman Company, at the town of Pullman, near Chicago. Acts of violence now followed, and the interruption of the United States mails brought the strikers within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. The leaders of the strike were indicted and placed under arrest, and President Cleveland made known his intention to protect the mails and keep interstate commerce open. His proclamation to this effect was supported by the despatch of United States troops to Chicago and to places in California. The leaders of the American Railway Union attempted to precipitate a strike in all departments of industry throughout the country, but were unsuccessful. The Pullman strike came to an end practically by the 15th of July.

At the beginning of these industrial disturbances and right in the midst of them, two expositions of international importance were held. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened by the president in the spring of 1893, and the Cotton States and International Exhibition in the autumn of 1895. The former was held at Chicago and the latter at Atlanta. The World's Fair was a success in every respect except financially. The exhibition at Atlanta illustrated most aptly the wonderful progress made by the South since the Civil War. An act of congress approved by the president on the 31st of March, 1896, fittingly closed the period of "reconstruction." It provided for the removal of the disabilities placed upon Southern leaders as a result of their participation in the Civil War.

January 4th, 1896, upon proclamation of the president, Utah was admitted as a state after its citizens had adopted a constitution forever prohibiting polygamous or plural marriages.

The agitation for monetary reforms on the part of the financial leaders of the country, during the summer and autumn of 1896, and the counter agitation to force the unlimited coinage of silver on equal terms with gold, were clearly indicative of the direction the presidential campaign was to take. The free-silver propaganda was pushed by influential men in both parties. But, shortly, a financial policy began to crystallise around each of the two parties. Southern and Western influences carried the democratic party into advocacy of free silver, while Eastern and Central Western influences controlled the republican party in the interests of a gold standard. The republican national convention was held at St. Louis in June and nominated William McKinley, ex-governor of Ohio, for president on the first ballot. The democratic convention met at Chicago in July and resulted in the unexpected nomination for the presidency of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, one of the leaders of the free-silver democracy of the West. The money question caused a split in both of these parties. The campaign was one of the most remarkable in many respects that the country had ever passed through.

[1897-1898 A.D.]

Never in any former political contest were the questions involved discussed with more heat. McKinley won, however, receiving 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF McKINLEY (1897-1901 A.D.)

President McKinley called congress together in extra session on the 15th of March, and asked for immediate action to increase the revenue of the government by increased duties. In response to this demand, congress passed the Dingley Tariff Bill, which became a law July 7th, 1897. The restoration of the duties on wool was the salient feature in the Dingley Act. In addition to wool, certain other raw materials, which the Wilson tariff of 1894 admitted free, were subjected to duties. Furthermore, the policy of reciprocity was not only revived, but its scope was even enlarged.

In his annual message to congress at the opening of the session in December, 1896, President Cleveland called attention to the unhappy state of Cuba. "The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained."

When the liberal party came into power at Madrid with Sagasta at its head, Weyler was recalled and General Blanco put in his place. Furthermore, a new constitution was announced which gave the colony what seemed to be a fairly autonomous government under a parliament of its own. This constitution was not given a fair trial, for it had come too late for a test of its practicability. General Fitzhugh Lee, consul-general of the United States at Havana, said of it that it was "an elaborate system of 'home rule' with a string to every sentence."

On the 14th of December, 1897, and 8th of January, 1898, General Lee made reports to the department of state upon the condition of the *reconcentrados*, that stirred up public opinion throughout the United States to a high state of excitement. This feeling had been growing in intensity for months past and continuously threatened a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Such was the state of affairs when suddenly a crisis was precipitated on the morning of the 15th of February, 1898, by news that the United States battle-ship *Maine*, while paying a visit of courtesy to the harbour of Havana, had been totally destroyed on the previous evening by an explosion which killed most of her crew.

The United States appointed a naval court of inquiry to make an investigation, as did likewise the Spanish government. The former court reported that "the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish naval board of inquiry reported that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself. The Spanish government then urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations. The United States declined to accept this proposal.

The tension between the United States and Spain now approached the

breaking point. On the 11th of April President McKinley addressed a special message to congress, setting forth the unsatisfactory results of the negotiations with Spain, and declaring that "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests, which gives us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop." The message closed with a request that the president be authorised to take means for securing a "full and final termination of hostilities" in the oppressed island.¹

After a brief contest between the two houses over the method of procedure to carry out the suggestion of the president, a joint resolution was passed April 18th, declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent." The resolution demanded, furthermore, that Spain should withdraw absolutely from Cuba, and the president was directed to use the military and naval force of the United States to make the resolution effective. In addition, the resolution disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States to assume in any way, except for pacification, jurisdiction over Cuba; and furthermore declared its intention to "leave the government and control of the island to its people."²

Following out a suggestion of the president in a message, April 25th, congress adopted a joint resolution on the same day declaring "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain."

At the outbreak of the war the regular army of the United States numbered but 28,000 officers and men. Under an authority of congress, this was shortly increased to 2,191 officers and nearly 42,000 men. At the same time a volunteer army was speedily raised. The president issued a proclamation on April 23rd, calling for 125,000 volunteers; and another proclamation on May 25th, calling for 75,000 more. Before the end of May 118,580 of these volunteers had been mustered in, and later were assembled in various camps and prepared for service in a more or less hurried manner. Among the volunteer regiments organised, one known as that of the Rough Riders greatly excited public interest. The command of one of the proposed three regiments of rough riders was offered to Theodore Roosevelt (then assistant secretary of the navy), who had some knowledge of ranch life. Roosevelt promptly declined the honour, however, on the score that his military experience was insufficient to warrant him in taking command of a regiment. He asked for and received, however, the second place in the regiment commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood.

On the 21st of April a blockade of Cuban ports was ordered under the command of Admiral William T. Sampson. Likewise, Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to organise a "flying squadron" of fast, armed steamers at Fortress Monroe. While these preparations were being made in the West, plans were being perfected for a successful attack upon Spain's colonial possessions in the Far East. The president had ordered Commodore George Dewey, who was in command of the United States Asiatic squadron at Hong-Kong, to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and "capture or destroy" the Spanish squadron which guarded that fort. The Spaniards were in no condition to resist an attack, and on May 1st, 1898, Dewey was able to report the total destruction of the Spanish squadron without the loss of a man on the American fleet.

¹ *Congressional Record*, April 11th, 1898.

² *Congressional Record*, April 18th, 1898.



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THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

(From the painting by Prof. Albert W. Holden)

[1898 A.D.]

Upon the opening of hostilities, a Spanish squadron of four armoured cruisers and some smaller vessels was assembled at the Cape Verde Islands under the command of Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera. Being in Portuguese waters, the fleet was compelled to set sail after a proclamation of neutrality was issued by Portugal on the 29th of April. After causing the American people considerable anxiety of mind as to its ultimate destination, the fleet put in at Santiago de Cuba. May 29th a blockade of that port was established by the American fleet, inasmuch as it was found impracticable to attack the fleet within the harbour. Some weeks later (June 22nd-24th) the American troops under General Shafter disembarked at Daiquiri and advanced to Siboney. Their forces were to co-operate with the naval forces in operations for the capture of Santiago de Cuba. After a series of sharp skirmishes on the 1st and 2nd of July, the Americans succeeded in capturing the steep heights of El Caney and San Juan which overlooked the city of Santiago. In the mean time, while Admiral Sampson and General Shafter were in consultation about making an attack on the city, Commodore Schley, of the flagship *Brooklyn*, and the commanders of the other vessels of the fleet, guarded the entrance to the harbour of the city. Not long after the departure of Admiral Sampson, for the conference with General Shafter on the morning of July 3rd, Admiral Cervera made a desperate attempt to save his squadron by escaping to sea. But the attempt was futile—the whole squadron being destroyed and Cervera himself captured. These two naval victories—Manila and Santiago—effectually eliminated Spain as a sea-power.

July 17th the Spanish commander of Santiago de Cuba formally surrendered the city and the district to General Shafter. With the fall of Santiago the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. This duty was intrusted to General Miles, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in his possession. On the 13th of this same month the city of Manila passed into the hands of the United States forces in co-operation with the Philippine insurgents. It was not until the 16th of August that a cablegram reached Manila containing the text of the president's proclamation directing a cessation of hostilities. August 12th the secretary of state of the United States and the French ambassador had signed a protocol preliminary to the drawing up of a treaty of peace bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Correspondence leading to this issue had begun as early as July 26th. A discussion between the Spanish and American commissioners at Paris, based upon the provisions of the protocol, was prolonged until the 10th of December, 1898, when the former yielded to what they protested against as hard terms, and the treaty of peace was signed. By the terms of the treaty Spain (1) relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; (2) she ceded Porto Rico and other islands under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and likewise the island of Guahan, or Guam, in the Ladrões; and finally (3) she ceded the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands for a consideration of \$20,000,000. The United States, in turn, agreed to admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States for a period of ten years.

There developed considerable opposition to the ratification of the treaty in the senate by reason of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. While this discussion was going on, the insurgent forces at Manila attacked the United States forces under General Otis and Rear-Admiral Dewey. The Filipinos were driven back, however, with great loss. This was the beginning

of a somewhat intermittent struggle of the Philippine insurgents against the establishment of the authority of the United States government in the archipelago. It practically disappeared, however, upon the capture of the insurgent leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, in the spring of 1901. The day after the beginning of this insurrection, that is, February 6th, 1899, the senate ratified the treaty by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. By its terms the United States was left the guardian of Cuba until the people of that island were in a position to establish a government of their own.

The direct cost of the war with Spain was about \$130,000,000, while the indirect cost would undoubtedly foot up a vastly larger sum.

The conduct of the war department was criticised severely. Charges of the ill effects of administrative "red tape," politics, and positive inefficiency led to the appointment by the president, in September, 1898, of an investigating commission. The report of this commission, made in the following February, could not be described as entirely satisfactory to the country at large.

The three great results of the Spanish War, in so far as the United States is concerned, might be summarised as follows: (1) embarkation upon a policy of colonisation; (2) entrance upon the career of a world-wide power; (3) a greater unification of the different sections of the United States. The close of the war made it possible for the United States to take up for consideration other matters of international importance. In the spring of 1899 the United States sent commissioners to The Hague to meet representatives from other nations for the purpose of electing a tribunal for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. The Hague Peace Conference Treaty was drawn up and later was ratified by the senate of the United States. Near the end of the same year the joint control of the Samoan Islands by Germany, England, and the United States came to an end and the islands were partitioned between the three countries. Probably the most important negotiations of all were those leading to the signature of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of an isthmian canal. The treaty was amended by the senate in so radical a manner that the British government, early in March, 1901, was compelled to reject it. Later, however, a satisfactory treaty was agreed upon.

Legislation leading to the establishment of the monetary system of the country upon a sound basis was secured March 14th, 1900, when the Financial Bill became a law. This bill had for its object "the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining at a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States." It affirmed that "the unit of value is the dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine," and made it the duty of the secretary of the treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard.¹

Before the close of this administration congress provided (1900) a government for the people of Porto Rico. Late in the spring of 1901 the power of congress to deal as it sees fit with the colonies was sustained by a decision of the supreme court of the United States. At the same time congress authorised the president to leave the control of Cuba to its people provided they agreed to certain conditions. Among these conditions were that the Cubans should maintain their right of independence, and that they should recognise the right of the United States to preserve that independence, if necessary; and also to protect life, property, and individual liberty in that island. These

¹ *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1900, pp. 72, 73.

[1900-1901 A.D.]

conditions were accepted, and on May 20th, 1902, the United States formally recognized the new republic of Cuba.

The census taken in 1900 revealed a population in the states, territories (including Hawaii), Indian reservations, and Alaska, of 76,303,387, which the population of the insular possessions not incorporated in the United States increased to about 85,271,730. The wealth of the country was estimated at \$94,300,000,000.

In the presidential campaign of 1900 the platform adopted by the republican convention, which met at Philadelphia on the 19th of June, declared in favour of the gold standard and defended the American policy in the Philippines as the only one which could honourably have been followed; while the platform adopted by the democratic convention, which met at Kansas City on the 4th of July, reiterated the demand of 1896 for the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, but put forward the question of expansion, or "imperialism," as "the paramount issue of the campaign." For their candidates the republicans nominated President William McKinley for re-election and Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, for vice-president; the democrats selected William J. Bryan for president and Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president. When the election came, it resulted in republican success; for, though many republicans, among them ex-President Harrison, Senator Hoar, and Mr. Thomas B. Reed, were dissatisfied with the administration's course towards the Philippines, while others deplored its tenderness towards certain financial interests, most of them were prevented by their distrust of Mr. Bryan's free-silver ideas from joining with the Democrats. About fourteen million votes were cast, of which McKinley received 7,214,027, and Bryan 6,342,514. The former's electoral vote was 292, while the latter's was but 155.

ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

But President McKinley was not destined to fill out many months of his new term of office. In the spring of 1901 the Pan-American Exposition had been opened at Buffalo. It differed from other expositions in that it was especially designed to show the progress made by the nations of North, South, and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. In addition to this, it had a distinct purpose to unite all the nations of the three Americas in closer commercial intercourse for their common benefit. President McKinley visited the exposition in September and gave expression to this latter sentiment. The day after his address, on Friday afternoon, September 6th, the president gave a public reception in the music-hall of the exposition. It was at this reception, while shaking hands with the people, that the president was shot twice by a young anarchist named Leon F. Czolgosz. Mr. McKinley lingered about a week, and died early on Saturday morning, September 14th. Under the provisions of the constitution, Mr. Roosevelt became president.

The new president brought to the duties of his office one of the most forceful and compelling personalities that has yet appeared in American public life. Although the youngest man who had ever occupied the presidential chair, his experience had been both long and varied. Soon after his graduation from Harvard he entered the New York legislature, where, despite his youth, he gained a high reputation as a leader of the reform forces. From 1884 to 1886 he lived on a ranch in western Dakota, and there acquired a knowledge of the men of the frontier which he was later to put to novel use. In 1886

he was an unsuccessful candidate on the republican ticket for mayor of New York; from 1889 to 1895 served with much credit on the United States civil service commission; and from 1895 to 1897 displayed great energy as president of the New York City police commission. Mr. Roosevelt was also a frequent contributor to the magazines; while by works on *The Naval War of 1812*, *The Winning of the West*, and other subjects he gained a prominent place among American historians. In 1897 he became assistant secretary of the navy; and foreseeing that a war with Spain was inevitable, he did much to prepare our navy for the splendid work which it accomplished. Upon the outbreak of the war he and his friend Dr. Leonard Wood organised, as already related, a volunteer regiment composed of cowboys, Indians, frontiersmen, football players, and other adventurous spirits; and when Wood was promoted to a brigadier-generalcy, Roosevelt took chief command. The regiment displayed remarkable fighting qualities in the campaign against Santiago, and went down to history as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Upon his return home Colonel Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. In 1900 his extraordinary popularity with the people of the country and the intrigues of certain politicians who wished to "shelve" him combined to make him against his will the republican nominee for the vice-presidency.

Upon his unexpected succession to the presidency Mr. Roosevelt retained the cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policy. In the summer and autumn of the following year a great strike paralyzed the anthracite coal industry of the country and brought much suffering to those who were dependent upon coal for fuel, but through the activity of the president the differences between the miners and their employers were finally arbitrated by a commission selected by him. In the same year suit was brought by his order against the Northern Securities Company, a corporation which had been formed with the object of uniting the Great Northern and Pacific railroads in such a way as to control transportation in the northwest and eliminate all competition. The contention on which the suit was based was that this merger amounted to a restraint of interstate trade as forbidden by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; this contention was sustained by the circuit court of appeals at St. Paul in April, 1903, and, upon appeal, by the supreme court in March, 1904. The outcome is believed to have prevented the formation of other similar companies and to have exercised a salutary effect upon financial circles. In 1903 the long standing controversy over the boundary line between Canada and Alaska was settled in favour of the United States; the same year saw the establishment of a department of commerce and labour; and in 1904 occurred at St. Louis a great exposition commemorative of the purchase of Louisiana.

By far the most important act of the administration, however, consisted in bringing to a head the long meditated plan for an Isthmian canal. After the abrogation, as already described, of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a treaty was negotiated with Colombia for the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama; but the Colombian congress refused to ratify it. Angered by this refusal, the people of the Isthmus in November, 1903, set up the independent state of Panama; their independence was at once recognized by the president, and a favourable treaty was made with the new state. By this treaty the United States secured perpetual control over a strip ten miles wide across the Isthmus as well as other privileges; while in return it agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama and to pay \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 yearly after the expiration of nine years. The French company's

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works and rights on the Isthmus were also bought for \$40,000,000; and further measures were taken for making the canal a reality.

As election-time drew near it became apparent that Mr. Roosevelt would be the republican nominee. Although his independent course had rendered him unsatisfactory to many politicians, and although, by insisting upon a "square deal" for the negro as well as for the white man, he had aroused a storm of criticism in the South, he had nevertheless won the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. At the republican convention in Chicago in June, he was nominated by acclamation. As nominee for vice-president, the convention chose Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. In the democratic convention at St. Louis in July, a bitter struggle between the radical and the conservative elements resulted in a victory for the latter, and the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, and for vice-president, ex-senator Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia. The platform adopted evaded the silver issue, but upon the news of his nomination Judge Parker telegraphed the convention that he considered the gold standard irrevocably established. Mr. Roosevelt swept the entire North, as well as West Virginia and Missouri, and received one electoral vote in Maryland; of the popular vote he received a plurality of 2,512,417 and received 338 electoral votes against 140 for Parker.

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

On the 1st of July, 1905, occurred the death of the secretary of state, Mr. John Hay, who had gained an eminent position in diplomacy, notably by maintaining the "open door" in China. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Mr. Elihu Root, from 1899 to 1904 secretary of war. In the same summer the president induced Russia and Japan to send representatives to a peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which brought the struggle in the far East to an end. The year was made noteworthy in a less honorable way by the disclosure of grave scandals in the management of the great life insurance companies.

In his message to Congress of December, 1904, the president recommended legislation to secure Federal control over great corporations carrying on interstate trade, and particularly Federal regulation of freight rates to destroy the rebate evil. No legislation on these matters was secured, and these recommendations were reiterated in the message of December, 1905.

On April 17th, 1906, there were repeated and terrific earthquake shocks along the Pacific coast, the maximum severity and mortality centering in San Francisco and its suburbs. In the city fire broke out immediately, was carried this way and that by the wind, and could be checked neither by the utterly inadequate supply of water nor by the liberal use of dynamite. In the greater part of the city only a few buildings, mostly of modern fire-proof, steel-frame construction, were left standing. The lives lost numbered hundreds, and shelter, provision, and clothing were for a short time almost absolutely lacking; but owing to the energy displayed by the authorities and others, and to the fact that many thousands were transported to surrounding towns, free of charge, the suffering was less than might have been expected from the severity of the disaster. The work of the War Department in the city was admirable and the entire country gave promptly and generously. Plans for rebuilding were speedily undertaken.

The fifty-ninth congress, which met for the first time on December 4th, 1905, proved one of the most important for many years. In the long session, largely as a result of the efforts of President Roosevelt, a more stringent railroad-rate act, an act providing for federal inspection of meat intended for interstate trade, a pure-food act, a national quarantine act, a new and more stringent naturalization act, an immunity act, making it easier for the government to obtain information of violations of law by corporations, and a joint-statehood bill providing for the admission of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory jointly, and for the admission of New Mexico and Arizona jointly in case each, voting separately, gave a majority in favor of such admission, were passed. Oklahoma became a state in 1907, but as Arizona voted against admission with New Mexico, these two remain territories. The short session, which closed on March 3d, 1907, was devoted to more purely routine matters, but a currency bill enlarging the monthly limit of banknote retirement, a bill forbidding campaign contributions by corporations, and a bill giving the government in criminal cases the right of appeal on points of law, were passed. The total amount of money appropriated during the two sessions was about \$1,800,000, or more than was expended by all the first thirty-five congresses.

This activity in federal legislation coincided with a campaign conducted by both the national government and by many of the states against the illegal acts and dangerous tendencies displayed by trusts, railways, and other great corporations. The Standard Oil Company, one of the chief offenders against the anti-rebate laws, was in August, 1907, fined \$29,240,000 by a Federal judge. The case was appealed. Investigations made by the interstate commerce commission and the department of commerce and labor brought to light some startling disclosures concerning the management of such companies. These disclosures were instrumental in forwarding radical railroad legislation in many states both for controlling the management of the railroads and for the purpose of lowering the rate of fare. The attempt to enforce such legislation was attended by conflicts between the federal courts and the states of North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; while the manifest intention of the president to secure still further federal control over great industrial undertakings resulted in a recrudescence of states rights.

The country, in the main, had been exceedingly prosperous; but the above-mentioned disclosures of dishonesty in the management of great undertakings, joined with the undue inflation of business, resulted in October, 1907, in a serious financial crisis, which forced the suspension of some banks and seriously embarrassed many others. To relieve the monetary shortage tens of millions in gold were imported from abroad, while the federal government also went to the assistance of the money market.

In the field of international politics numerous events have occurred that are worthy of record. The United States was represented in the conference at Algeciras over the Morocco question, and, though the American delegates refrained from voting, they had an honourable and influential part in the proceedings. Representatives of the United States also played a leading part in the third Pan-American Conference at Rio Janeiro in the summer of 1906. In August, 1907, an agreement was concluded with Great Britain to submit the Newfoundland fisheries question to arbitration at The Hague. On June 1st of the same year the president announced the conclusion of a commercial agreement with Germany under section three of the Dingley act providing for reciprocal concessions; in September a somewhat similar agreement was concluded with the Netherlands. On July 25th the president proclaimed the final ratification of a long-pending treaty with San Domingo which gives the United

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States control over the Dominican customs houses and the administration of the customs revenues.

Our relations with Cuba and with Japan have attracted much greater attention. In the middle of August, 1906, a rebellion broke out in Cuba, and President Palma, after vainly trying to suppress it, asked the United States to intervene under the terms of the Platt amendment. After some delay President Roosevelt sent Secretary of War Taft and Acting-Secretary of State Bacon to the island to investigate. After many propositions for a peaceful settlement had been considered without avail, President Palma and Vice-President Capote brought matters to a crisis by resigning, whereupon, acting under instructions from Washington, Mr. Taft issued a proclamation taking temporary control of the island under authority of the United States, with the declared purpose of restoring order, protecting life and property, and establishing permanent peace. Marines were landed; a force of six thousand regulars were sent to the island; the insurgents were disarmed; and Charles E. Magoon, lately governor of the Panama Canal Zone, was appointed provisional governor. No new elections have yet been held, but February 1, 1909, was fixed upon as the date for the American withdrawal.

The trouble with Japan in its possibilities was yet more serious. In 1906 the school board of San Francisco excluded Japanese from entering the schools in that city attended by white children. In October the Japanese government protested against the measure, and President Roosevelt sent a member of the cabinet to investigate the situation. He reported that the board had been influenced in its action by the hostility of white labourers toward the Japanese and by the unscrupulous fermenting of race hatred by certain newspapers. It was urged in justification of the board that their chief motive was to prevent adult Japanese from attending schools with small white children, but the cabinet officer found that there had been but 93 Japanese pupils in all, that only a few of these were grown up, and that none was over twenty years of age. He also reported that a boycott had been instituted against Japanese restaurants and that a number of Japanese had been wantonly assaulted. Suit was brought in a federal court to compel the school board to reinstate the children, but as the authority of the federal government in the matter was doubtful, the president, realizing the gravity of the situation, invited the mayor and members of the San Francisco school board to visit Washington and confer with him on the subject. An agreement was finally reached to the effect that the board would rescind its order in case steps were taken to prevent the further introduction of Japanese labourers into the country. Accordingly congress added to the immigration bill then pending an amendment giving the president power to refuse to allow aliens to enter the continental territory of the United States from foreign countries to which they had passports or from the insular possessions or the Panama Canal Zone. After the bill was passed the president issued such an order to apply to Japanese and Koreans, and the board withdrew the order segregating the Japanese pupils. Negotiations were also entered into with Japan looking to inducing that government to prevent coolie immigration to the United States, but occasional race conflicts on the Pacific coast and the feeling that had been aroused in Japan kept the trouble alive. The situation was eagerly exploited by the sensational press of both countries, and in June and July, 1907, there were continued reports of impending war, which found echo in the European press. Much excitement was also aroused by the announcement that the United States would later in the year send a great fleet to the Pacific, but the American government denied that the transfer was to be in any way considered as a hostile move. Violent anti-

Japanese riots in Vancouver greatly lessened the tension by showing the Japanese that hostility to their labourers was not confined to the United States. In September Secretary Taft visited Japan, and it was officially stated that negotiations designed to place the race question on a more satisfactory basis were in progress. In the middle of December the American fleet sailed from Hampton Roads for the Pacific. The event did not create any particular uneasiness in the United States, though prophecies of a conflict were indulged in by the European press. Shortly before the fleet sailed the announcement that the Japanese ambassador, Viscount Aoki, had been recalled gave rise to considerable speculation, but it was soon learned that Baron Kogoro Takahira, former minister, was to succeed him. During the early part of 1908 the fleet visited various South American seaports, and the sailors were entertained with great cordiality by officials and residents.

The congressional elections of 1906 were favorable to the Republicans, though their majority in the house of representatives was considerably diminished. They also managed, in general, to hold their own in the local elections of 1907, and in Kentucky elected their candidate for governor.

The new congress, the sixtieth, met for the first time in December, 1907. In his annual message, the president reiterated numerous recommendations made in former messages. Among new recommendations, he urged the passage of a national incorporation act licensing railway companies to engage in interstate commerce and giving the interstate commerce commission power to pass upon the future issue of securities. He also urged the regulation and control by the national government of great industrial corporations and combinations. Much interest was displayed in congress in the financial situation, and many bills intended to give relief were introduced. One of the most important of these proposes to allow national banks to issue large amounts of notes on the security of bonds other than those of the national government.

The other noteworthy events of the past two years can be related in a few words. In August, 1905, negro troops stationed at Fort Ringgold, Texas, "shot up" the town of Brownsville, killing one man and wounding another. As it was impossible to discover the guilty men and as those who had not participated in the outrage persisted in shielding those who did, the president dismissed the whole battalion from the service. Strong efforts were made by the president's enemies to make political capital out of the matter, Senator Foraker of Ohio, a leader of the conservative wing of the Republican party, being especially active in this respect. It has been decided that the canal at Panama shall be of the lock type; such a canal can be built at less cost and in a shorter time. Many difficulties have been encountered, but the work is now proceeding rapidly. On October 16th, 1907, Secretary Taft opened the first elected Philippines legislature at Manila and held out the hope of ultimate independence. In his opinion the time for such independence is, however, far distant. Disclosures of corruption in the affairs of San Francisco resulted in the arrest and conviction of Mayor Schmitz, "Boss" Ruef, and others. In March, 1907, the president announced the appointment of an inland waterways commission, and in a later tour of inspection down the Mississippi made numerous speeches in favor of deepening rivers and constructing docks, harbours, and other such improvements as would advance inland navigation. In 1907 wireless telegraphy had been so far perfected that a transatlantic service was installed. Early in the same year the president added nineteen million acres to the national forest reserves, and later in the year issued a call for a meeting of

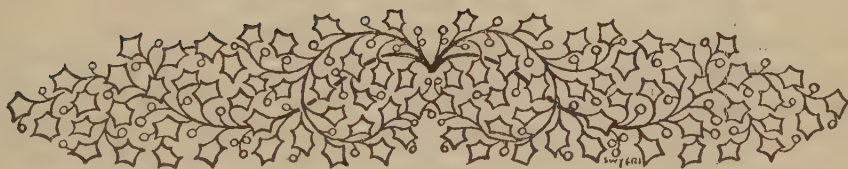
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governors of the states to consider the question of how to conserve the natural resources of the country. The invitation was generally accepted. It is to be hoped that some good results will come of the meeting, for the wasting of natural resources is one of the most lamentable features of American life.

The ever-present controversy between the line and the staff in the army and navy became acute during the latter part of 1907 and the early part of 1908. Great popular interest was awakened in the subject by the resignation of Rear-Admiral Brownson, chief of the Bureau of Navigation, after forty-three years of service, following an unavailing protest to the president against the appointment of a medical officer, without active experience or training in the naval service, to the command of a hospital ship.

On January 28, 1908, a new tariff agreement between France and the United States was signed at Washington by Secretary Root, on behalf of the president, and by Ambassador Jusserand, on the part of France. The most important feature of the agreement was the abatement of 20 per cent. on the duty on champagnes imported into the United States, in return for which France agreed to impose only her minimum rates of duty on mineral oils and Porto Rican coffee. The agreement went into effect on February 1.^a

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CHAPTER XI. THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865.

Written for the present work by FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES.

The Reference to Authorities will be found in the footnotes.



A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (986-1904 A.D.)

DISCOVERIES

- 986 Bjarni Herjulfson, sailing south from Greenland, sights the coast of Vinland, but does not land.
- 1000 Leif Ericson discovers Helluland (possibly Newfoundland); Markland (Nova Scotia) and Vinland (Nantucket).
- 1005 Thorvald Ericson coasts along Cape Cod and dies in Boston harbour.
- 1007-1009 Thorfinn establishes colony in Vinland.
- 1011 Colony destroyed by Indians.
- 1492 Columbus lands on Guanahani, one of the Bahama islands; discovers Cuba and Hayti, and establishes colony in Hayti.
- 1493 Columbus on second voyage discovers Lesser Antilles and Jamaica.
- 1497 John and perhaps Sebastian Cabot discover Newfoundland and explore coast to the south.
- 1498 Sebastian Cabot sails along the coast from Maine to Cape Hatteras.
- 1500 Cabral discovers Brazil.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, discovers the river St. Lawrence.
- 1501-1502 Portuguese explore coast from Florida to Cape Cod.
- 1502 Last voyage of Columbus. He discovers bay of Honduras, Veragua and Porto Bello.
- 1504 French fishermen on banks of Newfoundland.
- 1506 Jean Denys of Honfleur examines and charts gulf of St. Lawrence. Spaniards discover Yucatan.
- 1507 The name "America" coined by Waldseemüller from Amerigo Vespucci.
- 1508 First importation of negroes to Spanish West Indies.
- 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Vasco Nuñez Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
- 1518 Juan de Grijalva sails along Mexican coast and learns of Aztec Empire.
- 1519 Alvarez Pineda explores north coast of gulf of Mexico, and perhaps discovers the Mississippi. Hernando Cortes invades Mexico, captures Montezuma. Returning to the coast he defeats Narvaez and
- 1520 returns to Mexico. War with Aztecs.
- 1521 Cortes captures city of Mexico and subdues country.
- 1522 Bermudas discovered.
- 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano sails along the coast from 34° to 50° N. discovering the Hudson River and Block Island.

- 1525 Estevan Gomez sails along coast 34° to 44° N. Cabeza de Vaca reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1527 John Rut discovers coast of Maine.
- 1528 Panfilo Narvaez leads unsuccessful expedition to Florida.
- 1534 Jacques Cartier explores gulf of St. Lawrence, and
- 1535 sails up the St. Lawrence to site of Montreal.
- 1536 Cortes discovers Lower California.
- 1539 Hernando de Soto leads expedition to Florida.
- 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado discovers cañon of the Colorado. Expedition of Cartier for colonisation of Canada. St. Lawrence river explored.
- 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovers Cape Mendocino and explores Pacific coast to 44° N. Hernando de Soto reaches the Mississippi river, explores it to mouth of the Ohio, and is buried in its waters.
- 1548 First act of English parliament regarding America. Regulation of Newfoundland fisheries.
- 1562 Admiral Coligny attempts to found a Huguenot colony near Port Royal in South Carolina. Settlement abandoned.
- 1563 John Hawkins brings three hundred slaves to West Indies.
- 1564 René de Laudonnière builds Fort Carolina on the St. John's river in Florida.
- 1565 Spaniards under Menendez de Aviles massacre garrison of Fort Carolina, build forts on St. John's river and at St. Augustine.
- 1568 Dominique de Gourgues captures Spanish forts and massacres garrisons.
- 1576-1577 Martin Frobisher attempts to discover northwest passage.
- 1578 Francis Drake reaches west coast in his voyage round the world, and claims country between 38° and 42° N. for England, under name of New Albion.
- 1580 Espejo founds Santa Fé, in New Mexico.
- 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert leads expedition to Newfoundland.
- 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh sends expedition under Amadas and Barlow to explore coast north of Spanish possessions. Landing on the island of Roanoke (Wocokon) they take possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth and call the country Virginia.
- 1585 Sir Richard Grenville leads colony of one hundred and eighty persons to Roanoke Island; who are removed in
- 1586 by Drake. Grenville returns with one hundred and seventeen new colonists in
- 1587 and founds "Borough of Raleigh in Virginia." Virginia Dare, first English child, born in America.
- 1598 French explore Acadia, and
- 1600 establish colony at Tadousac.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold discovers Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay, erects fort on Cuttyhunk (Elizabeth Island).
- 1603 Voyage of Samuel Champlain up the St. Lawrence.
- 1604 Port Royal (Annapolis) in Nova Scotia founded by the French under De Monts. Champlain discovers St. John river.
- 1606 James I issues patent dividing Virginia into two parts; (1) The First colony, embracing country from 34° to 41° N., granted to the London Company. (2) The Second colony, embracing country from 41° to 45° N., granted to the Plymouth Company.
- 1607 Foundation of Jamestown, explorations by Captain John Smith. Plymouth Company sends expedition which builds Fort St. George at mouth of Kennebec river in Maine.
- 1608 Colonists abandon settlement and return to England. Quebec founded by French colony under Champlain.
- 1609 Henry Hudson coasts from Newfoundland to Chesapeake Bay and sails up the Hudson river. Champlain defeats the Mohawks at Ticonderoga.
- 1610 English colony in Newfoundland.
- 1613 Dutch trading post established on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson or North river (so-called to distinguish it from the South or Delaware river). French colony of St. Saviour, at Mount Desert on the coast of Maine, destroyed by expedition from South Virginia under Sir Samuel Argall.
- 1614 United New Netherland Company established in Holland. Fort built at Manhattan, another, Fort Orange, near the present Albany. John Smith explores coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, names district New England.
- 1615 Voyage of Adrian Block through Long Island sound (Block Island). Change of land-tenures in South Virginia. Lake Huron discovered by Champlain.
- 1619 First General Assembly in South Virginia. Negro slaves first brought to Virginia.
- 1620 Pilgrims land at Plymouth. John Carver elected governor.

- 1621 Acadia granted to Sir William Alexander under name of Nova Scotia. Plymouth colony receives new charter. William Bradford elected governor.
- 1622 Maine granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. Settlements at Dover and Portsmouth. Indians massacre three hundred and forty-seven colonists in Virginia.
- 1624 Charter of London Company annulled. The king assumes control of colony.
- 1626 Peter Minuit founds New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.
- 1628 Salem colony established by John Endicott.
- 1629 Company of Massachusetts Bay established by charter from crown to Salem colony. John Mason receives grant of present New Hampshire. English capture Quebec.
- 1630 John Winthrop appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay Company, brings large colony to Charlestown. Settlement of Boston. First general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Alexander sells Nova Scotia patent to Huguenots.
- 1632 Maryland granted to Cecilus Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Treaty of St. Germain, ceding New France, Acadia, and Canada to France.
- 1634 First settlement in Maryland. Roger Williams expelled from Salem for heresy.
- 1635 French seize trading post at Penobscot. Death of Champlain. Charter of Plymouth colony surrendered to the crown. Connecticut colony founded. Settlements at Hartford, Saybrook, Windsor, and Wethersfield.
- 1636 Roger Williams founds Providence.
- 1637 First general court of Connecticut. War with Pequots.
- 1638 Colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven in Connecticut founded by settlers from Massachusetts. Harvard College established at Cambridge. Colony of New Sweden on the Delaware river.
- 1639 Union of Connecticut towns for separate government. The "Fundamental Orders," the first written constitution in history. Province of Maine established. First general assembly in Plymouth colony.
- 1641 Montreal settled by French under Maisonneuve.
- 1643 Formation of United Colonies of New England (Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay).
- 1644 Providence and Rhode Island colonies unite under one charter. Saybrook joins Connecticut. Indians massacre Virginia colonists.
- 1645 Clayborne rebellion in Maryland.
- 1646 John Eliot commences missionary labour among Indians at Nonantum. Peter Stuyvesant becomes governor of New Netherlands, and claims region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod.
- 1648 Petition of Rhode Island for admission to union of colonies rejected.
- 1649 Grant of land in Virginia to Lord Culpeper.
- 1650 Settlement of boundary disputes between New Netherlands and the united colonies.
- 1652 Province of Maine joined to Massachusetts. English parliament assumes control of Maryland.
- 1655 Governor Stuyvesant breaks up colony of New Sweden.
- 1658 Radisson and Groseilliers discover the Upper Mississippi.
- 1659 Virginia proclaims Charles II as king. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
- 1662 Charter of Connecticut granted. New Haven refuses to accept it. Lord Baltimore confirmed in government of Maryland.
- 1663 Grant of Carolina (31° to 36° N.) to earl of Clarendon and associates. Charter of Rhode Island and Providence plantations.
- 1664 New Netherlands granted to duke of York and Albany, including eastern Maine and islands south of Cape Cod. English capture New Amsterdam; name changed to New York. New Jersey granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Name of Fort Orange changed to Albany.
- 1665 Union of Connecticut and New Haven.
- 1666 French settlement of St. Esprit on south shore of Lake Superior.
- 1667 Treaty of Breda. Acadia surrendered to France.
- 1668 Marquette founds Sault Sainte Marie.
- 1669 Fundamental constitutions of Carolina adopted. Hudson Bay Company incorporated.
- 1670 Charleston in Carolina founded. Treaty of Madrid settles boundaries of English and Spanish possessions. La Salle perhaps visits the Mississippi.
- 1673 Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi. Dutch recapture New York and New Jersey, but by the peace of
- 1674 they are restored to the English.
- 1675 Conflicts between New York and Connecticut. King Philip's War begins.
- 1676 King Philip killed. Indians defeated. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey.
- 1677 Maine finally united to Massachusetts.
- 1678 La Salle explores lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan.
- 1680 New Hampshire receives royal charter. Hennepin reaches the Mississippi.
- 1681 William Penn receives grant of Pennsylvania, and

- 1683 makes treaty with Indians. Foundation of Philadelphia. La Salle descends the Mississippi to the gulf and calls the valley Louisiana. First legislative assembly in New York.
- 1684 Charter of Massachusetts forfeited to the crown.
- 1686 Sir Edmund Andros appointed governor of New England.
- 1687 Andros unsuccessfully attempts to secure charter of Connecticut. Death of La Salle.
- 1689 Accession of William and Mary. Andros imprisoned. Former governments reinstated. King William's War begins.
- 1690 Sir William Phips captures Port Royal.
- 1692 New charter for Massachusetts. Salem witchcraft frenzy. William and Mary College established.
- 1693 Renewed conflicts between New York and Connecticut.
- 1695 French settlement at Kaskaskia in Illinois.
- 1697 King William's War ended by Peace of Ryswick.
- 1699 French settle at Biloxi in Mississippi.
- 1700 D'Iberville claims possession of Mississippi river for France.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 Foundation of Yale College. First settlement at Detroit.
- 1702 Queen Anne's War begins. D'Iberville founds Mobile in Alabama.
- 1704 Deerfield in Massachusetts destroyed by Indians.
- 1705 French settle at Vincennes in Indiana.
- 1706 French and Spanish invade Carolina.
- 1708 Indian massacre at Haverhill in Massachusetts.
- 1710 Port Royal captured, name changed to Annapolis.
- 1713 Peace of Utrecht ends Queen Anne's War. Boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut established.
- 1715 Indian war in Carolina.
- 1718 Suppression of buccaneers in West Indies and pirates on the Carolina coast.
- 1722 Trading-house erected at Oswego.
- 1724 Indian war in New England.
- 1726 Treaties with Indians in New England and New York.
- 1728 Boundary between Virginia and Carolina established.
- 1729 Carolina divided into North and South Carolina.
- 1731 Settlement of boundary dispute between New York and Connecticut.
- 1733 James Oglethorpe establishes colony at Savannah in Georgia (the last of the thirteen colonies).
- 1738 Princeton College founded.
- 1740 Oglethorpe besieges St. Augustine.
- 1742 Spanish invade Georgia.
- 1745 Colonists under William Pepperell capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores Cape Breton to France. Ohio Company formed.
- 1752 Georgia becomes a royal colony.
- 1753 Disputes between English and French settlers in Ohio valley. George Washington sent by Virginia to remonstrate with French.
- 1754 Washington leads expedition to the Ohio, but is captured at Fort Necessity. Columbia College founded.
- 1755 French and Indian War begins. Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. Battle of Lake George. French fortify Ticonderoga.
- 1756 Montcalm captures forts at Oswego and Niagara.
- 1757 Fort William Henry captured, its garrison massacred.
- 1758 Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga, Louisburg captured. General Forbes takes Fort Duquesne, which is renamed Pittsburg.
- 1759 Wolfe defeats Montcalm in battle of the Plains of Abraham, Quebec surrenders.
- 1760 Canada surrenders to the English.
- 1761 The Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.
- 1762 Expedition against Martinique, English seize French West Indies. Capture of Havana. France cedes Louisiana and New Orleans to Spain.
- 1763 Peace of Paris. France cedes to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and all possessions east of Mississippi river except New Orleans. Spain cedes Florida to England. The conspiracy of Pontiac.
- 1764 Parliament passes the Sugar Act. Massachusetts resolves not to use British manufactures.
- 1765 Passage of the Stamp Act. Colonial congress at New York. Declaration of Rights adopted. Stamp riot in Boston and New York.
- 1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.

- 1767 Parliament imposes duties on imports to the colonies, creates custom house and commissioners for America.
- 1768 English troops sent to Boston. First settlement in Tennessee.
- 1770 Parliament removes duties on all imports but tea. The Boston massacre.
- 1771 Insurrection in North Carolina.
- 1772 Destruction of the *Gaspee*.
- 1773 Virginia assembly appoints committee on correspondence. The Boston Tea-party. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
- 1774 Boston Port Bill. General Gage appointed governor of Massachusetts. First continental congress at Philadelphia adopts "the American association." Militia organised in Massachusetts.
- 1775 Battles of Lexington and Concord. Continental congress appoints George Washington commander-in-chief of provincial forces. Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston. Georgia joins the other colonies. Montgomery captures Montreal, besieges Quebec.
- 1776 English surrender Boston. Declaration of Independence adopted. Battles of Long Island and White Plains. Washington retreats to Pennsylvania. Battle of Trenton.
- 1777 Expedition of Burgoyne. Battle of Bennington. Burgoyne defeated at Stillwater, near Saratoga, surrenders his entire force to General Gates. Colonists defeated at Brandywine and Germantown. Congress adopts articles of confederation as "The United States of America." Washington at Valley Forge.
- 1778 France recognises independence of the United States. Parliament renounces right of taxation except for regulation of trade, and unsuccessfully negotiates for the submission of the colonies. English evacuate Philadelphia, are defeated at Monmouth. Count d'Estaing arrives with French fleet and four thousand troops. Massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. English capture Savannah. John Paul Jones destroys many English ships and surprises White Haven.
- 1779 Anthony Wayne surprises and storms Stony Point. West Point fortified. John Paul Jones wins naval battle off English coast.
- 1780 English capture Charleston and subjugate South Carolina. Battle of Camden. General Rochambeau arrives with six thousand French troops. Treason of Benedict Arnold. Execution of André. English defeated at King's Mountain in North Carolina. Abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.
- 1781 Battles of Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. English retreat to Charleston. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown in Virginia.
- 1782 English evacuate Savannah and Charleston. Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris.
- 1783 Independence of the United States recognised by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and Russia. Treaty of Paris recognises the independence and establishes the boundaries of the United States. English evacuate New York.
- 1784 Temporary organisation of western territory.
- 1787 Shays's rebellion. Convention at Philadelphia formulates and adopts the constitution. Congress passes ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (slavery forbidden).
- 1788 All the states, except Rhode Island and North Carolina, accept the constitution.
- 1789 **George Washington** unanimously elected President. First congress meets at New York. Ten amendments to the constitution submitted to the states. North Carolina accepts the constitution.
- 1790 Rhode Island accepts the constitution. District of Columbia established, city of Washington laid out. Indian War in Northwest Territory. Death of Franklin.
- 1791 Vermont admitted as fourteenth state.
- 1792 United States Bank and mint established at Philadelphia. Kentucky admitted as fifteenth state. Washington reelected president.
- 1793 Fugitive Slave Act.
- 1794 Neutrality Act. Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania. Jay's Treaty concluded with England.
- 1795 Treaty with Spain secures free navigation of the Mississippi.
- 1796 Tennessee admitted as sixteenth state.
- 1797 **John Adams**, second President. War with France begins. Alien and Sedition laws.
- 1798 Eleventh amendment to the constitution adopted. Navy department organised.
- 1799 Death of Washington, Naval warfare with France.
- 1800 Congress meets at Washington for the first time.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 **Thomas Jefferson**, third president.
- 1802 Ohio admitted as seventeenth state.

- 1803 The Louisiana Purchase more than doubles original area of the United States.
- 1804 Tripolitan War. Bombardment of Tripoli. Twelfth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1805 Thomas Jefferson reelected president.
- 1806 War between England and France injures American commerce. Berlin and Milan decrees.
- 1807 English ship *Leopard* fires on frigate *Chesapeake* and reclaims alleged deserters. Embargo declared. Aaron Burr tried for treason and acquitted. Robert Fulton successfully navigates steamboat *Clermont*.
- 1808 Congress prohibits importation of slaves.
- 1809 **James Madison**, fourth president.
- 1810 Non-importation act revived as to Great Britain.
- 1812 Louisiana admitted as eighteenth state. War declared against Great Britain. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada. American navy victorious in many combats.
- 1813 Battle of Lake Erie. English blockade Atlantic ports. James Madison reelected president.
- 1814 Americans win battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. British capture Washington and burn public buildings, but are defeated at Lake Champlain and at New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent ends war, but leaves all questions unsettled. The Hartford Convention.
- 1815 Treaty with Algiers.
- 1816 Second United States Bank chartered for twenty years. Indiana admitted as nineteenth state.
- 1817 **James Monroe**, fifth president. Mississippi admitted as twentieth state. Seminole War begins.
- 1818 Illinois admitted as twenty-first state. Pensions granted to survivors of Revolutionary War.
- 1819 Treaty with Spain. The United States secures all of Florida and gives up all claim to Texas. Alabama admitted as twenty-second state.
- 1820 Maine admitted as twenty-third state. Missouri Compromise adopted. Monroe reelected president.
- 1821 Missouri admitted as twenty-fourth state.
- 1823 The Monroe Doctrine enunciated.
- 1825 **John Quincy Adams**, sixth president. Erie Canal completed. The first railroad in America built.
- 1828 Congress passes the "Tariff of Abominations."
- 1829 **Andrew Jackson** seventh president. Inauguration of the "spoils system." General protest in the southern states against the tariff laws.
- 1830 Great debate in the senate upon states-rights between Webster and Hayne.
- 1831 Organisation of the abolitionists. Settlement of the French claims.
- 1832 Congress passes new tariff act. Nullification ordinance adopted in South Carolina. President Jackson issues the Nullification Proclamation, refuting states-rights doctrine.
- 1833 Compromise tariff enacted.
- 1835 Second war with Seminole Indians begins.
- 1836 Arkansas admitted as twenty-fifth state. Texas declares its independence of Mexico.
- 1837 **Martin Van Buren**, eighth president. Michigan admitted as twenty-sixth state. Great financial crisis. Rebellion in Canada. American steamer *Caroline* burned.
- 1838-1839 Congress passes the Gag Resolutions against slavery legislation.
- 1840 United States treasury and sub-treasuries established.
- 1841 **William Henry Harrison**, ninth president. Upon his death (April 4th) **John Tyler** vice-president, succeeds as tenth president.
- 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty settles northeastern boundary question with Great Britain. Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island.
- 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse builds experimental telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore.
- 1845 **James K. Polk**, eleventh president. Florida admitted as twenty-seventh state. Texas annexed to United States and admitted as twenty-eighth state.
- 1846 The Oregon Treaty with Great Britain fixes northwestern boundary. Iowa admitted as twenty-ninth state. War with Mexico begins. General Zachary Taylor invades Mexico, wins battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and captures Monterey.
- 1847 General Winfield Scott captures Vera Cruz, wins battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco, captures fortress of Chapultepec and enters city of Mexico. Gold discovered in California.
- 1848 By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico gives up Texas and cedes to the United States New Mexico and Upper California (about 522,000 square miles). Wisconsin admitted as thirtieth state. Organisation of Free Soil party.

- 1849 **Zachary Taylor**, twelfth president, dies (July, 1850),
- 1850 and is succeeded by Millard Fillmore, vice-president, as thirteenth president. California admitted as thirty-first state. Fugitive Slave Law passed. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1853 **Franklin Pierce**, fourteenth president. Gadsden Purchase establishes Mexican boundary, adds forty-five thousand square miles to the United States. Rise of Know Nothing party.
- 1854 Commodore Perry negotiates treaty with Japan. Reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. Congress passes Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Ostend Manifesto.
- 1855-1856 "Border-ruffian" troubles in Kansas. Republican party organised.
- 1857 **James Buchanan**, fifteenth president. The Dred-Scott decision. Great financial panic.
- 1858 Minnesota admitted as thirty-second state. First Atlantic cable laid, but proves a failure. Lincoln-Douglas debate.
- 1859 Oregon admitted as thirty-third state. John Brown seizes arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, is captured and hanged.
- 1860 The republican party having been successful in the presidential election, South Carolina secedes from the Union, followed early in
- 1861 by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas. **Confederate States of America**, organised at Montgomery, Alabama, and **Jefferson Davis** elected president. **Abraham Lincoln** inaugurated as sixteenth president. Siege and capture of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour. Call for seventy-five thousand volunteers. Riots in Baltimore. Great Britain recognises Confederate States as belligerents. Battle of Bull Run. George B. McClellan appointed commander of Army of Potomac. Capture and release of Mason and Slidell (*Trent* affair). Kansas admitted as thirty-fourth state.
- 1862 General U. S. Grant captures forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee. *Monitor* and *Merrimac*. Battle of Shiloh. Capture of New Orleans. McClellan fails in the Peninsular campaign after seven days' battle before Richmond. Second battle of Bull Run. Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee invades Maryland, but retreats after battle of Antietam. McClellan superseded by Burnside, who suffers severe defeat at Fredericksburg, and is succeeded in
- 1863 by General Joseph Hooker. President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation. Hooker is defeated at Chancellorsville, and is succeeded by General George G. Meade. Lee again invades the North, but is defeated at Gettysburg. General Grant captures Vicksburg and opens the Mississippi; is made commander of the department of the Mississippi, and defeats the Confederates at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. West Virginia admitted as thirty-fifth state.
- 1864 Grant becomes commander-in-chief, fights battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and begins siege of Petersburg. Sheridan defeats Early in Shenandoah valley. General William T. Sherman, commanding department of the Mississippi, begins the march to the sea, captures Atlanta and Savannah. Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville. The *Kearsarge* sinks the Confederate steamer *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, and Admiral Farragut captures Mobile. Nevada admitted as thirty-sixth state. Lincoln reelected president.
- 1865 Fort Fisher captured by General Terry. Battle of Five Forks compels evacuation by Confederates of Petersburg and Richmond. General Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House. Assassination of Lincoln (April 14th). **Andrew Johnson**, vice-president, succeeds as seventeenth president. Last Confederate army surrenders. Proclamation of amnesty. Thirteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. Freedmen's bureau established.
- 1866 Telegraphic communication established with England.
- 1867 Reconstruction and Tenure of Office acts. Alaska purchased from Russia. Nebraska admitted as thirty-seventh state.
- 1868 Impeachment and acquittal of President Johnson. Fourteenth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1869 **Ulysses S. Grant**, eighteenth president. "Black Friday."
- 1870 Fifteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. The Ku-Klux-Klan. Congress passes the Force Act.
- 1871 Civil service commission authorised by congress. Treaty of Washington with Great Britain provides for settlement of Oregon boundary, the fishery disputes, and of the *Alabama* claims. Chicago fire.
- 1872 Crédit Mobilier scandals. The *Virginian* incident.
- 1873 Commercial crisis. Coinage Act (the "crime of 1873"). Reconstruction troubles in the South which in
- 1874 cause severe crisis in New Orleans.
- 1876 Centennial exhibition at Philadelphia. Indian War, destruction of General Custer's command. Colorado admitted as thirty-eighth state. The result of the presidential election being in doubt, congress appoints an electoral commission, which in

- 1877 declares the republican candidates elected. **Rutherford B. Hayes**, nineteenth president. Troops withdrawn from the southern states. The "solid South" an accomplished fact. Progress of civil service reform. Great railroad strikes and riots.
- 1878 Greenback party organised. Congress passes Bland-Allison Bill.
- 1879 Resumption of specie payments. Negro exodus from the southern states.
- 1881 **James A. Garfield**, twentieth president. Star route frauds. Congress passes anti-polygamy and anti-Chinese bills. Garfield assassinated and succeeded by **Chester A. Arthur**, vice-president, as twenty-first president.
- 1883 Civil Service Reform Bill enacted.
- 1885 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-second president.
- 1886 Congress regulates succession to the presidency.
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act. Electoral Count Bill.
- 1888 Chinese immigration prohibited.
- 1889 **Benjamin Harrison**, twenty-third president. Pan-American congress at Washington. Dispute with Germany over Samoan Islands. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted as states.
- 1890 McKinley Tariff Bill passes congress. Behring Sea troubles with Great Britain. Idaho and Wyoming admitted as states.
- 1891 Italian minister recalled on account of lynchings at New Orleans. American seamen slain at Valparaiso, Chile. Behring Sea troubles referred to arbitration. Labour disturbances at Homestead, Pennsylvania.
- 1892 Hawaiian Islands apply for annexation.
- 1893 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-fourth president. Hawaiian Treaty withdrawn. Income tax declared unconstitutional. Commercial panic. World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.
- 1894 Wilson tariff enacted. Bonds issued to maintain gold reserve. Treaties with China and Japan. United States troops quell riot at Chicago.
- 1895 Silver legislation vetoed. Venezuela message. Discovery of gold in Alaska.
- 1896 Utah admitted as forty-fifth state.
- 1897 **William McKinley**, twenty-fifth president.
- 1898 Battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana harbour. Congress appropriates \$50,000,000 for national defence. War declared with Spain. Blockade of Cuban ports. Commodore George Dewey destroys Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila, in Philippine Islands. United States troops land near Santiago in Cuba. Battles of Las Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill. Spanish fleet attempts to escape from Santiago, but is entirely destroyed. Santiago surrenders. United States troops occupy Porto Rico. Capture of Manila. Treaty of Paris cedes Spanish West Indies, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. Military government established in Cuba. Annexation of Hawaii.
- 1899 Insurrection in the Philippines. Philippines Commission appointed. Cuba reorganised. Enormous growth of the trusts. Continued insurrection in the Philippines.
- 1900 Constitutional convention in Cuba. McKinley reelected president. Boxer War in China.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

- 1901 President McKinley assassinated, succeeded by **Theodore Roosevelt**, vice-president, as twenty-sixth president. Civil government established in the Philippines. Capture of Aguinaldo. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty settles Isthmian canal question.
- 1902 Republic of Cuba established. United States troops withdrawn. Congress authorises purchase of Panama canal. Reciprocity Treaty with Cuba. Coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania.
- 1903 Alaskan boundary tribunal grants claims of United States. Treaty with republic of Panama.
- 1904 Panama canal purchased. Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. **Theodore Roosevelt** elected president for the term 1905-1909.
- 1905 Death of Secretary Hay. Scandals in management of insurance companies.
- 1906 San Francisco earthquake. Passage of a new railroad rate act, of a meat inspection act, of a pure food act, and other important legislation.
- 1907 Admission of Oklahoma. Bank panic.

PART XXIV

THE
HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE WORKS OF THE FOLLOWING WRITERS

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CHAPTER I

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

EARLY HISTORY OF MEXICO

If a traveller, landing on that part of the coast of the Mexican gulf where Cortes and his Spaniards landed, were to proceed westward, across the continent, he would pass successively through three regions or climates. First, he would pass through the *tierra caliente*, or hot region, distinguished by all the features of the tropics—their luxuriant vegetation, their occasional sandy deserts, and their unhealthiness at particular seasons. After sixty miles of travel through this *tierra caliente*, he would enter the *tierra templada*, or temperate region, where the products of the soil are such as belong to the most genial European countries. Ascending through it, the traveller at last leaves wheat-fields beneath him, and plunges into forests of pine, indicating his entrance into the *tierra fria*, or cold region, where the sleety blasts from the mountains penetrate the very bones. This *tierra fria* constitutes the summits of part of the great mountain range of the Andes, which traverses the whole American continent. Fortunately, however, at this point the Andes do not attain their greatest elevation. Instead of rising, as in some other parts of their range, in a huge perpendicular wall or ridge, they here flatten and widen out, so as to constitute a vast plateau, or table-land, six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. On this immense sheet of table-land, stretching for hundreds of miles, the inhabitants, though living within the tropics, enjoy a climate equal to that of the south of Italy; while their proximity to the extremes both of heat and cold enables them to procure, without much labour, the luxuries of many lands. Across the table-land there stretches, from east to west, a chain of volcanic peaks, some of which are of immense height and covered perpetually with snow.

This table-land was called by the ancient Mexicans the plain of Anahuac. Near its centre is a valley of an oval form, about two hundred miles in circumference, surrounded by a rampart of porphyritic rock, and overspread

for about a tenth part of its surface by five distinct lakes or sheets of water. This is the celebrated valley of Mexico—called a valley only by comparison with the mountains which surround it, for it is seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Round the margins of the five lakes once stood numerous cities, the relics of which are yet visible; and on an islet in the middle of the largest lake stood the great city of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, the capital of the empire which the Spaniards were now invading, and the residence of the Mexican emperor, Montezuma.

The origin of the Mexicans is a question of great obscurity—a part of the more extensive question of the manner in which America was peopled. According to the highly discrepant theories of the authorities on the subject, the plains of Anahuac were overrun, previous to the discovery of America, by several successive races from the northwest [or, as some assert, the southwest] of the continent. Thus, in the thirteenth century the great table-land of Central America was inhabited by a number of races and subraces, all originally of the same stock, but differing from each other greatly in character and degree of civilisation, and engaged in mutual hostilities. The cities of these different races were scattered over the plateau, principally in the neighbourhood of the five lakes. Tezcuco, on the eastern bank of the greatest of the lakes, was the capital of the Acolhuans; and the city of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, situated on an island in the same lake, was the capital of the Aztecs.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dominant race in the plains of Anahuac was the Acolhuans, or Tezcucans, represented as a people of mild and polished manners, skilled in the elegant arts, and possessing literary habits and tastes—the Athenians, if we may so call them, of the New World. The most celebrated of the Tezcucan sovereigns was Nezahualcoyotl, who reigned early in the fifteenth century. By this prince a revolution was effected in the political state of the valley of Anahuac. He procured the formation of a confederacy between Tezcuco and the two neighbouring friendly cities of Mexico and Tlacopan, by which they bound themselves severally to assist each other when attacked, and to carry on wars conjointly. In this strange alliance Tezcuco was the principal member, as being confessedly the most powerful state; Mexico stood next; and lastly, Tlacopan, as being inferior to the other two.

Nezahualcoyotl died in 1440, and was succeeded on the Tezcucan throne by his son Nezahualpilli. During his reign the Tezcucans fell from their position as the first member of the triple confederacy which his father had formed, and gave place to the Aztecs, or Mexicans. These Aztecs had been gradually growing in consequence since their first arrival in the valley. Decidedly inferior to the Tezcucans in culture, and professing a much more bloody and impure worship, they excelled them in certain qualities, and possessed, on the whole, a firmer and more compact character. If the Tezcucans were the Greeks, the Aztecs were the Romans of the New World. Under a series of able princes they had increased in importance, till now, in the reign of Nezahualpilli, they were the rivals of their allies, the Tezcucans, for the sovereignty of Anahuac.

In the year 1502 a vacancy occurred in the throne of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico. The election fell on Montezuma II, the nephew of the deceased monarch, a young man who had already distinguished himself as a soldier and a priest or sage, and who was noted, as his name—Montezuma (sorrowful man)—implied, for a certain gravity and sad severity of manner. The first years of Montezuma's reign were spent in war. Carrying his victorious arms as far as Nicaragua and Honduras in the south, and to the shores of the

[1502-1518 A.D.]

Mexican gulf in the east, he extended the sovereignty of the triple confederacy, of which he was a member, over an immense extent of territory. Distant provinces he compelled to pay him tribute, and the wealth of Anahuac flowed from all directions towards the valley of Mexico. Haughty and severe in his disposition, and magnificent in his tastes, he ruled like an oriental despot over the provinces which he had conquered; and the least attempt at rebellion was fearfully punished, captives being dragged in hundreds to the capital to be slaughtered on the stone of human sacrifice in the great war temple.¹ Nor did Montezuma's own natural-born subjects stand less in dread of him. Wise, liberal, and even generous in his government, his inflexible and relentless justice, and his lordly notions of his own dignity, made him an object less of affection than of awe and reverence. In his presence his nobles spoke in whispers; in his palace he was served with a slavish homage; and when he appeared in public his subjects veiled their faces as unworthy to gaze upon his person. The death of Nezahualpilli, in 1516, made him absolute sovereign in Anahuac. On the death of that king, two of his sons, Cacama and Ixtlilxochitl, contended for the throne of Tezcuco. Montezuma sided with Cacama; and the dispute was at length ended by compromise between the two brothers, by which the kingdom was divided into two parts—Cacama obtaining the southern half with the city of Tezcuco, and Ixtlilxochitl the northern half.

Thus, at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, Montezuma was absolute sovereign of nearly the whole of that portion of Central America which lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan being nominally his confederates and counsellors, according to the ancient treaty of alliance between the three states, but in reality his dependents.²

THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

Hitherto the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico and off the coast of the mainland, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprises on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted towards the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius and almost incredible exertions of one man conquered a strong, populous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted,

¹ Besides the ordinary sacrifice, in which the victim's heart was cut out and laid on the altar, there was a gladiatorial sacrifice, where the victim contended with a succession of warriors before being offered up.

were a civilised people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva was no sooner communicated to Velasquez, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour that, without waiting for the authority of his sovereign or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of Santiago de Cuba. Velasquez was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet, being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. At length two of the secretaries of Velasquez recommended Hernando Cortes as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba, and distinguished himself in its conquest.

So great and unremitted were his exertions in forwarding the expedition that he sailed from Santiago de Cuba on the 18th day of November, in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Velasquez, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place and depart without molestation. Velasquez, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to Santiago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasquez before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords, and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small field-pieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilisation. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at San Juan de Ulua, where a large canoe filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship,

[1518-1519 A.D.]

and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board and was afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican, language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country.

The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the field-pieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired, when some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay, and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from San Juan de Ulua, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and, being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign. They were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures

of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues with such wonderful art and skill as to rival the works of the pencil. But what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, were the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions towards the rising of the sun. Montezuma and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected.

At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation and the exertions of some of the officers who were friendly to Velasquez. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malcontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own. As the first step towards planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army and chief justice of the colony; his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and

[1519 A.D.]

the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malcontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and, as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the town *Villa Rica, de la Vera Cruz*—the rich town of the true cross. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of *Cempoala* and had an interview with several of the *caciques* of that nation, and learned, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to *Montezuma* and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learned many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading the *caciques* to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it; he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Velasquez and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared amongst the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and everything of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man; six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to *Cempoala*, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were

filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendancy over them that he finally pacified them and restored harmony. He marched from Cempoala on the 16th of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz.^c

The Tlaxcalans assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders. Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, for the return of his ambassadors, advanced into the Tlaxcalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards and killed two horses—a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlaxcalans advancing with numerous armies and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valour and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World.



HERNANDO CORTES

(1485–1547)

When they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such ex-

traordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the East; that by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlaxcalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and, sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlaxcalans being convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

[1519 A.D.]

They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory, this lenity amazed people who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favourable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and, supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands, this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the firearms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. This uncertainty was apparent in their mode of addressing the Spaniards: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here are meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace which both parties now desired with equal ardour was soon concluded. The Tlaxcalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.^d

His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march towards Mexico, with six thousand Tlaxcalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their destruction, and, having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who at a given signal were seized, and then the troops and the Tlaxcalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead and covered with blood. The priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples. These were set on fire and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly towards the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do.

One day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton and adorned with plumes; each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself. His retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground; to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him with gold rods, which at given intervals they raised as a signal for the people to bow their heads and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring addressed Cortes as follows: "You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.^c

Mexico was situated in a great salt lake communicating with a fresh-water lake. It was approached by three principal causeways of great breadth, constructed of solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth. The length of one of these causeways was two leagues, and that of another a league and a half; and these two ample causeways united in the middle of the city, where stood the great temple. At the ends of these causeways were wooden drawbridges, so that communication could be cut off between the causeways and the town, which would thus become a citadel. There was also an aqueduct which communicated with the mainland, consisting of two separate lines of work in masonry, in order that if one should need repair the supply of water for the city might not be interrupted.

The streets were the most various in construction that have ever been seen in any city in the world. Some were of dry land, others wholly of water, and others, again, had pathways of pavement, while in the centre there was room for boats. The foot-passengers could talk with those in the boats. It may be noticed that a city so constructed requires a circumspect and polite population.

Palaces are commonplace things to describe, but the abodes of the Mexican kings were not like the petty palaces of northern princes. One of the most observant of those Spaniards who first saw these wonders speaks of a palace of Montezuma's in which there was a room where three thousand persons

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could be well accommodated, and on the terrace-like roof of which a splendid tournament might have been given. There was a market-place twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded with porticoes, in which there was room for fifty thousand people to buy and sell.

The great temple of the city maintained its due proportion of magnificence. In the plan of the city of Mexico, which is to be found in a very early edition of the *Letters of Cortes*, published at Nuremberg, and which is supposed to be the one that Cortes sent to Charles V, the space allotted to the temple is twenty times as great as that allotted to the market-place. Indeed, the sacred inclosure was in itself a town; and Cortes, who seldom stops in his terrible narrative to indulge in praise or in needless description, says that no human tongue could explain the grandeur and the peculiarities of this temple. Cortes uses the word "temple," but it might rather be called a sacred city, as it contained many temples, and the abodes of all the priests and virgins who ministered at them; also a university and an arsenal. It was inclosed by lofty stone walls, and was entered by four portals surmounted by fortresses. No less than twenty truncated pyramids, probably cased with porphyry, rose up from within that inclosure. High over them all towered the great temple dedicated to the god of war. This, like the rest, was a truncated pyramid, with ledges round it, and with two small towers upon the highest surface, in which were placed the images of the great god of war (Huitzilopochtli) and of the principal deity of all (Tezcatlipuk), the Mexican Jupiter. It is sad to own that an entrance into these fair-seeming buildings would have gone far to dissipate the admiration which a traveller—if we may imagine one preceding Cortes—would up to this moment have felt for Mexico. The temples and palaces, the polished, glistening towers, the aviaries, the terraces, the gardens on the housetops (many-coloured, for they were not like those at Damascus, where only the rose and the jasmine are to be seen)—in a word, the bright, lively, and lovely city would have been forgotten in the vast disgust that would have filled the mind of the beholder when he saw the foul, blood-besmeared idols, with the palpitating hearts of that day's victims lying before them, and the black-clothed, filthy, unkempt priest ministering to these hideous compositions of paste and human blood.^e

MONTEZUMA MADE PRISONER

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting with deep concern on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was, to seize the sovereign of a great empire in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops and their allies were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards entered, the Mexican officers retired, and

Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniards to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions towards them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasquez de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? Let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was accordingly carried to the Spanish quarters with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure or the success with which it was executed.

Qulpopoca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial before a Spanish court-martial, they were condemned to be burned alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect and served by his own officers, but strictly watched and kept in "durance vile." During this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their

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defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence and informed him that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will both of the gods and of his people that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceedings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority, was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence and usurped his authority. He engaged with great ardour in preparing an expedition which was destined to New Spain to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasquez had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage, for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.^c

It was time for Cortes to appear upon the scene of greatest danger; and accordingly, quitting Mexico with but seventy of his own men, he commended those whom he left and his treasures to Montezuma's good offices, as to one who was a faithful vassal to the king of Spain. This parting speech seems most audacious, but plenary audacity was part of the wisdom of Cortes. At Cholula he came up with his lieutenant, Juan Velasquez, and his men, joined company with them, and pushed on towards Cempoala. When he approached the town he prepared to make an attack by night on the position which Narvaez occupied, and which was no other than the great temple at Cempoala.

In the encounter Narvaez lost an eye; he was afterwards sent as a prisoner to Vera Cruz. His men, not without resistance on the part of some of them, ultimately ranged themselves under the banner of Cortes, and thus was a great danger turned into a welcome succour. Cortes received the conquered troops in the most winning manner, and created an enthusiasm in his favour.^e

REVOLT OF MEXICANS

A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command

of the lake and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury that, though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Cempoala, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held and schemes formed with this intention.

The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendant over the minds of the Mexicans as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspecting of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Cempoala with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlaxcala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed, no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect. But uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

Cortes behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people.

Later the Mexicans attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day, with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance

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The utmost efforts of Cortes' abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whose vigour was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, was employed to insure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair rencounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

DEATH OF MONTEZUMA; LA NOCHE TRISTE

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained—to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects.^d

Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the

enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects and attempt to allay their rage and dissuade them from hostilities. As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly and with such violence that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden transition in the feelings of the multitude; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation.

Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men ordered to dislodge them was twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night.^c

They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately, the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud that it was impos-

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sible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side, and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms or the superiority of their other weapons.

All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people in the destruction of their oppressors that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardour as drove on their countrymen in the front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the places of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot-soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the mainland. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake, and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds.

All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlaxcalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers, having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.^d

RETREAT OF THE SPANIARDS

The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlaxcala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innu-

merable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but two alternatives, to conquer or to perish, and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican Empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers and rushed with great impetuosity through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their weapons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving everything behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlaxcala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican Empire. He obtained some ammunition and three field-pieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines, which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

SECOND MARCH UPON MEXICO

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasquez to reinforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a reinforcement of one hundred and eighty men and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and forty horse-men, and possessed a train of nine field-pieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlaxcalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the

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conquest of the Mexican Empire. He began his march towards the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.^c

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest calamities brought upon it by its invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatemotzin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valour that, in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen were greatly encouraged and with one voice called him to the supreme command.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his headquarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cacique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cacique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.^d

Tezcuco stood about half a league from the lake. It would be necessary to open a communication with it, so that the brigantines, when put together in the capital, might be launched upon its waters. It was proposed, therefore, to dig a canal, reaching from the gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, as they were called from the old monarch who planned them, to the edge of the basin. A little stream or rivulet which flowed in that direction was to be deepened sufficiently for the purpose; and eight thousand Indian labourers were forthwith employed on this great work, under the direction of the young Ixtlilxochitl.

Meanwhile Cortes received messages from several places in the neighbourhood, intimating their desire to become the vassals of his sovereign and to be taken under his protection. The Spanish commander required, in return, that they should deliver up every Mexican who should set foot in their territories. Some noble Aztecs, who had been sent on a mission to these towns, were consequently delivered into his hands. He availed himself of it to employ them as bearers of a message to their master, the emperor.

It was the plan of Cortes, on entering the valley, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate cities before striking at the capital itself. The first point of attack which he selected was the ancient city of Iztapalapan

a place containing fifty thousand inhabitants, according to his own account. In a week after his arrival at his new quarters, Cortes, leaving the command of the garrison to Sandoval, marched against this Indian city, at the head of two hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and between three and four thousand Tlaxcalans. The barbarians showed their usual courage, but after some hard fighting were compelled to give way before the steady valour of the Spanish infantry, backed by the desperate fury of the Tlaxcalans, whom the sight of an Aztec seemed to inflame almost to madness. The enemy retreated in disorder, closely followed by the Spaniards. When they had arrived within half a league of Iztapalapan, they observed a number of canoes filled with Indians, who appeared to be labouring on the mole which hemmed in the waters of the salt lake. Swept along in the tide of pursuit, they gave little heed to it, but, following up the chase, entered pell-mell with the fugitives into the city.

The houses stood some of them on dry ground, some on piles in the water. Cortes, supported by his own men, and by such of the allies as could be brought to obey his orders, attacked the enemy in this last place of their retreat. Both parties fought up to their girdles in the water. A desperate struggle ensued, as the Aztec fought with the fury of a tiger driven to bay by the huntsmen. It was all in vain. The enemy was overpowered in every quarter. The citizen shared the fate of the soldier, and a pitiless massacre succeeded, without regard to sex or age. Cortes endeavoured to stop it; but it would have been as easy to call away the starving wolf from the carcass he was devouring, as the Tlaxcalan who had once tasted the blood of an enemy. More than six thousand, including women and children, according to the conqueror's own statement, perished miserably in the unequal conflict. While engaged in this work of devastation, a murmuring sound was heard as of the hoarse rippling of waters, and a cry soon arose amongst the Indians that the dikes were broken. Cortes now comprehended the business of the men whom he had seen in the canoes at work on the mole which fenced in the great basin of Lake Tezcuco. It had been pierced by the desperate Indians, who thus laid the country under an inundation, by suffering the waters of the salt lake to spread themselves over the lower level, through the opening. Greatly alarmed, the general called his men together and made all haste to evacuate the city. Had they remained three hours longer, he says, not a soul could have escaped. They came staggering under the weight of booty, wading with difficulty through the water, which was fast gaining upon them. For some distance their path was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings. But as the light faded away in the distance, they wandered with uncertain steps, sometimes up to their knees, at others up to their waists, in the water, through which they floundered on with the greatest difficulty. As they reached the opening in the dike the stream became deeper, and flowed out with such a current that the men were unable to maintain their footing. The Spaniards, breasting the flood, forced their way through; but many of the Indians, unable to swim, were borne down by the waters. All the plunder was lost. The powder was spoiled; the arms and clothes of the soldiers were saturated with the brine, and the cold night wind, as it blew over them, benumbed their weary limbs till they could scarcely drag them along. At dawn they beheld the lake swarming with canoes full of Indians, who had anticipated their disaster, and who now saluted them with showers of stones, arrows, and other deadly missiles. Bodies of light troops hovering in the distance disquieted the flanks of the army in like manner. The Spaniards had no desire to close with the enemy. They only

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wished to regain their comfortable quarters in Tezcuco, where they arrived on the same day, more disconsolate and fatigued than after many a long march and hard-fought battle.

The close of the expedition, so different from its brilliant commencement, greatly disappointed Cortes. His numerical loss had, indeed, not been great, but this affair convinced him how much he had to apprehend from the resolution of a people who, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Hollanders, were prepared to bury their country under water rather than to submit. Still the enemy had little cause for congratulation; since, independently of the number of slain, they had seen one of their most flourishing cities sacked, and in part, at least, laid in ruins—one of those, too, which in its public works displayed the nearest approach to civilisation. Such are the triumphs of war!

The expedition of Cortes, notwithstanding the disasters which checkered it, was favourable to the Spanish cause. The fate of Iztapalapan struck a terror throughout the valley. The consequences were soon apparent in the deputations sent by the different places eager to offer their submission, and, could they do so with safety, to throw off the Mexican yoke. But he was in no situation to comply with their request. He now felt, more sensibly than ever, the incompetency of his means to his undertaking. "I assure your majesty," he writes in his letter to the emperor, "the greatest uneasiness which I feel, after all my labours and fatigues, is from my inability to succour and support our Indian friends, your majesty's loyal vassals." Far from having a force competent to this, he had scarcely enough for his own protection. His Indian allies were in deadly feud with these places, whose inhabitants had too often fought under the Aztec banner not to have been engaged in repeated wars with the people beyond the mountains. Cortes set himself earnestly to reconcile these differences. His arguments finally prevailed, and the politic general had the satisfaction to see the high-spirited and hostile tribes forego their long-cherished rivalry, and, resigning the pleasures of revenge so dear to the barbarian, embrace one another as friends and champions in a common cause. To this wise policy the Spanish commander owed quite as much of his subsequent successes as to his arms.

Thus the foundations of the Mexican Empire were hourly loosening, as the great vassals around the capital, on whom it most relied, fell off one after another from their allegiance. The Aztecs, properly so called, formed but a small part of the population of the valley. This was principally composed of cognate tribes, members of the same great family of the Nahuatlacs, who had come upon the plateau at nearly the same time. They were mutual rivals, and were reduced one after another by the more warlike Mexican, who held them in subjection, often by open force, always by fear. Fear was the great principle of cohesion which bound together the discordant members of the monarchy, and this was now fast dissolving before the influence of a power more mighty than that of the Aztec. This, it is true, was not the first time that the conquered races had attempted to recover their independence; but all such attempts had failed for want of concert. It was reserved for the commanding genius of Cortes to extinguish their old hereditary feuds, and, combining their scattered energies, to animate them with a common principle of action.

While these occurrences were passing, Cortes received the welcome intelligence that the brigantines were completed and waiting to be transported to Tezcuco. He detached a body for the service, consisting of two hundred Spanish foot and fifteen horse, which he placed under the command of Sandoval.

There were thirteen vessels in all, of different sizes. They had been constructed under the direction of the experienced shipbuilder Martin Lopez, aided by three or four Spanish carpenters and the friendly natives, some of whom showed no mean degree of imitative skill. The brigantines, when completed, had been fairly tried on the waters of the Zahuapan. They were then taken to pieces, and as Lopez was impatient of delay, the several parts, the timbers, anchors, ironwork, sails, and cordage, were placed on the shoulders of the *tamanes*, and under a numerous military escort were thus far advanced on the way to Tezcuco. Sandoval dismissed a part of the Indian convoy as superfluous.

Twenty thousand warriors he retained, dividing them into two equal bodies for the protection of the *tamanes* in the centre. His own little body of Spaniards he distributed in like manner.

"It was a marvellous thing," exclaims the conqueror, in his letters, "that few have seen—or even heard of—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men, for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!" It was, indeed, a stupendous achievement, and not easily matched in ancient or modern story; one which only a genius like that of Cortes could have devised, or a daring spirit like his have so successfully executed. Little did he foresee, when he ordered the destruction of the fleet which first brought him to the country, and with his usual foresight commanded the preservation of the ironwork and rigging—little did he foresee the important uses for which they were to be reserved. So important, that on their preservation may be said to have depended the successful issue of his great enterprise.

He greeted his Indian allies with the greatest cordiality, testifying his sense of their services by those honours and attentions which he knew would be most grateful to their ambitious spirits. "We come," exclaimed the hardy warriors, "to fight under your banner; to avenge our common quarrel, or to fall by your side"; and with their usual impatience they urged him to lead them at once against the enemy. "Wait," replied the general, bluntly, "till you are rested, and you shall have your hands full."

CONSPIRACY AGAINST CORTES

At the very time when Cortes was occupied with reconnoitring the valley, preparatory to his siege of the capital, a busy faction in Castile was labouring to subvert his authority and defeat his plans of conquest altogether. The fame of his brilliant exploits had spread not only through the isles, but to Spain and many parts of Europe, where a general admiration was felt for the invincible energy of the man, who with his single arm, as it were, could so long maintain a contest with the powerful Indian empire. The absence of the Spanish monarch from his dominions, and the troubles of the country, can alone explain the supine indifference shown by the government to the prosecution of this great enterprise. To the same causes it may be ascribed that no action was taken in regard to the suits of Velasquez and Narvaez, backed, as they were, by so potent an advocate as Bishop Fonseca, president of the council of the Indies. The reins of government had fallen into the hands of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles' preceptor, and afterwards pope—a man of learning, and not without sagacity, but slow and timid in his policy, and altogether incapable of that decisive action which suited the bold genius of his predecessor, Cardinal Ximenes.

In the spring of 1521, however, a number of ordinances passed the council

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of the Indies which threatened an important innovation in the affairs of New Spain. It was decreed that the royal audience of Hispaniola should abandon the proceedings already instituted against Narvaez for his treatment of the commissioner Ayllon; that that unfortunate commander should be released from his confinement at Vera Cruz; and that an arbitrator should be sent to Mexico, with authority to investigate the affairs and conduct of Cortes, and to render ample justice to the governor of Cuba. There were not wanting persons at court who looked with dissatisfaction on these proceedings, as an unworthy requital of the services of Cortes, and who thought the present moment, at any rate, not the most suitable for taking measures which might discourage the general, and perhaps render him desperate. But the arrogant temper of the bishop of Burgos overruled all objections; and the ordinances, having been approved by the Regency, were signed by that body, April 11th, 1521. A person named Tapia, one of the functionaries of the audience at Santo Domingo, was selected as the new commissioner to be despatched to Vera Cruz. Fortunately circumstances occurred which postponed the execution of the design for the present, and permitted Cortes to go forward unmolested in his career of conquest.

But while thus allowed to remain, for the present at least, in possession of authority, he was assailed by a danger nearer home, which menaced not only his authority, but his life. This was a conspiracy in the army, of a more dark and dangerous character than any hitherto formed there. It was set on foot by a common soldier named Antonio Villafañá, a native of Old Castile, of whom nothing is known but his share in this transaction. He was one of the troop of Narvaez, that leaven of disaffection which had remained with the army, swelling with discontent on every light occasion, and ready at all times to rise into mutiny. They had voluntarily continued in the service, after the secession of their comrades at Tlaxcala; but it was from the same mercenary hopes with which they had originally embarked in the expedition, and in these they were destined still to be disappointed. They had little of the true spirit of adventure which distinguished the old companions of Cortes, and they found the barren laurels of victory but a sorry recompense for all their toils and suffering.

With these men were joined others, who had causes of personal disgust with the general; and others, again, who looked with distrust on the result of the war. The gloomy fate of their countrymen who had fallen into the enemy's hands filled them with dismay. They felt themselves the victims of a chimerical spirit in their leader, who with such inadequate means was urging to extremity so ferocious and formidable a foe; and they shrunk with something like apprehension from thus pursuing the enemy into his own haunts, where he could gather tenfold energy from despair.

These men would have willingly abandoned the enterprise and returned to Cuba, but how could they do it? Cortes had control over the whole route from the city to the seacoast, and not a vessel could leave its ports without his warrant. Even if he were put out of the way, there were others, his principal officers, ready to step into his place and avenge the death of their commander. It was necessary to embrace these also in the scheme of destruction; and it was proposed, therefore, together with Cortes, to assassinate Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and two or three others most devoted to his interests. The conspirators would then raise the cry of liberty, and doubted not that they should be joined by the greater part of the army, or enough, at least, to enable them to work their own pleasure. They proposed to offer the command, on Cortes' death, to Francisco Verdugo, a brother-in-law of

Velasquez. He was an honourable cavalier, and not privy to their design. But they had little doubt that he would acquiesce in the command thus in a manner forced upon him, and this would secure them the protection of the governor of Cuba, who, indeed, from his own hatred of Cortes, would be disposed to look with a lenient eye on their proceedings.

The conspirators even went so far as to appoint the subordinate officers, an *alguacil mayor* in place of Sandoval, a quartermaster-general to succeed Olid, and some others. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was soon after the return of Cortes from his expedition. A parcel, pretended to have come by a fresh arrival from Castile, was to be presented to him whilst at table, and when he was engaged in breaking open the letters the conspirators were to fall on him and his officers and despatch them with their poniards. Such was the iniquitous scheme devised for the destruction of Cortes and the expedition. But a conspiracy, to be successful, especially when numbers are concerned, should allow but little time to elapse between its conception and its execution.

On the day previous to that appointed for the perpetration of the deed, one of the party, feeling a natural compunction at the commission of the crime, went to the general's quarters and solicited a private interview with him. He threw himself at his commander's feet, and revealed all the particulars relating to the conspiracy, adding that in Villafañá's possession a paper would be found containing the names of his accomplices. Cortes, thunder-struck at the disclosure, lost not a moment in profiting by it. He sent for Alvarado, Sandoval, and one or two other officers marked out by the conspirators, and after communicating the affair to them, went at once with them to Villafañá's quarters, attended by four *alguacils*.

They found him in conference with three or four friends, who were instantly taken from the apartment and placed in custody. Villafañá, confounded at this sudden apparition of his commander, had barely time to snatch a paper containing the signatures of the confederates from his bosom and attempt to swallow it. But Cortes arrested his arm and seized the paper. As he glanced his eye rapidly over the fatal list, he was much moved at finding there the names of more than one who had some claim to consideration in the army. He tore the scroll in pieces, and ordered Villafañá to be taken into custody. He was immediately tried by a military court hastily got together, at which the general himself presided. There seems to have been no doubt of the man's guilt. He was condemned to death, and after allowing him time for confession and absolution, the sentence was executed by hanging him from the window of his own quarters.

Those ignorant of the affair were astonished at the spectacle; and the remaining conspirators were filled with consternation when they saw that their plot was detected, and anticipated a similar fate for themselves. But they were mistaken. Cortes pursued the matter no further. A little reflection convinced him that to do so would involve him in the most disagreeable and even dangerous perplexities. And however much the parties implicated in so foul a deed might deserve death, he could ill afford the loss even of the guilty, with his present limited numbers. He resolved, therefore, to content himself with the punishment of the ringleader.

He called his troops together and briefly explained to them the nature of the crime for which Villafañá had suffered. He had made no confession, he said, and the guilty secret had perished with him. He then expressed his sorrow that any should have been found in their ranks capable of so base

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an act, and stated his own unconsciousness of having wronged any individual among them; but if he had done so, he invited them frankly to declare it, as he was most anxious to afford them all the redress in his power. But there was no one of his audience, whatever might be his grievances, who cared to enter his complaint at such a moment; least of all were the conspirators willing to do so, for they were too happy at having, as they fancied, escaped detection, to stand forward now in the ranks of the malcontents. The affair passed off, therefore, without further consequences. The conduct of Cortes in this delicate conjuncture shows great coolness and knowledge of human nature. Had he suffered his detection, or even his suspicion, of the guilty parties to appear, it would have placed him in hostile relations with them for the rest of his life.

As it was, the guilty soldiers had suffered too serious apprehensions to place their lives hastily in a similar jeopardy. They strove, on the contrary, by demonstrations of loyalty and the assiduous discharge of their duties, to turn away suspicion from themselves. Cortes, on his part, was careful to preserve his natural demeanour, equally removed from distrust and—what was perhaps more difficult—that studied courtesy which intimates, quite as plainly, suspicion of the party who is the object of it. To do this required no little address. Yet he did not forget the past. Cortes kept his eye on all their movements, and took care to place them in no situation, afterwards, where they could do him injury.

LAUNCHING OF BRIGANTINES

As was stated previously, the brigantines being completed, the canal also, after having occupied eight thousand men for nearly two months, was finished. It was a work of great labour, for it extended half a league in length, was twelve feet wide and as many deep. The sides were strengthened by palisades of wood or solid masonry. At intervals, dams and locks were constructed, and part of the opening was through the hard rock. By this avenue the brigantines might now be safely introduced on the lake.

Cortes was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the general, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first—worthy of the name—ever launched on American waters.

The general's next step was to muster his forces in the great square of the capital. He found they amounted to eighty-seven horse and eight hundred and eighteen foot, of whom one hundred and eighteen were arquebusiers and crossbow-men. He had three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen lighter guns or falconets of brass. The heavier cannon had been transported from Vera Cruz to Tezcuco, a little while before, by the faithful Tlaxcalans. He was well supplied with shot and balls, with about ten hundred weight of powder, and fifty thousand copper-headed arrows, made after a pattern furnished by him to the natives. The number and appointments of the army much exceeded what they had been at any time since the flight from Mexico, and showed the good effects of the late arrivals from the islands.

He had already sent to his Indian confederates, announcing his purpose

of immediately laying siege to Mexico, and called on them to furnish their promised levies within the space of ten days at farthest. The Tlaxcalans arrived within the time prescribed. They came fifty thousand strong, according to Cortes, making a brilliant show with their military finery, and marching proudly forward under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle, the arms of the republic. With as blithe and manly a step as if they were going to the battle-ground, they defiled through the gates of the capital, making its walls ring with the friendly shouts of "Castile and Tlaxcala!"

The siege of Mexico was full of picturesque incidents, in which the Spanish genius for fighting barbarians won a gradual success on sea and land. At length, after the brigantines had gained a complete victory over a swarm of canoes, and Cortes had reduced three-fourths of the city of Mexico to ashes, he forced his way into the central square. Guatemotzin, attempting to escape across the lake, was taken captive, and brought before Cortes.

Cortes came forward with a dignified and studied courtesy to receive him. The Aztec monarch probably knew the person of his conqueror, for he first broke silence by saying, "I have done all that I could to defend myself and my people. I am now reduced to this state. You will deal with me, Malinche,

as you list." Then, laying his hand on the hilt of a poniard stuck in the general's belt, he added, with vehemence, "Better despatch me with this, and rid me of life at once." Cortes was filled with admiration at the proud bearing of the young barbarian, showing in his reverses a spirit worthy of an ancient Roman. "Fear not," he replied, "you shall be treated with all honour. You have defended your capital like a brave warrior. A Spaniard knows how to respect valour even in an



CHAC MOOL STATUE, MEXICO

(Aztec Antiquity)

enemy." He then inquired of him where he had left the princess, his wife; and being informed that she still remained under protection of a Spanish guard on board the brigantine, the general sent to have her escorted to his presence. He invited his royal captives to partake of the refreshments which their exhausted condition rendered so necessary. Meanwhile the Spanish commander made his dispositions for the night, ordering Sandoval to escort the prisoners to Cojohuacan, whither he proposed himself immediately to follow. The other captains, Olid and Alvarado, were to draw off their forces to their respective quarters. It was impossible for them to continue in the capital, where the poisonous effluvia from the unburied carcasses loaded the air with infection. A small guard only was stationed to keep order in the wasted suburbs. It was the hour of vespers when Guatemotzin surrendered, and the siege might be considered as then concluded. The evening set in dark and the rain began to fall before the several parties had evacuated the city.

During the night a tremendous tempest, such as the Spaniards had rarely witnessed, and such as is known only within the tropics, burst over the Mexican valley. The thunder, reverberating from the rocky amphitheatre of

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hills, bellowed over the waste of waters, and shook the *teocallis* and crazy tenements of Tenochtitlan—the few that yet survived—to their foundations. The lightning seemed to cleave asunder the vault of heaven, as its vivid flashes wrapped the whole scene in a ghastly glare for a moment, to be again swallowed up in darkness. The war of elements was in unison with the fortunes of the ruined city. It seemed as if the deities of Anahuac, scared from their ancient abodes, were borne along shrieking and howling in the blast, as they abandoned the fallen capital to its fate.

EVACUATION OF THE CITY

On the day following the surrender Guatemotzin requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city, and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this Cortes readily assented, as, indeed, without it he could take no steps for purifying the capital. He gave his orders accordingly for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs, or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways—a mournful train; husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and as the straggling files gained the opposite shore they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

On the departure of the inhabitants, measures were immediately taken to purify the place, by means of numerous fires kept burning day and night, especially in the infected quarter of Tlatelolco, and by collecting the heaps of dead which lay mouldering in the streets and consigning them to the earth. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any probable computation. The accounts range widely from one hundred and twenty thousand, the lowest estimate, to two hundred and forty thousand. The number of the Spaniards who fell was comparatively small, but that of the allies must have been large, if the historian of Tezcuco is correct in asserting that thirty thousand perished of his own countrymen alone. That the number of those destroyed within the city was immense cannot be doubted, when we consider that, besides its own redundant population, it was thronged with that of the neighbouring towns, who, distrusting their strength to resist the enemy, sought protection within its walls.

The booty found there—that is, the treasures of gold and jewels, the only booty of much value in the eyes of the Spaniards—fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth. Yet the Aztecs must have been in possession of a much larger

treasure, if it were only the wreck of that recovered from the Spaniards on the night of the memorable flight from Mexico. Some of the spoil may have been sent away from the capital, some spent in preparations for defence, and more of it buried in the earth or sunk in the water of the lake. Their menaces were not without a meaning. They had, at least, the satisfaction of disappointing the avarice of their enemies.

Cortes had no further occasion for the presence of his Indian allies. He assembled the chiefs of the different squadrons, thanked them for their services, noticed their valour in flattering terms, and, after distributing presents among them, with the assurance that his master, the emperor, would recompense their fidelity yet more largely, dismissed them to their own homes. They carried off a liberal share of the spoils of which they had plundered the dwellings—not of a kind to excite the cupidity of the Spaniards—and returned in triumph—short-sighted triumph!—at the success of their expedition and the downfall of the Aztec dynasty.

PRESCOTT ON THE FALL OF THE AZTECS

Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs. Unmatched, it may be truly said, for constancy and courage, when we recollect that the door of capitulation on the most honourable terms was left open to them throughout the whole blockade, and that, sternly rejecting every proposal of their enemy, they, to a man, preferred to die rather than surrender. More than three centuries had elapsed since the Aztecs, a poor and wandering tribe from the far northwest, had come on the plateau. There they built their miserable collection of huts on the spot—as tradition tells us—prescribed by the oracle. Their conquests, at first confined to their immediate neighbourhood, gradually covered the valley, then, crossing the mountains, swept over the broad extent of the table-land, descended its precipitous sides, and rolled onwards to the Mexican gulf and the distant confines of Central America. Their wretched capital, meanwhile, keeping pace with the enlargement of territory, had grown into a flourishing city filled with buildings, monuments of art, and a numerous population, that gave it the first rank among the capitals of the western world. At this crisis came over another race from the remote East, strangers like themselves, whose coming had also been predicted by the oracle, and, appearing on the plateau, assailed them in the very zenith of their prosperity, and blotted them out from the map of nations forever! The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history—a legend of romance—a tale of the genii.

Yet we cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity. Notwithstanding the lustre thrown over its latter days by the glorious defence of its capital, by the mild munificence of Montezuma, by the dauntless heroism of Guatemotzin, the Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilisation, such as it was, was not their own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded in the land. It was, in respect to the Aztecs, a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword instead of a sceptre. They did nothing to ameliorate the condition, or in

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any way promote the progress, of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure, held in awe by armed garrisons, ground to the dust by imposts in peace, by military conscriptions in war. They did not, like the Romans, whom they resembled in the nature of their conquests, extend the rights of citizenship to the conquered. They did not amalgamate them into one great nation, with common rights and interests. They held them as aliens—even those who in the valley were gathered round the very walls of the capital. The Aztec metropolis, the heart of the monarchy, had not a sympathy, not a pulsation, in common with the rest of the body politic. It was a stranger in its own land.

The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifices prevail, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilisation? How can the interests of humanity be consulted where man is levelled to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands before unacquainted with it, or where, at least, it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious. As the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence, in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation—became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilisation, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets. The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles. The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time.

Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilisation, or, on the one or the other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended, it is unnecessary to discuss. It is more material to inquire whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity. And here we must admit that, with all allowance for the ferocity of the age and the laxity of its principles, there are passages which every Spaniard who cherishes the fame of his countrymen would be glad to see expunged from their history; passages not to be vindicated on the score of self-defence, or of necessity of any kind, and which must forever leave a dark spot on the annals of the conquest. And yet, taken as a whole, the invasion, up to the capture of the capital, was conducted on principles less revolting to humanity than most, perhaps than any, of the other conquests of the Castilian crown in the New World.

Whatever may be thought of the conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior; that they should have done this without knowledge of the language or of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain

whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were; that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies; that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilisation, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design; that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital and establishing their sway over the country—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous, too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Yet this must not be understood too literally; for it would be unjust to the Aztecs themselves, at least to their military prowess, to regard the conquest as directly achieved by the Spaniards alone. This would indeed be to arm the latter with the charmed shield of Ruggiero and the magic lance of Astolfo, overturning its hundreds at a touch. The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. The first terrible encounter of the Spaniards with the Tlaxcalans, which had nearly proved their ruin, did in fact insure their success. It secured to them a strong native support on which to retreat in the hour of trouble, and round which they could rally the kindred races of the land for one great and overwhelming assault. The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders. As it was, the capital was dissevered from the rest of the country, and the bolt, which might have passed off comparatively harmless had the empire been cemented by a common principle of loyalty and patriotism, now found its way into every crack and crevice of the ill-compacted fabric, and buried it in its own ruins. Its fate may serve as a striking proof that a government which does not rest on the sympathies of its subjects cannot long abide; that human institutions when not connected with human prosperity and progress must fall—if not before the increasing light of civilisation, by the hand of violence; by violence from within if not from without. And who shall lament their fall?/

MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST

The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests which were sent to Spain filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V, who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereign as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government, and on an extended plan laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the New World.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only

[1521 A.D.]

defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles who fell into their hands to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican Empire," says Robertson,^d "the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques or leaders and four hundred nobles were burned at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies." This sanguinary scene was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatemotzin had conspired against the Spanish authority and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico and the oppressor and destroyer of a great and once prosperous and happy nation.^c



CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEST OF PERU

OF the numerous nations which occupied the great American continent at the time of its discovery by the Europeans, the two most advanced in power and refinement were undoubtedly those of Mexico and Peru. But, though resembling one another in extent of civilisation, they differed widely as to the nature of it; and the philosophical student of his species may feel a natural curiosity to trace the different steps by which these two nations strove to emerge from the state of barbarism, and place themselves on a higher plane in the scale of humanity.

The empire of Peru, at the period of the Spanish invasion, stretched along the Pacific from about the second degree north to the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude; a line, also, which describes the western boundaries of the modern republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. Its breadth cannot so easily be determined; for, though bounded everywhere by the great ocean on the west, towards the east it spread out, in many parts, considerably beyond the mountains, to the confines of barbarous states, whose exact position is undetermined, or whose names are effaced from the map of history. It is certain, however, that its breadth was altogether disproportioned to its length.

By a judicious system of canals and subterraneous aqueducts, the waste places on the coast were refreshed by copious streams, that clothed them in fertility and beauty. Terraces were raised upon the steep sides of the Cordillera; and, as the different elevations had the effect of difference of latitude, they exhibited in regular gradation every variety of vegetable form, from the stimulated growth of the tropics, to the temperate products of a northern clime; while flocks of llamas — the Peruvian sheep — wandered with their shepherds over the broad, snow-covered wastes on the crests of the sierra, which rose beyond the limits of cultivation. An industrious population settled along the lofty regions of the plateaus, and towns and hamlets, clustering amidst orchards and wide-spreading gardens, seemed suspended in the air far above the ordinary elevation of the clouds.

[— 1450 A.D.]

On Lake Titicaca extensive ruins exist at the present day, which the Peruvians themselves acknowledge to be of older date than the pretended advent of the incas, and to have furnished them with the models of their architecture. The date of their appearance, indeed, is manifestly irreconcilable with their subsequent history. No account assigns to the inca dynasty more than thirteen princes before the conquest. But this number is altogether too small to have spread over four hundred years, and would not carry back the foundations of the monarchy, on any probable computation, beyond two centuries and a half — an antiquity not incredible in itself, and which, it may be remarked, does not precede by more than half a century the alleged foundation of the capital of Mexico. The fiction of Manco Capac and his sister-wife was devised, no doubt, at a later period, to gratify the vanity of the Peruvian monarchs, and to give additional sanction to their authority by deriving it from a celestial origin.

We may reasonably conclude that there existed in the country a race advanced in civilisation before the time of the incas; and, in conformity with nearly every tradition, we may derive this race from the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca; a conclusion strongly confirmed by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years, on its borders. Who this race were, and whence they came, may afford a tempting theme for inquiry to the speculative antiquarian. But it is a land of darkness that lies far beyond the domain of history.

EMPIRE OF THE INCAS

The same mists that hang round the origin of the incas continue to settle on their subsequent annals; and, so imperfect were the records employed by the Peruvians, and so confused and contradictory their traditions, that the historian finds no firm footing on which to stand till within a century of the Spanish conquest. At first, the progress of the Peruvians seems to have been slow, and almost imperceptible. By their wise and temperate policy, they gradually won over the neighbouring tribes to their dominion, as these latter became more and more convinced of the benefits of a just and well regulated government.

As they grew stronger, they were enabled to rely more directly on force; but, still advancing under cover of the same beneficent pretexts employed by their predecessors, they proclaimed peace and civilisation at the point of the sword. The rude nations of the country, without any principle of cohesion among themselves, fell one after another before the victorious arm of the incas. Yet it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the famous Topa Inca Yupanqui, grandfather of the monarch who occupied the throne at the coming of the Spaniards, led his armies across the terrible desert of Atacama, and, penetrating to the southern region of Chili, fixed the permanent boundary of his dominions at the river Maule. His son, Huayna Capac, possessed of ambition and military talent fully equal to his father's, marched along the Cordillera towards the north, and, pushing his conquests across the equator, added the powerful kingdom of Quito to the empire of Peru.

The ancient city of Cuzco, meanwhile, had been gradually advancing in wealth and population, till it had become the worthy metropolis of a great and flourishing monarchy.

Towards the north, on the sierra or rugged eminence already noticed, rose a strong fortress, the remains of which at the present day, by their vast size, excite the admiration of the traveller.

The nobility of Peru consisted of two orders, the first and by far the most important of which was that of the incas, who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous.

The other order of nobility was the *curacas*, the caciques of the conquered nations, or their descendants. They were usually continued by the government in their places, though they were required to visit the capital occasionally, and to allow their sons to be educated there as the pledges of their loyalty.

It was the inca nobility, indeed, who constituted the real strength of the Peruvian monarchy. Attached to their prince by ties of consanguinity, they had common sympathies and, to a considerable extent, common interests with him. Distinguished by a peculiar dress and insignia, as well as by language and blood, from the rest of the community, they were never confounded with the other tribes and nations who were incorporated into the great Peruvian monarchy. After the lapse of centuries, they still retained their individuality as a peculiar people. They were to the conquered races of the country what the Romans were to the barbarous hordes of the empire, or the Normans to the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Clustering around the throne, they formed an invincible phalanx, to shield it alike from secret conspiracy and open insurrection. Though living chiefly in the capital, they were also distributed throughout the country in all its high stations and strong military posts, thus establishing lines of communication with the court, which enabled the sovereign to act simultaneously and with effect on the most distant quarters of his empire. They possessed, moreover, an intellectual pre-eminence which, no less than their station, gave them authority with the people. Indeed, it may be said to have been the principal foundation of their authority. The crania of the inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilisation and social polity, which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came, and what was its early history, are among those mysteries that meet us so frequently in the annals of the New World, and which time and the antiquary have as yet done little to explain.^b

EARLY HISTORY OF ECUADOR

Whether all the tribes who populated this country were of the same race is unknown, also what kings and what number of them reigned over the land; mention only is made of Quitu, the last king, more powerful than his predecessors, who appears to have given his name to this kingdom situated in the centre of more than fifty provinces, larger or lesser states, nearly all independent.

This was their condition for some centuries, when a strange tribe called the Cara tribe, whose king was named Shyri Caran (lord or king of the Caras), came up from the shores of the Pacific Ocean (their country) by the valley of the river Esmeraldas, and took possession of the kingdom of Quito, about the year 280 of the Christian era. In the three hundred and twenty years preceding the year 1300, eleven shyris succeeded one another as kings of the land.

Three other shyris reigned over the land until 1450, and extended the dominion of their ancestors either by conquest or alliance. The fame of this

[1475-1525 A.D.]

country excited the envy of the incas of Peru, and Tupac Yupanqui, then the reigning inca, made several conquests in the kingdom of Quito and advanced as far as Mocha in 1460, where his progress was checked by the stubborn resistance of this province. Hualcopo Duchisela, the fourteenth shyri, was reigning at the period.

Hualcopo's son Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, ascended the throne, and regained the province of Puruhu (Chimborazo), which as we have said had been usurped by the conqueror Tupac Yupanqui; but that of Cacha remained under the dominion of the incas. Upon the death of his father Tupac Yupanqui, the inca Huainacapac, called the Great or the Conqueror, ascended the throne, raised an army, and in 1475 set his troops of Cuzco in movement, to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. He personally conducted the march, and after partial victories and advantages, by which he became master of nearly the whole kingdom, he completed his conquest of it by the celebrated battle of Hatuntaqui in which Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, was killed. Huainacapac believed that this victory would leave him in peaceful possession of the kingdom, and observed with surprise that the nobles and the army proclaimed Pacha, legitimate daughter of Cacha, queen. Foreseeing that this proclamation would lead to fresh annoyances and difficulties, he adopted the measure of marrying Pacha, the lawful shyri, which enabled him to legally add to the crown the emerald, emblem of the kings of Quito. Huainacapac never returned to the capital of Cuzco, but made Quito his residence, and governed the whole empire for thirty-eight years. This was the most brilliant and flourishing period in the history of the kingdom of Quito.

By his wife Pacha, Huainacapac had a son, the beloved Atahualpa, another son having previously been born to him in Cuzco, fruit of his first marriage with Rava Oello. Huainacapac died in 1525, after residing thirty-eight years in Quito, and left the kingdom divided between his two sons.

The inca Huascar came into the empire of Cuzco, such as it was when governed by his paternal ancestors, and the shyri Atahualpa inherited the kingdom of Quito, as possessed by his maternal ancestors.^c It was about this time that the Spaniards arrived in Peru, and, as the history of the Spanish conquest of that country is closely connected with that of Quito, the two may be considered together.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHILI

The story of the Spanish conquest of Peru includes also that of Chili.^a Before the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, the country was inhabited by the Moluches, or warriors; though speaking the same tongue, they were divided into different groups. The Huilliches inhabited the country now comprised between Chiloé and Valdivia. The Pehuenches lived more to the north, reaching as far as the Moule or Napel. The Pehuenches were the strongest and most numerous, and among them were the warlike Aucas or Araucanos. This celebrated tribe eventually gave its name to all the native inhabitants to the south of Biobio, divided into four groups or *butalmapus*. The name *pehuenches* still exists, and is principally applied to those inhabiting the eastern skirts and valleys of the Andes to the north. Each group was formed of various tribes, and each tribe of different families united by common interests. Each tribe obeyed an ulmen or chief warrior, whom the Spaniards called a *cacique*. Occasionally in times of war several tribes formed an alliance, and then they recognised the supreme authority of a chief called a *toqui*.

More than half a century before the Spaniards arrived for the first time in Chili the country had been invaded by the army of the inca Yupanqui. The invaders entered by Tucuman, and subjected all the territory between Copiapo and the Maule, but to the south of this river they met with stout resistance from the valiant Promaucaes and Araucanians. After fierce fighting the Peruvians were compelled to retreat to the north of the Maule or Rapel and Cachapoal, where they defended themselves with extensive fortifications. The northern territory, converted into a tributary state of the incas, greatly benefited by the Peruvians' advanced civilisation. Their government was mild and paternal, they perfected agriculture and different industries, and made canals for irrigation, and also bridges and roads. When the Spaniards arrived prepared for conquest, the Indians of the north and centre of Chili had already acquired habits of peace and labour.^d

EXPEDITION OF PIZARRO

The success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the New World; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hernando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known, had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnised by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias [Pedro Arias de Avila], the governor of Panama, having first authorised the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-inforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered — an empire where civilisation and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, where

[1525 A.D.]

they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-inforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men.

Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering everything, short of death, from an unhealthy climate and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru.

After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilisation, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realised, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir — the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt anything against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorise, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign.

Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river Santiago; but his unbounded ambition led him to grasp everything for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established.

The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country: but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advancing toward the south, in the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of \$40,000, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-inforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.^e

STATE OF PERU AT COMING OF SPANIARDS

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and [as we have already seen], notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors,



PIZARRO BEFORE CHARLES V



[1529-1534 A.D.]

the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year 1527, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom, it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

PIZARRO'S MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper.

Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the re-inforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to

crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter.

While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here, likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando de Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his

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pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country.

They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with anything more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the sixteenth century could form.

CAPTURE OF THE INCA

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the inca in his power. For this purpose he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with

precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this calvacade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vice-gerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile, as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it up to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing"; and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of

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his chosen band, advanced directly towards the inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to the indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

DEATH OF THE INCA

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca.

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention, his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous

captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burned: his last moments were embittered by the friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptised, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cuzco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as adventurers. Numerous reinforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

REVOLT OF PERUVIANS

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some reinforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable reinforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes. In the mean time, Amalgro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cuzco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders.

Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cuzco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cuzco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also

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invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the two brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cuzco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cuzco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cuzco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cuzco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

CONFLICT BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cuzco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cuzco. Almagro had five hundred

men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy: being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to entrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous; for "when Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death.

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted, with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

DELIBERATIONS IN SPAIN CONCERNING PERU

As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country

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upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease; and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them; and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid, and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions; though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined in a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were

assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion of those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World.^f

One of these territories was that part of Peru which is now known as Bolivia. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards it formed a part of the empire of the incas, but ruins of buildings found in the country show traces of a much older civilisation. Almagro passed through Bolivia on his way to Chili, and afterwards the Pizarro brothers established their authority on the high plateau. In 1545 the silver mines of Potosi were discovered. According to Mr. Dawson,^g "the discovery of Potosi revolutionised Upper Peru — as Bolivia was then called. It is probable that the high and inaccessible plateau would have largely escaped Spanish settlement if it had not been for the marvellous riches now offered to Spanish cupidity. Pizarro's original followers came as conquerors and not as settlers. They overran a great and civilised empire whose revenues they proposed to absorb and whose inhabitants they subjected to tribute, but after they had obtained all the gold accumulated in the hands of the Indians there would have been little to have induced them to remain in Bolivia. But as soon as the unprecedented extent of the silver deposit at Potosi was recognised, Bolivia became the greatest source of that metal in the known world and the most important province of the transatlantic dominions of the Castilian king. That one mountain had produced two billion ounces of silver."^a

Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of Santiago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcázar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and

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other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, nearly one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants.

The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the new world, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Marañon [Amazon], and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francisco de Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

INDEPENDENT VOYAGE OF ORELLANA

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Marañon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Marañon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils

awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain.

The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World. and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Marañon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Marañon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly.

Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and, as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST FRANCISCO PIZARRO

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves

[1540 A.D.]

as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement.

Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Rada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On the day appointed, Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met. There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issuing forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the king! Death to the tyrant!"

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish

colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the marquis," some said very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people. As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two courtyards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the marquis!"

DEATH OF PIZARRO

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Francisco de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop-elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the courtyard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands!"

Meanwhile, the marquis, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier, but these too, were quickly despatched; and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant!"

Alcantara, who in the adjoining room was assisting his brother to buckle

[1541 A.D.]

on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length Pizarro, unable in the hurry of the moment to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and enveloping one arm in his cloak with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault.

Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the marquis. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling he sank to the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor, Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding place was detected — betrayed, according to some accounts, by the looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself — and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.

The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands, and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons, and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognise the

authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others of the Chili faction were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognised; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horseback, and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to the market-place, and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends, and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and, in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the conqueror of Peru — of the man who but a few hours before had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions-in-arms and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, God forgive him!"

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes was merged in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good viceroy of Peru.

PRESCOTT'S ESTIMATE OF PIZARRO

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahualpa, and subsequently of the inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominion. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners

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of the conquered, our sympathies, the sympathies even of the Spaniards, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.

But as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government — though neither a good nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.^b

APPOINTMENT OF NEW GOVERNORS

The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cuzco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterised by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-Christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco. These events occurred in 1542. At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugñez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malcontents from all quarters looked to Gonzalo Pizarro as their leader and deliverer; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast.

Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed him-

self of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugñez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer entrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbes, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela, being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable reinforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor; he was truly the minister of peace; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue: and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cuzco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter.

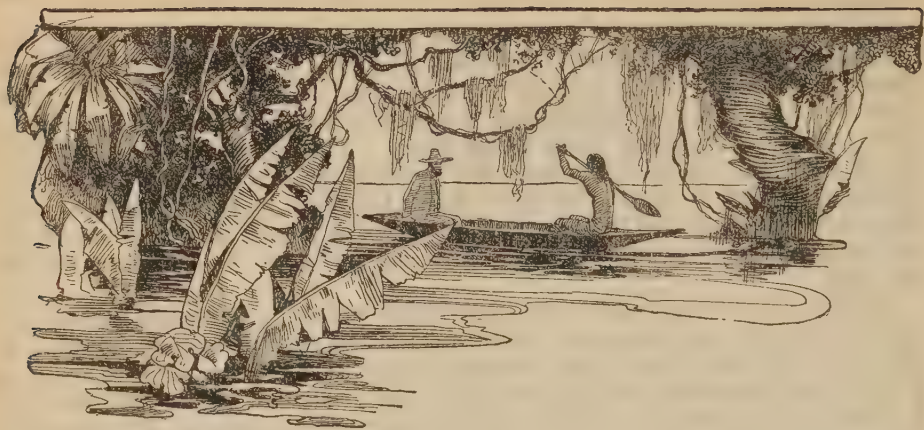
This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cuzco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this ex-

[1549 A.D.]

traordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied: "Well, a man can die but once."

Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to soothe the feelings of the remaining malcontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services. He entrusted the government of Peru to the court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.^e

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CHAPTER III

SPANISH DOMINION IN AMERICA

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigay, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Cartagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles V, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Benaleazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and persever-

[1536-1728 A.D.]

ance; but here, as everywhere else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fé carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than \$3,000.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fé de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caracas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Cartagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingredients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caracas, on the island of Curaçao, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caracas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip V granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caracas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caracas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

VICEROYALTIES OF MEXICO AND PERU

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them

to a condition of domestic servitude and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could not otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled), were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the viceroyalty of New Spain, the other the viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeche to beyond Cape Gracias à Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican Empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortés, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilising the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and José Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishing on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras and the peninsula of Yucatan attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the bay of Campeche, and afterward in the bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To promote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of

[1536-1624 A.D.]

Honduras declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the New or Old World; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realised its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

SETTLEMENT OF URUGUAY

Attached to the viceroyalty of Peru were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Colorado, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal.^b

When Rio de la Plata was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis in the first years of the sixteenth century, Uruguay was peopled by savage tribes settled on the banks of its rivers, whose history prior to this is unknown to us, and of whose customs we know little more than the few details given us by the first historians of these regions of America. The Spaniards chose for their settlements the banks of the Paraguay, the Parana, and the western bank of the Plata; and the eastern side of the Uruguay was well nigh deserted, for a century and a half barely serving as pasture land for herds of cattle and horses which multiplied in great numbers without the care of man. The Brazilians took advantage of the abandoned state of the country to carry off large numbers of animals under pretext that the territory belonged to the crown of Portugal, and as the Spaniards also claimed dominion, they founded in 1624 the town of Santo Domingo Soriano, and the Portuguese the Colonia del Sacramento in 1680, both wishing to forward their own interests.

The foundation of Colonia occasioned a series of wars and treaties by which the two monarchs wished to secure the dominion of Uruguay and to settle European questions. During this period, extending over a century and a quarter, Colonia, the eastern missions, and the lands bordering on Rio Grande alternately belonged to the Portuguese and to the Spanish. But the latter never lost their dominion over the lands in the interior, and founded various towns on the shores of the Atlantic, and on the river Plata, the principal of which was Montevideo. When the disputes for dominion were settled the Spaniards possessed all the land comprised between the southern limits of

Misiones, the sources of Rio Negro, Lake Mirim, the Atlantic Ocean, and Rio de la Plata.

While war followed war, the country became populated and civilisation increased. The condition of the most important section of the country will be seen by the report submitted to the viceroy by the corporation of Montevideo. The boundaries of this town of Montevideo situated in the Banda Oriental of Rio de la Plata, forty leagues from Buenos Ayres, as conceded to it by General Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, in 1726, in the name of the king, and approved by his majesty, in 1727, are as follows: on the south, Rio de la Plata; on the west, the river Cufre; on the north, the Cuchilla Grande; and on the east, the mountain named Pan de Azúcar.

The climate, between 33° and 39° south latitude, is temperate, neither the extremes of heat or cold are felt; the country is on the whole level although it abounds in hills and valleys, as the latter are not too deep or the former too high to prevent horse and carriage traffic. With the exception of the summits of the mountains and a few banks of stone in the fields the whole of the country is fit for cultivation.

Wheat, barley, flax, hemp, maize, and all sorts of vegetables and fruits can be grown with facility. There are abundant and good pasture lands even on the summits of the mountains. Although it abounds in streams and rivers there are no irrigated lands, nor is irrigation easy as those lands which are not subject to inundations are much higher than the water level. The soil of the lands in the vicinity of the inundations and of the valleys and declivities is moist, and resists a drought for a long time. The lands divided among the settlers of Minas, situated on the tributary rivulets of the Metal, the San Francisco and the Campanero may be irrigated with ease, as all those streams are rapid and descend from a great height to the valley where this town is situated. Native trees grow on the banks of the rivers and streams, which yield wood fit for ranches and other purposes, but not for houses, as it is neither firm nor durable. Bread and meat form the staple food of the inhabitants, which some obtain by cultivation of their own lands and breeding cattle, and others — about a third of the population — obtain from the lands of others.

Small flakes of gold are found on the banks of some of the tributaries of the San José and Santa Lucia, which some of the inhabitants go to find but show little knowledge or energy in the work. In the district called Las Minas lead, silver, copper, and gold are found, but those who have attempted to separate these metals, said to be much mixed, have lost both time and money, perhaps through want of skill. Their actual commerce consists in skins, tallow, and salted meats, which they are beginning to prepare; it is probable that this branch may be brought to perfection with experience. If a commerce in wheat in exchange for timber, yerba mate, and cotton were opened by land and by river, with Paraguay and the towns of Misiones, it might become an important branch. Wool, butter, and cheeses could be exported to Cadiz, Havana, and other ports, as sheep breed well and their wool is fine. Butter and cheeses are in general good, and would be improved if the farmers were encouraged by the exporting of these products to many parts of the kingdom which now receive butter and cheese from Flanders.

SETTLEMENT OF PARAGUAY AND ARGENTINA

Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal.

[1585-1788 A.D.]

The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The province of Río de la Plata [modern Argentina] was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption: the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain, in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric, in 1547; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Ciudad Real was founded in the province of La Guayra, as an encomienda, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry; and a few years after the encomienda of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586, the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, Father Torres, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain: this power was confirmed by Philip III of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulistas [or Portuguese settlers], or mamelukes, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to embody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Europeans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits: in 1668, they rebuilt the city of Santa Fé, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay [Juan de Garay], from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Río de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778, it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Asuncion; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from

Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725, tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city; Mompo, the leader of the malcontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Asuncion as his popularity was so great that he was canonised as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies; various accusations were made against them; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at which time they had 769,353 horned cattle, 94,983 horses, and 221,537 sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened, in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade rapidly increased, as well as the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies free of duty.

SPAIN'S ADMINISTRATION OF HER COLONIES

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the "council of the Indies"; and in 1524 it was newly modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the *audiencia*, or court of audience, were made to the council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI, bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions

[1501 A.D.]

in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political and civil power centred in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fé de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death to those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country, the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was entrusted to tribunals called audiences, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes.

The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the council of the Indies, which was the only particular in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contracción*. It took cognisance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import

cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judicially on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the council of the Indies.

COMPARISON OF SPANISH AND BRITISH COLONIES

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home.

The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign, being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them whether this governing power resided in the crown or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case they were slaves.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the New World. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign.

1519 A.D.]

RESTRICTIONS ON COMMERCE

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, contributory to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly.

The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributory to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belonged. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it.

COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN POWERS

The stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half was calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies.

The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessaries of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade was prohibited.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Cartagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *guarda costas*; they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the *guarda costas*. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often

[1720-1778 A.D.]

retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce with the colonies was carried on by register ships, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curaçao to Caracas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caracas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

RELAXATION OF OLD RESTRICTIONS

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764, a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the church; and the third, imposts, or duties. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half

sterling. This, however, was only the direct revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Everything was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dignity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of \$30,000 in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income: by monopolising certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his birthday, received \$50,000 in presents.

ADMINISTRATION OF DON JOSEPH GALVEZ

The more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reforms and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which everywhere had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for India, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two

[1720-1778 A.D.]

thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru were still farther from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and San Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zavallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the count de Galvez, was the establishment of intendancies for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement of the political revolution, which restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidor*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of the government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged.

The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcaldes*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *comandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and

business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, corregidores, and their delegates; and the *alcaldes* also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act, unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an assessor, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the royal audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognisance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocese there was a spiritual court, composed of the bishop, the fiscal *procurador*, or lawyer, and the *provisor*. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There was no meeting of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the *cabildos*, or corporations, which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called *regidores*, the governor of the province being *ex-officio* president of the *cabildo*, and controlled all its acts. The office of *regidore* was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the *cabildos*, called *alquazils*, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the *alcaldes*, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810, one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers and enrich themselves.

FIRST SYMPTOMS OF INSURRECTION

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and

[1779-1781 A.D.]

political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish creoles in America, notwithstanding the political oppression which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caracas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuzcoa, sometimes called the company of Caracas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance.

Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal inca blood, became the leader of the malcontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malcontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineros, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fé, crying, "Long live the king — death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about thirty-six miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malcontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of

reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that everywhere prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of submission to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events, which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, a number of creoles at Caracas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionise that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. España, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Guzman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged General Miranda in his designs to revolutionise Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States, in 1806, though it was done without the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing anything, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said that, during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to the American government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

[1797-1807 A.D.]

The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Soliemente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chueto, three miles from the city, General Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did anything to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, reinforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorised by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by General Whitlock, the other by General Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso, and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under General Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under General Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack — and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the

trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under General Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by General Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given General Whitlock for organising a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object — the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the sea-ports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.^b



CHAPTER IV

REVOLUTIONS IN SPANISH AMERICA

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever"—since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history to seize on the country and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII, his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May, 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.^b

GENERAL REVOLT OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES

The invasion of Spain and the captivity of the king afforded the Spanish colonies the opportunity they required for rising in revolt. The unlooked-

for news caused a deep and natural agitation in America. The junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz claimed the same authority over the colonies as the king, but the Americans opposed their authority; they were not prepared to recognise Joseph Bonaparte, but were equally averse to obeying the Spanish juntas. They maintained that the American provinces had the same right as the Spanish to govern themselves during the king's captivity by means of special juntas. Two parties were formed throughout the colonies: the Spaniards proper, holding the high civil and ecclesiastical posts, wished obedience to be given to the junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz; the Spanish-Americans or creoles, on the contrary, would not recognise the authority of the Spanish juntas, and wished special juntas to be formed in the colonies themselves. To disguise their secret aspirations for absolute independence, the leaders of the revolution repeated, "We will obey the king when he is set at liberty; until then we will have an independent government." The result of these disputes was the general revolt of the Spanish-Americans from Mexico to Plata and Chili (1810). The creoles then established their national juntas of government, and commenced the reform of the colonial institutions; the Spanish party resisted, and war broke out. While the Spaniards of the mother country were defending their independence against the French, the colonies in America were similarly occupied against Spain herself.

When Ferdinand VII recovered his liberty, blood had already been shed in the colonies, and the latter would no longer submit to this base and despotic monarch who, on his return to Spain, persecuted the very men who had shown such heroism in fighting for him against the French. The revolutionists had to fight not only against the Spanish forces but also against political and religious prejudices; to many Americans the revolution was a sin against God and the king; on the other hand they lacked arms, ammunition, and ships, and the money to buy them; nevertheless by their determined will they vanquished all obstacles and worked prodigies.

In the first instance the advantage was to the revolutionists, but on the expulsion of the French and the return of Ferdinand VII Spain was able to send more troops against the revolted colonies. From 1814 to 1815 the revolutionists were everywhere defeated, in spite of which they recommenced the struggle and recovered the advantage. The outbreak of the liberal revolution in the mother country in 1820, provoked by Ferdinand's despotism, favoured the Americans by dividing the Spaniards, and preventing the setting out of an army prepared to fight against them.

Bolivar and Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins, were the great champions of South American independence. Setting out from north and south almost simultaneously, the Colombian troops led by the liberator Bolivar, and the Chilian and Argentine led by San Martin, met victorious in Peru, centre of Spanish power in South America. The illustrious General Sucre, the liberator's second, set the seal forever on Spanish-American independence by the memorable victory of Ayacucho, December 9th, 1824. Shortly afterwards the Spaniards lost their last defences, and of all her former colonies, now converted into republics, in the beginning of 1826 only Porto Rico and Cuba were left to Spain.

Upon the fall of Napoleon the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, with the object, scarcely holy, of combating liberal ideas in all parts and restoring absolute government. Powerless to subject her revolted colonies, Spain invoked the intervention and aid of the European monarchs against the new republics of America, but the policy of the United

[1814-1822 A.D.]

States, supported by England, defeated the plans of the Holy Alliance. Shortly after, the United States definitely recognised the independence of the new republics, 1822. The following year the king of France, in concert with the Holy Alliance, brought an army against the Spanish liberals and defeated them, re-establishing the despotic sway of Ferdinand VII, who caused a renewal of the plots of the Holy Alliance against the Latin-American republics. President Monroe of the United States, however, declared that the states would consider as hostile to themselves any European interference with the new republics. This attitude of the United States and the decisive defeat of the Spaniards at Ayacucho, in the following year, brought England to a decision. Following the advice of Canning, she recognised the independence of the new American states, and her example was immediately followed by the remaining European powers. Spain, who had solicited even the spiritual support of the pope, finally lost hope of European intervention to regain her former colonies; she was compelled therefore to resign herself, and in various treaties recognised the independence of nearly all the colonies. The new republics naturally formed one family; they all professed the same religion, spoke the same tongue, and had inherited from Spain the same vices and virtues. They were all of the same origin, had fought together the battle of independence, and had the same mission to maintain a democratic republic, and by liberty to regenerate themselves. Their political interests were therefore solidary—whatever benefited or harmed one, benefited or harmed all.^c

REVOLUTION IN NEW GRANADA

The war of independence in New Granada and Peru is closely associated with the name of the creole, Simon Bolivar of Caracas.¹ This distinguished general and statesman, of European education, devoted his strength and his fortune to the liberation of his countrymen, and did not allow himself to be turned aside from his goal by their ingratitude. Venezuela had already proclaimed its independence in 1811; a terrible earthquake, which almost wholly destroyed the capital Caracas and killed twenty thousand people in Valencia, was interpreted by the clergy as a punishment from heaven for the revolt and was used to bring the country back under Spanish dominion. The pitiless severity and blood-thirstiness of the Spaniards in persecuting the republicans brought the smothered flames to a new outburst. Bolivar led six hundred men across the Andes; thousands of discontented men flocked to his standard in order to avenge the deaths of the executed patriots. He was appointed dictator by the federal congress of New Granada, which hailed him as "saviour" and organised a war "to the knife" by signing the terrible decree of Truxillo (January 2nd, 1814), which condemned to death every Spaniard convicted of being a royalist. A war, terrible, vicissitudinous, full of difficulties, wearisome battles, and privations, now broke out between Morillo on the one side and Bolivar, who was supported by Paez, a coloured man and an able soldier. Whenever Morillo conquered, the blood of the republicans flowed in streams; Bolivar in revenge caused eight hundred imprisoned Spaniards to be executed. The Spaniards received terrible aid from the llaneros, who, like the gauchos of the Pampas, led a nomadic life as shepherds and butchers on the grassy steppes of Terra Firma. They were accustomed to a hardy and frugal

[¹ The standard of revolt had been raised at the end of the eighteenth century by the creole general Miranda of Caracas, but the attempt failed because of the lack of harmony among the different classes, races, and provinces.]

life on the sunny pastures, and as soldiers armed with their pikes and lassoes inflicted great damage and sanguinary defeats on the republicans. Bolivar was compelled to lay down the chief command and to seek safety in flight to Santo Domingo. The reaction of the absolute monarchy proceeded over corpses, with confiscation of property and extortion. However, Bolivar returned and his appearance aroused again the sinking courage of the republicans; successful feats of arms increased his renown. Venezuela and New Granada formed a federation, chose Bolivar as captain-general, and at a congress at Angostura declared that the two republics had united into the republic of Colombia, composed of three parts (December 17th, 1819). A new army was to sail from Cadiz to America. This was the army which, by raising the standard of revolt, ushered in the rule of the cortes in Spain. But the cortes government also was unwilling to recognise the independence of the colonies, and the war began anew. In spite of the brave bearing of General Morale, however, the war resulted in disaster for the disagreeing Spaniards. The republic of Colombia obtained its independence and elected Bolivar as president (1824). A commercial treaty soon bound the young republic with North America.^d

REVOLUTION IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND PERU

In the mean while Quito had shared in the revolutionary sentiments which began to agitate Spanish South America towards the end of the seventeenth century, and a political society, the *Escuela de Concordia*, was founded at Quito on the initiative of the Quitonian doctor Eugenio Espejo.^a

The cry of liberty was raised in Quito on the 10th of August, 1809, and the acts of installation of the 19th and 20th of September revealed an attempt to establish a new order of things; the battles which took place at Biblian, Mocho, Panecillo, and San Antonio de Caranquin proved how vigorous were the attempts to gain independence, although they were quelled by General Toribio Montes. On the 9th of October, 1820, the cry was repeated in the town of Guayaquil, but the people of Ecuador lacked union among themselves, and numbered infamous traitors in their ranks; they also lacked every means of sustaining a fight against the prejudices of three centuries, and in their simplicity thought that the power of kings on earth was as it were the incarnation of the power of heaven; hence they were defeated on the fields of Primer Guachi, Verde Lorna, Tanisagua, and Segundo Guachi in the years 1820 and 1821, though they were victorious at Babahoya and Yaguachi.

The able General Antonio José de Sucre, sent to Guayaquil by the great liberator Bolivar, in the name of the inhabitants of Venezuela and New Granada, which were already free, was not disheartened by his defeat at Segundo Guachi, but organised a new army in Guayaquil, and, reinforced by the Peruvian division commanded by General Andres Santa Cruz, crossed the mountain chain of the interior, and gained a complete victory on May 22nd, 1822, on the summit of Pichincha, in the Andes, and sealed the liberty and independence of Quito by a treaty signed on the 24th by the Spanish president of Quito, Don Melchor de Aymeric. Ecuador, becoming incorporated with New Granada and Venezuela which had already been formed into a republic, accepted the government and constitutional principles of Cucuta given in July, 1821.^c The republic formed by the confederation of these three states was called Colombia.^a

The Chilians took the first step towards asserting their independence by deposing the Spanish president, and putting in his place (September 18th,

[1810-1817 A.D.]

1810) a committee of seven men,¹ nominated by themselves, to whom were intrusted all the executive powers. In April, 1811, the first blood was spilled in the cause of Chilian independence. A battalion of royal troops which had been drawn up in the great square of Santiago was attacked by a detachment of patriot grenadiers, and routed, with considerable loss on both sides. In the same year (December 20th) the government was vested in a triumvirate, and Juan José Carrera was appointed general-in-chief of the army about to be formed.

In 1813 a powerful army, under the command of General Paroja, invaded Chili, but was twice defeated by the republican troops under Carrera. The royalists, however, speedily received large reinforcements; and after a severe contest Chili was once more obliged to own the sovereignty of Spain. For three years more the people submitted (under the Spanish governors Osorio and Pont) to the old system of tyranny and misgovernment, till at length the patriot refugees, having levied an army in La Plata, and received the support of the Buenos Ayreans, marched against the Spaniards, and completely defeated them at Chacabuco in 1817.

The patriots next proceeded to organise an elective government, of which San Martin, the general of the army, was nominated the supreme director. Their arrangements, however, were not completed when they were attacked once more by the royalists, and routed at the battle of Cancha-rayada with great loss. Betrayed into a fatal security by this success, the royalist troops neglected the most ordinary military precautions, and being suddenly attacked by the patriots in the plains of Maipo, were defeated with great slaughter. This victory secured the independence of Chili.^f

The history of the revolution in Peru completes in a way the histories of revolution in Colombia and Chili, which countries, although they succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke before their neighbour, could not hope to remain independent as long as the Spaniards ruled in Peru. Although late in acquiring her independence, Peru had been early in rebelling against Spanish oppressions. As we have already seen, a rebellion headed by Tupac Amaru broke out in 1780, which ended in failure but gave the first blow to the power of Spain. Others preached rebellion after Tupac Amaru, and in 1814 the Peruvians again attempted a revolt but were defeated at the battle of Umachiri (March 12th, 1815).^g

Chili, the immediate neighbour of Peru, had already recovered its independence. Lord Cochrane had been appointed commander-in-chief of the naval forces; he made an audacious attempt to seize the port of Callao, which, if it had succeeded, would have liberated the whole country. It had at least the result of inspiring the patriots with new confidence. Cochrane, cruising along the coast, despoiling the Spanish landholders, while he respected the possessions of the Peruvians and of the creoles, filled the hearts of the former with terror, and inspired the latter with sympathetic confidence. Accordingly, when the Chilian army appeared on Peruvian territory, it was hailed as a liberator. This army, commanded by General San Martin, did not number more than forty-five hundred men under its flag, and had only twelve pieces of cannon; the Spanish troops cantoned in the land did not number less than twenty-three thousand combatants. The viceroy, giving way to the pressure of the malevolent sentiments of the people, which seemed to increase every minute in hostility towards the government, went away from the city, leaving it in the hands of the marquis de Montmiré, a man who

[¹ The real leader of the revolution was Dr. Martinez de Rosas, the most influential man among the patriots.]

enjoyed universal esteem and who was alone able, in this critical moment, to replace authority with influence. The city thus left to itself begged the commander of the troops of Chili to come and receive its surrender; the city was in a hurry to give itself up to him.

San Martin declared himself the protector of Peru, and took up the civil and military dictatorship, adding that after having expelled the last enemies from the liberated soil he would give back to the country the care of its own destiny. Another decree, dated August 12th, 1821, proclaimed the freedom of children born in Peru, after July 28th of the preceding year, even when the fathers and mothers were slaves. The tribute was suppressed as disgraceful to those who paid it; it was the same with the *mita*, that conscription so mortal in its effects and iniquitous in principle; it was also decided that the natives should no longer be called Indians, which name had been made a sort of moral insult to them, but that on the contrary henceforth there should be only Peruvians in Peru. Unfortunately for the cause of independence, grave dissensions broke out between General San Martin and Lord Cochrane. Making use of his incontestable authority, San Martin ordered Cochrane to return immediately to Chili. But the latter, instead of obeying, having learned that two Spanish frigates had appeared in the waters of Panama, sailed towards the north to give them chase. This unsuccessful attempt had no other result than to prove still more clearly the insubordination of which the general-in-chief complained. The admiral did not find the ships he was looking for; but on his return to the Peruvian coast, finding in the port of Callao a Spanish frigate which had surrendered to the agents of the new government, Cochrane dared to claim it as though he had captured it. His demand was rejected and Lord Cochrane finally set sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived September 1st, 1822.

This departure, joined to the capitulation of Callao and the retreat of General Canterac, permitted San Martin to think at last of ending the war. But difficulties of more than one sort were still to obstruct the progress of affairs. San Martin had committed a fault which is perhaps difficult to avoid after a revolutionary triumph. He had given places and employment to men who had no other right to have them than their enthusiasm for the new ideas. Enthusiasm does not always supply talent. One of his improvised generals was defeated by Canterac, who took a thousand of the independents prisoners and captured four pieces of artillery and part of the baggage.

In the mean while the national congress met on September 20th, 1812. San Martin went to the assembly, took off his insignia of power, and resigned his almost sovereign authority into the hands of the representative of the people. A decree, voted by acclamation, expressed to him the gratitude of Peru and conferred on him the title of generalissimo of the republican armies. He accepted the title but without ever exercising the functions, and immediately left the soil he had liberated, to take refuge in the peace and obscurity of a private life.

One of the first acts of congress was to create an executive power, under the name of the governing junta, composed of three members, General José Lamar, Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida. This junta soon gave way under the weight of affairs and under its own incapacity, and congress, yielding to the pressure of the army, appointed Colonel Riva Agüero president of the republic. General Santa Cruz took command of the army, but Canterac, profiting by the disorganisation of the new government, tried once more to re-establish the authority of the mother country. At that moment he was at the head of a thousand men, who were disciplined and experienced in war.

[1821-1826 A.D.]

He soon appeared before Lima, and made his entry into the capital on June 18th, 1823. Colonel Riva Aguero retired to Callao with the congress, which held its sessions in a little church. Riva Aguero was deposed and, fleeing from Callao as he had fled from Lima, retired to Truxillo, still followed by congress. The Colombian general Sucre was invested with the supreme authority. Canterac left the capital after having plundered it. The campaign of Santa Cruz was not successful; he lost six thousand men out of his seven thousand, and returned to Lima with only a handful of soldiers. The generalissimo of the republic in his turn was obliged to take refuge in Callao.

Harassed on all sides and incapable of resisting the twenty thousand men of the royalist troops which had been massed against them, the patriots were within a finger's breadth of destruction when Bolivar, the president of the Colombian Republic, authorised by the congress of his country, entered Lima on September 1st, 1823. Although the presence of this man, who appeared in Peru as a liberator, was hailed with some enthusiasm, difficulties were not lacking to his first attempts. In the first place, the ex-president Riva Aguero, at the head of a certain number of partisans, rebelled against the new government and had to be suppressed; soon afterwards a military insurrection seized Callao and forced Bolivar to evacuate Lima; almost at the same time the minister of war, a general, officers of all grades, and three squadrons of cavalry went over to the royal army.

These vexatious rebuffs might have discouraged a man of weaker stuff than Bolivar, but he was one of those who are spurred on by difficulty and who rouse themselves before an obstacle. The prestige of his name attracted four thousand more Peruvians, whom he joined to the six thousand Colombians he had at his disposal. The sanguinary battle of Juno, in which he defeated the troops of Canterac, set the movement for independence on a firmer footing, and the great day of Ayacucho assured it a definite triumph. The effect of that battle was far-reaching. Everyone who was an enemy of Peruvian independence had to surrender or leave the country. One of the heroes of the battle, General Gamara, marched immediately upon Cuzco at the head of a Peruvian battalion. The garrison, conforming to the terms of the capitulation of Ayacucho, laid down its arms. The royalist general Tristan then took the title of viceroy and made a last attempt to save a lost cause. This last effort was useless, and he had to surrender to a patriot colonel with the small garrison of Arequipa. One of the last partisans who still fought for Spain, Alaleta, still held the field, but he too was forced to submit in his turn.

The old masters of Peru now possessed only the citadel of Callao. It is true that its garrison, commanded by an intrepid soldier, the heroic Rodil, made one of those desperate resistances which ennobles causes destined to failure. Rodil and his companions for thirteen months endured all the horrors of famine and war, added to disease, their ordinary companion. He finally surrendered on February 26th, 1826, when for some time he had no longer had a mouthful of bread to give to his men, who were reduced to the most cruel extremity.

This time at least Peru was free and the Spanish dominion was forever overthrown. Rodil by his magnificent defence gave the latter a splendid funeral. When the hour for defeat comes it is well to be able to fall with honour. Although the war of independence was terminated, the task of the patriots was not yet accomplished. It remained for them to organise the country, to give to Peru strong and enduring institutions.

BOLIVIA

Before the revolution Upper Peru had formed part of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, but there was a radical difference between the two countries in manners, customs, and even in language. Accordingly the republic of Argentina, with a disinterestedness and a political sense which cannot be too highly praised, instead of claiming the least rights of suzerainty, permitted the newly liberated country to decide freely upon its future. A general assembly of delegates declared that, in conformity with the wishes of the people, Upper Peru would form a separate government and would call itself Bolivia. The name was not the only homage rendered to the great patriot who had done so much for the nation. It was voted to give him \$1,000,000 as a pecuniary reward for his services. He accepted the money only to devote it to buying back slaves.

Bolivar soon left the new state to install the congress of Lower Peru. The liberator had given Bolivia a new constitution with the possibility of appointing his successor. He would have liked to have the same principles adopted by the country which had just called him to establish its government. The Peruvian patriots would not consent, and from that moment a systematic opposition was formed against Bolivar.

REACTION AGAINST BOLIVAR

Bolivar was accredited with ambitious views. Everywhere he went he met an ill will which wounded his pride. He was accused of conspiracy. He felt obliged to act rigorously, and he practised a severity which was often cruel. At one time there was fear of a return to anarchy. Bolivar, giving way to a displeasure which he had a right to feel, or perhaps pretending it in order to try a politic measure which he was almost sure would succeed, announced his intention of leaving for Colombia. In an instant demonstrations were organised to beg him to remain in his new country. The people even came soon to asking for the adoption of the Bolivian constitution which had been so energetically repulsed a few months previously.

The troubles which broke out just then in Colombia, where General Paez had put himself in a state of disobedience and almost of rebellion against the central government, obliged Bolivar to leave Lima for Bogota. His presence alone and his influence were enough to re-establish order without the necessity of resorting to the hand of the executioner. But Bolivar's attempt to make his native country adopt the constitution which was the object of his too persevering solicitude remained unsuccessful. This constitution moreover was no more liked in Peru than in Colombia, and Bolivar had hardly left Lima before the people rebelled against it. From that moment the Peruvians had only one wish — to get rid of Bolivar's charter and of the Colombian troops. The signal for insurrection was given by Colonel Bustamante, who in the night of January 26th, 1827, put himself at the head of a number of determined men and arrested the generals Lara and Sanz and the foreign officers of whose hostility and energy he was afraid.

A vessel was ready and waiting in the port of Callao; it took the Colombians on board and set sail for Guayaquil. The ministers at once resigned, but General Santa Cruz was none the less kept at the head of the government. In the mean time the first question was the evacuation of the territory by the foreign troops. They were paid a part of their arrear salaries, and in the following March Bustamante could preside over their embarkment. There was

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then a violent reaction against the Bolivian — as the author of the detested constitution was called. People had as many maledictions for him as they had before had praises and words of adoration. A new congress met at Lima on June 24th, and its first act was to repudiate the Bolivian constitution. General Lamar was chosen president of the republic, and soon Peru declared war on Colombia and on the man from whom she had received her liberty.

The opening of the campaign was unfortunate for Colombia, for she lost the port of Guayaquil. At the same time the Peruvians invaded their enemy's territory, but one battle lost was enough to punish this unjust aggression. Their army was almost completely defeated at Tarqui in the province of Quito. Bolivar did not take undue advantage of the victory, and showed instead an extreme moderation in the conditions in the treaty of peace which regulated the frontiers of the two states and consecrated their mutual independence.

The reaction which had declared itself so strongly in Lower Peru against Colombian influence was only too faithfully imitated in Bolivia. There was as it were a rivalry in ingratitude between the two states. General Sucre, in accepting for two years the presidency which the constitution gave him for all his life, had stipulated for the right to keep near him two thousand men of the Colombian troops, his war companions. Bolivia had acquiesced in this demand, but soon the national pride was irritated at what it regarded a disgrace, and it wished to obtain the immediate evacuation of the territory. The assistance of Lower Peru was asked and obtained. The troops of General Sucre in spite of their bravery could not resist the superior numbers, and the liberator of Bolivia was conquered and obliged to leave. From that moment Peru and Bolivia have remained independent of the foreign yoke.⁹

A COLOMBIAN ESTIMATE OF BOLIVAR

As a warrior Bolivar is on a level with the greatest men of ancient and modern history; he was possessed of vast genius in forming a plan of action, and unparalleled energy in carrying it into execution and in overcoming all obstacles. His audacity, valour, constancy, and patient suffering of misfortune, until fortune was once more captive, a creative talent for drawing resources out of nothingness, these brilliant qualities make Bolivar one of the most distinguished warriors of his century. In fact, having commenced his daring enterprise with but two hundred and fifty men, he liberated Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. To have pursued the Spaniards as far as Peru and conquered in Junin and Ayacucho are deeds worthy of immortal fame. These rich and vast possessions were occupied and defended by more than forty thousand soldiers, led by excellent generals and officers, protected by their fortifications and upheld by the moral force arising from three hundred years of rule. By his genius and perseverance, Bolivar raised an army from nothing and seized these places from them forever. In less than eight years the flag of Colombia flew victoriously over all the country between the mouths of the Orinoco and the silver summits of Potosi.

Bolivar's glory reached its height with the liberty of Peru and his military career was ended with Ayacucho; from that time we may look upon him as a politician and administrator. In this first character, some of the acts of Bolivar bear the stamp of a great talent. In 1813 he liberated his country Venezuela from the iron yoke of Spain, but the fierce war which the Spaniards and their partisans used on him prevented his organising the country. With terrible retaliation, he declared war without mercy; then followed scenes of

bloodshed and cruelty which strike one with horror. From 1816 Bolivar conducted the war with humanity and created the republic of Colombia, which great political act gave the civilised world a very favourable idea of its founder. This republic sprang up under the shade of his laurels, and Bolivar, triumphant, created beyond Ecuador the republics of Peru and Bolivia. His was the idea of convoking an American congress in the isthmus of Panama—an ideal Utopia which did not produce the desired results. By these eminent services Bolivar won the love, respect, veneration, and unbounded confidence of all the generals and officers of the liberating army, who pledged themselves to obedience, and also of the inhabitants of the three republics.

But from the time he declared his faith in the suggested constitution for Bolivia, which his ill-advised counsellors caused to be unlawfully adopted in Peru; from the time, in 1826, when he supported by his influence the antagonists of the constitution of Colombia, and when his agents encouraged the people in their unlawful acts, inspired by the desire of some to bring him to the dictatorship, and the scheme of others to form an empire of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, or a vast confederation of the three republics, of which he should be protector; from the time when he rewarded Paez and all those who had contributed to the dismemberment of Colombia and the destruction of the constitution of Cucuta—his anger being directed against those who upheld the constitutional government—a great mistrust of him took hold of the Colombians.

Furious enemies rose up on all sides against Bolivar, attacking him in the name of liberty, which they said he menaced. In the midst of exalted passions and adverse parties, the liberator, supported by the army in his opinion of a Colombian preponderance, accepted the dictatorship, which unfortunately occasioned the conspiracy of the 25th of September, which exalted the military power beyond what was necessary to repress an excessive and turbulent democracy.

In 1829 Bolivar discountenanced and entirely put an end to the project of a monarchy, which some desired; he never wished for it, in spite of his love of rule and of command without subjection to laws. Calumniated, persecuted, and repudiated by his enemies and by a great part of Colombia, he threw up the supreme command in disgust, and by not leaving his territory, as he had offered to do, and as was fitting, he gave new food for calumny to his enemies, who persecuted him even beyond the tomb. Bolivar hated the details of administration, and was wont to say that the study was a martyrdom to him. He showed great vigour and firmness in enforcing his resolutions, and great perseverance in pushing forward his designs, ever undaunted by obstacles, however great. He was of opinion that the theories of European economists could not be adopted in Colombia, and therefore preferred to continue the same taxes to which the people were accustomed. He was economical and never spent the public revenue without need and never permitted it to be defrauded. He was a lover of justice wherever he found it, and his decrees were always in accordance with it. He showed great judgment and penetration in choosing his chief lieutenants: Sucre, Santander, Soublette, Salon, and Flores were worthy to be his subordinates.

Graciously yielding to his friends, he sometimes attempted by his advice to pass resolutions contrary to established rule, and to the plan followed by his ministers: nevertheless he showed the latter great consideration, vigorously supporting their orders, and placing absolute confidence in them.

As a military orator, Bolivar was passionate, pointed, original, eloquent, and profound. Presenting himself in 1813 to his fellow citizens of Venezuela

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for the first time as their liberator, he said: "I am one of you who, by the power of the God of mercy, have miraculously thrown off the yoke of the tyrants who oppressed us, and am come to redeem you from your cruel captivity. Prostrate yourself before an omnipotent God, and let your hymn of praise reach the throne of him who has restored to you the august character of men!" and turning to the soldiers of Granada who accompanied him — "and you, loyal republicans, will march to rescue the cradle of Colombian independence, as the crusaders set free Jerusalem, cradle of Christianity."

But not only did Bolivar possess the rare eloquence of a soldier; his sayings by the depth of their wisdom are worthy of Plato or Socrates. The following are some of them: Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin. Ambition and intrigue make capital out of the credulity of men wholly ignorant of the principles of civil and political economy. Ignorance frequently takes pure illusion for fact, license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. "Man," says Homer, "with the loss of liberty loses half his spirit." Where a sacred respect for country, laws, and constitutional authority does not exist, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict between man and man, party and party. The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of prosperity, social security, and political stability."^h

General Holstein,^l chief of staff under President Bolivar, gives us another view. According to him, Bolivar was ungrateful, hypocritical, vain, and treacherous, without being a great general. In one place, after telling how Bolivar's cousin Ribas procured him his first command in the republican army, he says: "These circumstances were the origin of the subsequent grandeur of Bolivar, who has ever had the fortune to profit by the bravery, skill, and patriotism of others. When Ribas was killed Bolivar fled. Paez was victorious when Bolivar was not with him, and beaten when the latter directed operations. Sucre gained the battle of Ayacucho, in Peru, when Bolivar was sick."^a

REVOLUTION IN ARGENTINA

The disturbances which ultimately led to the separation of the country from Spain were initiated by the refusal of the Argentines to acknowledge the Napoleonic dynasty established at Madrid. Liniers, who was viceroy on the arrival of the news of the crowning of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was deposed by the adherents of Ferdinand VII; and on July 19th, 1809, Cisneros became viceroy in the name of Ferdinand. In compliance with the urgent appeals of the people, he opened the trade of the country to foreign nations; and on May 25th, 1810, a council was formed, with his consent, under the title of the Provisional Government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. This has since been regarded as the commencement of the era of the political independence of the country. Of this council Mariano Morino, the secretary, was the most prominent member, and the people of the city of Buenos Ayres were for some time its only effective supporters. An attempt of the Spanish party to make Cisneros president of the council failed, and he retired to Montevideo. On January 31st, 1813, a congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres, and Posadas was elected dictator of the republic. Montevideo still supported the cause of Spain, but was besieged by the revolutionary army of Buenos Ayres, and capitulated in 1814. A sanguinary struggle between the party of independence and the adherents of Spain spread over all the country of the Rio de la Plata; but on March 25th, 1816, a new congress of deputies elected by the people was assembled at Tucuman, where Payridon was declared

president of the republic; and on July 9th, the separation of the country from Spain was formally declared, and a state of comparative order was re-established. Buenos Ayres was then declared the seat of government. The whole of the viceroyalty did not, however, acknowledge this government. Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, established themselves each as a separate republic, after passing through scenes of disorder, whilst the city of Buenos Ayres was itself the scene of sanguinary disturbances. From this time, however, the struggle for independence became, as regards the Argentine Republic, more of a foreign than a domestic war. The combined forces of Buenos Ayres and Chili defeated the Spaniards at Chacabuco in 1817, and at Maypu in 1818; and from Chili the victorious General San Martin led his troops into Peru, where, on July 9th, 1821, he made a triumphal entry into the city of Lima, which had been the greatest stronghold of the Spanish power, having been, from the time of its foundation by Pizarro, the seat of government of the viceroyalty of Peru. A general congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres on March 1st, 1822, in the presence of ambassadors from all the liberated states, and a general amnesty was decreed, though the war was not ended until December 9th, 1824, when the republican forces gained the final victory of Ayacucho, in the Peruvian districts of the Amazon. The Spanish government did not, however, formally acknowledge the independence of the country until the year 1842. On January 23rd, 1825, a national constitution for the federal states which form the present Argentine Republic was decreed; and on February 2nd of the same year Sir Woodbine Parish, acting under the instructions of Mr. Canning, signed a commercial treaty in Buenos Ayres by which the British government acknowledged the independence of the country.ⁱ

REVOLUTION IN URUGUAY

The English invasions, which have already been mentioned, were the chance cause of transcendental changes. We know that owing to the ideas generally held in past centuries with respect to the conquests and colonial system a great difference was made between the Spaniards and Americans of Rio de la Plata; the former discharged the greater part of the public offices, especially the most important, and had monopolised the commerce with the peninsula; the latter lacked political freedom and their civil liberty was restricted, and socially they were looked upon as of inferior race. This difference gave rise to feelings of rivalry which for a long time had been slowly increasing but which, until 1806, when the antagonism had begun to take a definite form had only been noticeable in intimate familiar dealings. The viceroy, in fact, had fled at the approach of the invaders; the Spanish troops had done nothing to check them, and the reconquest was principally due to the forces despatched from Montevideo, under command of Don Santiago Liniers, and to the determination of Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring towns. This caused the viceroy's authority to be disregarded, and he was replaced by the hero of the reconquest. Foreseeing that the English would return, Liniers summoned the people, without distinction, to arms, and organised them in such manner that the corps were distinguished by the nationality of the men, so that there were troops formed exclusively of Spaniards, and exclusively of Argentines. The second invasion took place, in which the latter proved that their strength was worthy to be compared with that of the former. Thus there arose an eager rivalry, which established a certain equality in the influence of the two parties.

The Spaniards then attempted to regain the exclusive power to which they

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had been accustomed; towards the close of 1808 the governor and the corporation of Montevideo pronounced against Liniers, and on the 1st of the following January the Spanish troops rose in arms in Buenos Ayres; but this rising was quelled by the patriot forces, the creoles gained the ascendancy and secured their complete triumph with the famous revolution of May 25th, 1810. The governing junta appointed on the same day immediately set about obtaining the adherence of all the authorities and towns of the Vireinato; most of them complied, but the Spanish governor and corporation of Montevideo lost no time in declaring war upon the revolutionary powers of Buenos Ayres. The junta then prepared to spread the fire of revolution in the interior of Banda Oriental; it dispatched regular troops, appointed a commander-in-chief of the operations, and intrusted the command of the Uruguay militia to Don José Artigas (1811). The population of the rural districts rose in a body, and after various feats of arms, diplomatic proceedings, and acts of anarchy, Spanish power was forever vanquished in Rio de la Plata by the taking of Montevideo by Alvar, in June, 1814.

The American forces had not yet entered Montevideo, when the Argentine directorate decreed that Banda Oriental should form a province alone, with rights equal to those enjoyed by the other provinces, and should be governed by a governor intendente, in the same manner and with the same prerogatives as the other provinces forming part of the state. Shortly afterward the east province of Rio de la Plata was divided into departments which afterwards served as a basis for the new subdivisions, which have successively followed. Artigas, who had left the scene of war because of his misunderstandings with the generals of the army and with the government of Buenos Ayres, had expressed himself as willing that Banda Oriental should figure in the new state of La Plata as a confederate province; on the fall of Spanish power he claimed for himself the government of Montevideo, compelled the general government to withdraw their troops and officials (February, 1815), carried war into the west Argentine provinces, and the following years were passed in a deplorable state of military anarchism, and under a despotic military rule still remembered with sorrow.

PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION IN URUGUAY

The Portuguese government took advantage of the state of affairs under pretext of the necessity of maintaining order in Brazil, which was threatened by Artigas; they calculated that if the Argentine government, engaged in the war against the Spanish forces on the northern confines of their west territory, had been unable to compel Artigas to return to his own provinces and content himself with the command of it, they were still less likely to be able effectually to prevent the armies of Portugal and of Brazil from seizing Banda Oriental. They also calculated that the government of Buenos Ayres would offer no opposition, preferring to lose one province on condition that the terrible leader should be annihilated rather than to see themselves deprived of authority in the three or four provinces where he constantly dominated, calling their attention from the war of independence to check the progresses of interior anarchism. The Portuguese government, therefore, caused troops to be despatched from Lisbon, recruited others in Brazil, intrusted the command to Lecor, and gave orders to the latter to occupy the fortress of Montevideo, and all the towns and territories situated to the east of Uruguay, ostensibly to re-establish order but in reality to complete their conquest. Towards the close of 1816, three armies penetrated into the province at three distinct points. The

Argentine government, disposed at first to tolerate the invasion as a means of vanquishing Artigas, afterwards attempted at various times to enter into an agreement with the latter to form an alliance to repel the invaders, but in vain; as, though the Uruguay chief accepted and desired the co-operation of the national forces, it was on condition that he should dispose of them at his will, and that they should not obey the supreme authority of the state; the latter rejected the condition for reasons easily understood, and for fear that the armies it provided would be turned against itself.

Artigas, therefore, had to meet the invaders with the Uruguay militia and with the militia which he compelled the western towns under his sway to supply, that is to say, the towns of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Misiones. He fought valiantly during three years, but as the multitudes who obeyed him were uncivilised, undisciplined, and badly armed, and as he lacked leaders of military experience, he was unfortunate in every action and was compelled to abandon the country forever at the beginning of 1820, and to take refuge in Paraguay, pursued by Ramirez, a leader of Entre Rios.

Montevideo threw open its gates to General Lecor on January 20th, 1817, and the other towns successively followed this example; the laws in existence up to that time were declared in force, the religion of the inhabitants was respected, the members of the corporation continued to discharge their municipal duties, and the generals and officers who submitted were incorporated into the army keeping their respective grades. The Portuguese authorities further established a tribunal of justice composed of five members, enlarged the hospital of Caridad, commanding the adjacent houses of Don Juan Cayetano Molina to be hired for the purpose, re-established the civic corps, founded an orphanage adjoining the hospital of Caridad, organised a police force to maintain order and safeguard public health, planned a lottery the object of which was to supply funds for the foundling institution, endeavoured to forward public education on a new plan, devoting to this purpose, together with the foundling institution the proceeds of the seal fishery, and established a body of farmers to forward rural interests, etc. Lecor's administration being from the first distinguished by a careful attention to public and individual interests, he had no difficulty in winning the sympathy of conservative classes, and in causing a congress of deputies from Banda Oriental to be convoked in Montevideo gratifying to Portugal's ambitious aims. This congress on July 18th, 1821, decreed that Banda Oriental should be incorporated within the united kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve, under the name of Cisplatine State, as its condition rendered it unfitted for independence, and because union with any other state would be less advantageous to it.

URUGUAY BECOMES PART OF BRAZIL

When Brazil declared its independence the question arose whether the Cisplatine state should continue to be united to Portugal or to the Argentines. The Portuguese troops openly declared in favour of the first, the Brazilians, and a part of the natives of Banda Oriental were for the second course, and the remainder adhered to the Portuguese in the belief that they would leave them free to be re-incorporated with the Argentines. The two parties declared war, but the Brazilians were triumphant without any great military feat, due to the exertions of Brigadier Souza de Macedo, who favoured the Brazilian rather than the Argentine cause; those who had adhered conditionally to Portugal quitted the country, an oath of adherence to the constitution of the

[1821-1826 A.D.]

new empire was taken, and the emperor Dom Pedro I proclaimed; thus the territory of Uruguay came to be known as the Cisplatine State in the provinces of Brazil in the last months of 1823 and beginning of 1824.

The Argentine government had taken advantage of these incidents due to the policy of Banda Oriental to demand from Brazil the evacuation of the territory to which the government of Rio de Janeiro replied in the negative. Public opinion was loud in protestations against these last proceedings, the emigrants from Banda Oriental alleged the necessity of their country being reincorporated with the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. A declaration of war between the Argentine Republic and Brazil was expected and demanded, but the general government of the first had been dissolved since 1820, and the provinces were separated; and although Buenos Ayres had greatly prospered since the separation, she was not sufficiently strong to declare war alone against the empire, the government of Buenos Ayres was thus compelled to await a more favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the press and the public were in a constant state of agitation, and the convocation of a congress for the purpose of re-establishing a common government for the state was sufficient to cause public feeling in favour of the war to greatly increase.

This was the moment for a few natives of Banda Oriental, resident in Buenos Ayres, to form a plan to invade the Cisplatine province, for the purpose of separating it from the empire, and restoring it to the United Provinces. They came to an unanimous decision, and won others to their cause, until the band of the Thirty-three was complete, and entered their native land under the command of Juan Antonio Lavalleja on the memorable day of the 19th of April, 1825, taking with them a few horses, carbines, pistols, and swords, and a few ounces of gold to pay preliminary expenses.

URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

Although the uninhabited and undulating country enabled the cavalry to make surprise attacks, and afforded shelter from danger, yet the expedition of the Thirty-three is worthy to be considered one of the most daring and most deserving of praise for the confidence of victory, which it reveals, in spite of the extreme scarcity of resources with which it was commenced and for the daring courage needed to face the numerous troops of the line defending the Brazilian posts, and the no less terrible power which his fame gave to Rivera in the campaign, his complete knowledge of the territory, and his surpassing ability in guerilla warfare. Results, however, rewarded their heroism; within ten days they captured Rivera, who since Artigas' disappearance had adopted the cause of Brazil, and compelled him to surrender with all the forces under his command; they besieged the fortress of Montevideo, and within two months established in Florida the first revolutionary government. The assembly of deputies within four months declared the acts of incorporation with Portugal and Brazil null, and Banda Oriental to be united to the other provinces of Rio de la Plata; at the end of five months Rivera won the hard fought battle of Rincon de Haedo; within six the forces of Uruguay gained a splendid victory on the field of Sarandi, and immediately obtained from the Argentine congress the recognition of the incorporation of Banda Oriental with the united provinces of Rio de la Plata (1825). As it may be presumed, the emperor of Brazil lost no time in declaring war upon the Argentine Republic, and in 1826 war was begun. An army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery invaded Brazil under command of General Alvear; the vanguard composed of Uruguayans was commanded by Lavalleja; a fleet was equipped

in Buenos Ayres, under the orders of Admiral Brown, and glorious hand-to-hand battles followed one on the other for eighteen months; but their forces being weakened the opponents accepted England's friendly mediation in 1828, and on the 27th of August celebrated a preliminary treaty of peace by which Brazilians and Argentines settled differences by converting Banda Oriental into a sovereign independent state. In virtue of this treaty the constituent assembly of Banda Oriental published the republican constitution, by which the new political power was to be governed, and the public and public authorities took a solemn oath adopting it (July 18th, 1830). Such are the most important details of the history of Uruguay up to the time when it is presented to other powers as an independent constitutional state.^j

PARAGUAY

Paraguay proclaimed its independence in 1811, and almost immediately came under the power of one man who ruled like a dictator until his death in 1840. This remarkable man was José Gaspar Rodríguez, usually called Doctor Francia, of Brazilian origin, who was secretary to the national junta of 1811.^a

When the congress or junta of 1813 changed the constitution and established a duumvirate, Doctor Francia and the Gaucho, General Fulgencio, were elected to the office. A story is told in connection with their installation, which recalls the self-coronation of William I of England and Napoleon the Great. In theatrical imitation of Roman custom, two curule chairs had been placed in the assembly, one of them bearing the name of Cæsar, and the other that of Pompey. Francia seated himself in the Cæsar chair, and left his colleague to play the part of Pompey as best he might. In 1814 he secured his own election as dictator for three years, and at the end of that period he obtained the dictatorship for life. He was no mere nominal sovereign; but for the next twenty-five years he might have boasted, with even more truth than Louis XIV, "*L'état c'est moi.*" In the accounts which have been published of his administration we find a strange mixture of capacity and caprice, of far-sighted wisdom and reckless infatuation, strenuous endeavours after a high ideal, and flagrant violations of the simplest principles of justice. He put a stop to the foreign commerce of the country, but carefully fostered its internal industries; was disposed to be hospitable to strangers from other lands, and kept them prisoners for years; lived a life of republican simplicity, and punished with Dionysian severity the slightest want of respect. As time went on he appears to have grown more arbitrary and despotic, more determined to maintain his mastery over the country and more apprehensive lest he should lose it. And yet at the time of his death it is said that he was generally regretted, and his bitterest opponents cannot deny that if he did much evil he also did much good. Deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, he was a stern antagonist of the church. He abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the college of theology, did away with the tithes, and inflicted endless indignities on the priests. "What are they good for?" was his saying; "they make us believe more in the devil than in God." He discouraged marriage both by precepts and example, and left behind him several illegitimate children. For the extravagances of his later years the plea of insanity has been put forward. The circumstances of his death were in strange keeping with his life. He was about to sabre his doctor when he was seized with a fit, and he expired the same day, September 20th. 1840.^k



CHAPTER V

SPANISH AMERICA SINCE THE REVOLUTIONS

ONE year after Bolivar's death the republic of Colombia was split up into the three independent republics of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, with similar constitutions, which were in general modelled after the constitution of North America. An elective president, with ministers or governmental councillors, stood at the head of the executive power; the legislative was in the hands of a congress consisting of a senate and representatives; the armed power consisted of a standing army, land militia, etc. But whereas in the United States of North America the parties opposed one another only within the bounds of the constitution, the history of the South American republics is an unbroken succession of upheavals, now in a revolutionary, now in a reactionary sense, during which every one of the great parties, into which the population even here was divided, tried to get the control into its own hands and to organise the state after its own principles, until finally racial passions and wars between the white and coloured populations were added to the political struggles. The division into separate states under a weakly organised central power was not sufficient, as in North America, to assure the feeling of liberty, but rather favoured the inclination to internal discord and division.

VENEZUELA

In the forties the republic of Venezuela was split up into two factions—oligarchists (conservatives) and federalists (radicals)—through whose rivalries and hostilities the state fell into a condition of anarchy, of which the family of Manazás tried to take advantage for the purpose of establishing a sort of autocratic dictatorship. For ten years members of this family, through corruption and revolts, managed to keep in power, until finally General Castro was raised to the presidential chair by the oligarchic or conservative party, and caused a revision of the constitution by a "national con-

vention." But Castro, who tried to steer his way between parties, succeeded in satisfying none; soon federalists, conservatives, and liberals began to fight one another, and the presidency changed hands four times in three years. Finally Falcon, the leader of the federalists, attained the highest dignity (1863), and, with a newly summoned constitutional assembly, brought about a new constitution, which closely resembled that of the North American union and which gave a most complete victory to the federative system. Eighteen states, independent of one another in their internal political and legislative life, composed the confederated republic of the United States of Venezuela, with a president and congress at Caracas as the highest central authority, and with laws and institutions as in the United States of North America (1864). But the state, by this division of the whole into many single parts, was distracted by revolution and civil dissensions, which, nevertheless, were restricted to a smaller circle and hinged mostly upon a change of persons in authority and upon private interests.^b

The period of revolutions and civil wars continued until 1870, at the end of which year Guzman Blanco, the leader of the federalists, was made provisional president, and three years later he was elected constitutional president. For the next fifteen years the actual power was in his hands, although according to the terms of the constitution he could hold only alternate presidencies. This period was one of material advance to the country.

BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The question of the boundary of British Guiana was one of old standing. In the latter part of the thirties Sir Robert Schomburgk had mapped the boundary, and in 1841 he was sent again to survey the line, Venezuela immediately sending a special minister to England to object. In 1876 the dispute was reopened by Venezuela's offer to accept the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen, terminating on the coast at the Rio Moroco, near Cape Nassau. This offer was refused and the question remained open. In 1879 it was claimed that the British made a naval demonstration at the mouth of the Orinoco, to which the United States in the following year objected, intimating that the United States government "could not look with indifference on the forcible acquisition of such territory by England."

In the same year the constitution was modified so as to give more power to the central government and to take away much from the separate states. Lord Granville offered a new line, coinciding inland with the Aberdeen line of 1844, but demanding much more of the coast than the Moroco line, though making no claim to the mouth of the Orinoco. The Venezuela government refused this line, which was the least favourable thus far offered to it, and on November 15th, 1883, Venezuela formally proposed arbitration, and in 1885 Granville agreed, but on June 24th, before the agreement was signed, he went out of office and was replaced by Salisbury, who refused his consent to the convention. By this time relations were becoming greatly strained; both Great Britain and Venezuela accused each other of occupying the territory in dispute, contrary to the agreement of 1850. In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard offered the arbitration of the United States, and the pope also offered to arbitrate. But Great Britain refused both offers. Guzman Blanco, before resigning, brought the boundary question to a head by insisting on British evacuation of the disputed territory before February 20th, 1887, so that diplomatic relations were broken off in 1887. Meanwhile

[1837-1896 A.D.]

Blanco went to Europe with plenipotentiary powers, settled in Paris, and enriched himself by selling Venezuelan concessions.

In 1889 there was a revolt against the rule of Blanco and scenes of riot ensued in the capital, statues and portraits of Blanco being destroyed wherever found. In 1890 Andueza Palacio became president by congressional proclamation, and in the same year an attempt was made to revise the constitution. The amendments proposed lengthened the president's term to four years, and extended the power of the president and of the congress by cutting down the powers of the states. Palacio urged the immediate proclamation of the new constitution, so that his term might be lengthened, and, meeting with opposition, resorted to violent measures, which led to a rising against him, headed by the ex-presidents, Joaquin Crespo and Rojas Paul.

The fighting began early in April, and by the middle of June Palacio was hemmed in at Caracas, and resigned in favour of Guillermo Tell Villegas, Domingo Monagas and Julio F. Sarra becoming actual leaders of the liberals. On October 5th the decisive battle of San Pedro gave the victory to Crespo and the legalists. Caracas was occupied by the Crespists on October 7th, and on the 10th Crespo was chosen provisional president by proclamation. His authority was recognised by the United States two weeks afterwards. On May 2nd, 1893, the constituent assembly met, drew up a new constitution, made Crespo provisional president, and gave the control of public property, such as lands or mines, to the central government, although they were formerly controlled by the states. In October Crespo was regularly elected president, extending from February 20th, 1894, to February 20th, 1898.

In 1895 the boundary question was brought to a crisis. A party of Venezuelan officers without authorisation arrested, at Yuran, in April, two British police officers, Barnes and Baker, who were released, however, as soon as the arrest was reported in Caracas. England claimed an indemnity in October, and proposed arbitration afterwards; Venezuela denied the claim and refused the offer, since each implied British possession of Yuran. On July 20th United States Secretary of State Olney vigorously protested against Great Britain's "indefinite but confessedly very large" claim, urged arbitration as a means of solution, and applied the Monroe Doctrine to the case. In reply, Lord Salisbury denied that the Monroe Doctrine had any relation to modern politics and that it had ever been recognised by any government save that of the United States. He stated the arguments for the British claim, at the same time refusing to arbitrate, except as to the ownership of the territory west of the Schomburgk line. To Salisbury's two notes of November 26th President Cleveland replied by a message to congress, dated December 17th, "practically stating that any attempt on the part of the British government to enforce its claims upon Venezuela without resort to arbitration would be considered as a *casus belli* by his government." The congress of the United States authorised the president to appoint a commission to report the actual line between British Guiana and Venezuela. Meanwhile in Venezuela itself Rojas Paul raised a revolution against Crespo, but met with little success, the people being unanimous in support of the government because of its foreign difficulties.

In 1896 the Venezuelan government created a commission to prepare the case for an arbitrating tribunal. Lord Salisbury refused the terms suggested by the United States for the formation of such a tribunal, and insisted on a settlement of the claim for damages because of the arrest of Barnes, the

British colonial police officer. To this Venezuela acceded, stipulating that her territorial claims should not be surrendered thereby. On May 22nd Salisbury suggested a commission composed of two British subjects and two American citizens, who should consider the historical documents bearing on the boundary and make recommendations to Great Britain and Venezuela, by which they should be bound, except in cases where British or Venezuelan settlements had been made before January 1st, 1887. This programme of partial arbitration did not meet with Olney's approval. Finally, on November 12th, unrestricted arbitration was agreed upon, with the understanding that in any instance fifty years of occupation should give title. Thereupon the American commission resigned without making a report, and the tribunal was appointed.

The arbitration treaty was signed in Washington on February 2nd, 1897, and ratified by the Venezuelan congress on April 5th, and diplomatic relations, after ten years' interval, were renewed between Venezuela and Great Britain. Crespo refused his official sanction to any candidate for the presidency, but practically gave the backing of the administration to the liberal candidate, Ignacio Andrade, who represented Venezuela in Washington, and who was almost unanimously elected. With Andrade's accession to the presidency, the revolts which had begun in a desultory way the year before broke out with more violence. Crespo was mortally wounded in a battle with General Hernandez in Zamora, but Hernandez was taken prisoner and the revolution momentarily crushed on June 12th, 1898. In this year a regular steamship service between Italy and Venezuela was established, and Italian immigration began.

The boundary dispute with England was finally settled in 1899. The Anglo-Venezuelan boundary tribunal on October 3rd delivered a unanimous award, granting to Great Britain almost exactly the territory included by the old Schomburgk line, much less than had been claimed by Great Britain for many years.

PRESIDENCY OF CASTRO

In the following February Ramon Guerra headed a revolution against Andrade, which did not grow to serious proportions, but opened the way for a rising led by General Cipriano Castro. He captured Valencia, September 15th, 1900, shut Andrade up in Caracas, and, after negotiating for the peaceful surrender of the executive, entered the city on October 21st. Two days afterwards he became provisional president. There were a few abortive revolutions, but in July Castro proclaimed a general amnesty. In August the Venezuelan federation was divided into fifteen states and one federal district.

On October 29th, 1901, Castro was declared constitutional president for six years by a congress which drew up a new constitution. The Colombian government backed the opposition to Castro in Venezuela, and he in turn apparently aided the Colombian liberals in their plans to revolt, the border between the states being zealously watched by either army. In August the Venezuelan army openly clashed with the British occupants of Patos. In October a mob in Puerto Cabello maltreated the crew of a German man-of-war. Castro's attitude was unyielding in all these matters as in the quarrel with Colombia, which he refused to arbitrate unless Colombia first paid damages for the invasion of Venezuelan territory. At the time of Castro's election, which was no doubt largely due to the administration's control of the machinery of elections, rebellion on the part of his nationalist opponents

[1902-1903 A.D.]

broke out all over the country, but the regular army stood by Castro and was generally victorious. During this year Germany, to facilitate forcible collection of her claims in Venezuela and to prevent American interference, officially recognised the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1902 the revolution under Monagas still dragged on, but won small advantage until August, when the rebels captured Barcelona and Puerto Cabello. In the middle of October the tide again turned. Castro won the battle of La Victoria and put down the rising after an engagement lasting a week. General Matos escaped to Curaçoa. Meanwhile foreign claims for damages during the civil wars of the last five years had become insistent. France's claims were settled by a mixed commission. Germany's claims were for railroad loans and unpaid interest thereon, as well as for property damaged by revolution. The British claims were largely for damages to coasting vessels from Trinidad captured as smugglers by the Venezuelan government. The Venezuelan authorities made a counter claim against Great Britain for permitting the *Ban Righ* or *Liberator*, a British vessel bought by Colombia, to go to sea at a time when Colombia and Venezuela were practically at war. Germany and Great Britain united to force their claims by a "peaceful blockade" beginning on December 10th. Italy joined the blockade on the 11th. On the 13th Castro offered through the United States government at Washington to arbitrate the claims. Secretary Hay objected to the "peaceful blockade," and the British ministry replied by admitting a state of war. Germany, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to the proffered plan of arbitration, but there was some difficulty in deciding who should arbitrate. On December 31st, however, President Castro accepted as arbitrator the Hague tribunal. But the powers, having no guarantee that Venezuela would stand by the decision of the Hague tribunal, refused to raise the blockade, which was rendered ineffective by the opening of the Colombian frontier on January 16th. Immediately afterwards Germany shelled Fort San Carlos at the entrance of Lake Maracaibo. Germany's action was also extreme as regards her demands for a cash payment before the raising of the blockade. February 11th Germany got \$340,000 and Great Britain and Italy \$27,500 each, and three days later the blockade was lifted. By the final agreement the amount of all claims was left to mixed commissions; the arbitrator selected by the czar was only to decide whether the blockading claimants were to get preferential treatment, and, if so, what such treatment should be.

In 1903 and again in 1907 revolts broke out, but were soon suppressed. Owing to ill health, President Castro in April, 1906, resigned his authority temporarily into the hands of the vice-president, but resumed it in the following October.^a

NEW GRANADA OR COLOMBIA

Still more stormy than in Venezuela was the period following the revolution in New Granada, which since September 20th, 1861, has been called the "United States of Colombia." Here liberal, clerical, and military revolutions followed one another in quick succession and kept the land in an almost uninterrupted turmoil. The Bolivianos, *i.e.*, the followers of Bolivar, who had defended his dictatorial power in the last years, disputed the presidency with the patriots or liberals. When, after a long struggle, the latter gained the victory (1839), the former raised a revolt under General Obando, in consequence of which the republic for two years was given up to all the tempests

of a passionate civil war, and Cartagena and other provinces broke loose. Not until the forties, during the presidencies of generals Herran and Mosquera, who were animated by a spirit of moderation, did more peaceful times ensue. The constitution was reformed, the ruined financial system brought into order, and institutions established for instruction, commerce, and the general prosperity and safety.

After a few years, however (1853), the democrats under José Hilario Lopez and José Maria Obando gained the upper hand and enforced a decentralising constitution, according to which it was to be permitted to every province, with the assent of congress, to declare itself an independent state and to enter a confederation with the mother state, New Granada. This happened in the case of Panama and Antioquia. At the end of the fifties new revolts broke out, and Mosquera, a man of an old Spanish family, abandoned his hitherto moderate attitude, and, out of envy and jealousy of the powerful president Mariano Ospina, a lawyer with constitutional opinions, gathered democrats and radicals under his flag and led them to battle against the central government in Bogota. The end of the civil war, which lasted several years, and during which Bogota was captured and burned and several of the most influential officials and citizens were executed, was a new constitution, in a federal sense, in consequence of which the republic of New Granada by a compact of union was reconstituted into the United States of Colombia.

During this confused period Mosquera had for eighteen months wielded a dictatorial power, which he resigned to the constitutional assembly at Bogota after having used it for terroristic measures against the conservatives and clericals. A few years later (1866) he was elected president of the confederated republic by the adherents of his party, and this election did not tend to calm the political excitement. The Spanish-American people seem to lack the devotion to law and constitution and the power of subjecting the individual will to that of the whole, which are necessary in an organised state. The struggle between the adherents of a loose confederation and the supporters of a unified republic continued or broke out anew after short pauses, and in the single states themselves the party struggles often led to complete anarchy. Especially in Panama the desire was manifested to become separated from Colombia and to form an independent republic.^b

STRUGGLES BETWEEN CENTRALISTS AND DECENTRALISTS

Mosquera's doctrine upheld the right of the central government to interfere in suppressing revolutions in the separate states; he quarrelled with his congress in consequence, and in 1867 assumed dictatorial powers. He was overthrown, however, and succeeded as president in 1868 by Gutierrez, during whose tenure of office insurrections in different parts of the country continued.

In 1870 General Salgar became president, and during his administration public education was taken out of the hands of the clergy and placed under state control. Revolutions occurred in the states of Boyaca and Panama. In 1872 Manuel Murillo-Toro was elected president for a second term and devoted himself with some success to the reorganisation of the finances. Murillo was succeeded after two years by Santiago Perez, under whom took place the beginnings of the civil war which was to sweep over the whole country. In 1876 Aquileo Perra became president, and armed opposition broke out immediately. The clericals controlled the states of Antioquia

[1876-1902 A.D.]

and Tolima, and fighting took place in Cauca. The government, however, succeeded in raising recruits enough to quell the revolts, and in 1878 the liberal president Trujillo was installed. The finances of the country were in so bad a way that it was necessary to suspend the payment of interest on the foreign debt.

In 1880 Rafael Nuñez, nominally a liberal, became president, and set himself to better the financial conditions of the country. An attempt was made to settle the boundary dispute between Costa Rica and Colombia by European arbitration. In 1882 Francisco Laldúa became president, but died before the end of the year. In the next year the question of the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela was submitted to the arbitration of Spain, the decision being finally given in 1891.

In 1884 Nuñez again became president, but as he was abroad at the time he entered office by proxy. Nuñez had been supposed to favour the policy of the liberal party, but when it was discovered that he held centralist views he was opposed by the liberals, and in 1885 civil war broke out. A decisive battle was fought at Calamar in July, and the insurgents surrendered in August.

During the disturbance the United States landed troops at Panama and Colon to protect traffic across the isthmus. A new constitution was adopted in August, 1886, according to which the states of the confederation became departments governed by persons appointed by the president. The sovereignty of the individual departments was denied, and the term of the presidential office was extended to six years. To show this change in the system of government the name United States of Colombia was changed to Republic of Colombia. Nuñez became president under the constitution in 1886, and in 1892 he was re-elected, but on account of his ill health Holguin, and afterwards Caro, performed the actual duties of administration. Nuñez died on September 18th, 1894, and the vice-president, Caro, became president. In 1895 there was a successful rising in Boyacá, headed by the liberals, and the revolt soon became general, but was put down without much difficulty.

In 1898 San Clemente, a strong conservative, was elected president, with José Manuel Marroquín as vice-president. The next year the liberals instituted another revolt, which involved the whole country, and especially Panama, where American marines were again landed to protect the railroad. In 1900 Marroquín became president and imprisoned San Clemente, who died in prison. The year following the revolution received aid from Venezuela. Venezuelan troops attacked the forces of the conservative Colombian government; Colombian troops invaded Venezuela, and President Castro recognized the Colombian insurgents as belligerents. In November, 1901, the United States again landed marines to protect the railway in Panama, and on November 18th the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and giving the United States right of control in time of war of an isthmian canal, was signed, being ratified by the United States senate on December 16th. In 1902 the revolutionary struggle centred in Panama. Uribe was unsuccessful in his attack on Bogotá, but the insurgents captured Aguadulce and turned their attention to Panama and Colon, whereupon the United States naval officers forbade any fighting along the line of the railway, and use of the line was withdrawn from government troops. Peace was restored in the last month of the year, and a general amnesty was proclaimed on December 10th. The next year, however, another revolution in Panama succeeded in establishing the independence of that country, which was immediately recognised by the United States and by the other powers. Colombia

protested without avail against the landing of United States troops in Panama. In December, 1903, General Reyes was elected president, and in 1905 a convention extended the presidential term from four to ten years.

PANAMA AND THE PANAMA CANAL

In 1868 negotiations were opened with Washington for the purpose of building a canal across the isthmus of Panama, and in January, 1869, a treaty between Colombia and the United States of North America was signed for the construction of the Darien or Panama ship canal, at the expense of the latter power; but the Colombian senate did not ratify the treaty, its object being, says a contemporary document, to "get as much money from the United States as could be."

In 1870 the Colombian congress amended the Darien Canal Bill and adopted it; but these amendments, together with the ill success of the surveying expedition sent out by the United States, made the scheme seem no longer practical.

On March 23rd, 1878, the Colombian government approved a contract with Bonaparte Wyse, of the Civil International Inter-oceanic Canal Society, which had been founded in France, to whom it granted the "exclusive privilege for the excavating of a canal between the two oceans," the privilege to last for ninety-nine years, and the canal to be finished within twelve years after the organisation of the company. The terminal ports and the waters of the canal were declared neutral. The next year Ferdinand de Lesseps took the matter up, and an international congress was convened at Paris for the purpose of considering the plan of a canal. After the adjournment of this congress the Panama Canal Company was organised with De Lesseps as president, and purchased the Wyse concession for the price of 10,000,000 francs. Work upon the canal was begun in 1884 and was continued until 1899, being managed with a degree of corruption which has become notorious. In 1889 the company became bankrupt, was declared in liquidation, and was put into the hands of a liquidator.

As the time limit set for the completion of the canal by the Wyse concession had nearly expired, the concession to the French Isthmian Canal Company was renewed in December, 1890, by Nuñez. The time limit for its completion was extended ten years, on the condition that work be resumed before March 1st, 1893, by a new company, paying 10,000,000 francs in gold and 5,000,000 in shares. In 1893 a new concession was made to the liquidator of the canal company, extending for one year the date of the formation of the new company. Work on the canal began again in the Culebra section on October 1st, and on the 21st a new company was incorporated in Paris. The canal company devoted its energies to improving the harbour at Colon, as well as to working on the Culebra cut.

In the mean time the United States had begun to take an interest in the canal, a route through Nicaragua being considered as well as the Panama route. In 1884 a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the building of a canal at the expense of the United States, but was not ratified by the senate. In 1886 the Nicaragua Canal Association was formed in New York city by private citizens for the purpose of obtaining the necessary concessions and for building the canal. Concessions were obtained from Nicaragua and from Costa Rica, and in 1889 the company was organised after an act of congress authorising the incorporation of the association. Work upon

[1889-1904 A. D.]

the canal was begun in the same year and was continued until 1893, when the company went into bankruptcy. In 1899 congress appointed a commission to examine all possible routes for a canal, and this commission reported that the canal across Panama could be constructed with less expense than the Nicaragua canal if the French company could be bought out for a reasonable sum. It was found that the French company was willing to sell its assets at \$40,000,000, the value placed upon them by the commission, and in 1902 the United States senate passed the Spooner Act, providing for the construction of the Panama canal, or if this should be impossible (since the French company might prove to have no title, or the Colombian government might refuse its approval) that the Nicaragua canal be built. On October 25th the attorney-general of the United States gave his opinion that the new Panama Canal Company had title, and could legally transfer its title to the strip and to the canal as partially constructed. But negotiations with Señor Concha, the Colombian minister to the United States, were required, for the Salgar-Wyse concession of 1878 expressly forbade the *cessionnaires* to transfer their rights to any foreign nation or government. These negotiations were unsuccessful, and on November 25th Concha practically informed Secretary Hay that Colombia refused the offer of \$10,000,000 down and \$100,000 (or \$125,000) a year. The Colombian opposition seemed plainly a mere matter of price, and Señor Concha was recalled by his government, which apparently took the attitude that his delay had been for his personal ends.

The Hay-Herran Treaty, signed on January 22nd, 1903, with Herran, the Colombian *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, in accordance with which the Panama concession was sold by the Colombian Republic for \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 annually, was definitely rejected by the Colombian senate on August 12th, and on September 12th the time for ratification expired. At this point matters were taken out of the hands of Colombia, and on November 3rd there was an insurrection on the isthmus which immediately and peaceably gained control of the department and proclaimed the independence of Panama. The United States recognised the provisional government as the *de facto* government and landed marines to protect the trans-isthmian commerce, thus making it impossible for the Colombian troops to strike a blow at the insurgents in Panama. Marroquin strongly protested against the action of the United States, which he interpreted as connivance in the plot against the Colombian central government and as a direct infringement of the treaty of 1846, and he urged the Latin-American republics to make common cause with him in a war on the United States of North America. In the last week of November Marroquin sent General Rafael Reyes to Washington to appeal for Colombia's ownership of Panama, or for the release of such ownership on receipt of a compensation from the United States. He was well received, but was given clearly to understand that the United States was determined to abide by what had been done; and, the independence of Panama having been recognized by the principal powers, it would be impossible to open negotiations with Colombia concerning the suppression of that republic.

In the mean time negotiations had been concluded between Panama and the United States for the building of the canal, and on November 18th the Isthmian Canal Treaty was signed at Washington, according to which the United States was to give to Panama \$10,000,000, and to the French Canal Company \$40,000,000. This treaty was ratified by the senate in February, 1904, and the president almost immediately appointed a commission to push the work, which has been proceeding since.

PERU

Of all the republics of southern and central America, Peru was the only one which had not been able to obtain the recognition of its independence from Spain. After the Spaniards had given up their last position—Callao—after their defeat at Ayacucho, and had evacuated the country, the history of Peru for twenty years offered a dismal picture of revolutions and civil wars which hindered the development of the country, undermined prosperity, and brought no benefits in recompense. Selfish and ambitious party leaders fought for the supremacy, being led by personal and selfish motives with no higher aims. Not till the forties was a better period ushered in by the presidency of Ramon Castilla, who exerted himself to establish an organised government (1845). At the expiration of his term of office the highest state authority went over to the legally elected successor for the first time in the history of the republic. This successor was Don José Rufino Echenique, who, more of a general than a statesman, brought the republic into warlike entanglements with Ecuador, and fought successfully with the confederated states for the possession of the Lobos Islands, which were rich in guano. But before his term of office was completed, in consequence of the diminishing of the rate of interest on the national debt, a revolt broke out, which, coinciding with a war with Bolivia, soon endangered the position of the government. Castilla, the leader of the insurgents, conquered Lima, gained the presidency, and caused a revision of the constitution which finally led to a new state law.^b

In 1860 Miguel San Roman became president, but upon his death was succeeded by Pezet, the vice-president. In 1864 the Spanish fleet seized the Chincha Islands as surety for Spanish claims against Peru for the murder of some Basque workmen. In this year Great Britain's claim on Peru for the imprisonment of Captain T. Melville White was referred to the senate of Hamburg, but was disallowed. Pezet, after much delay, made an arrangement with the Spanish fleet on January 27th, 1865, by which a part of the claim was recognised. This arrangement was regarded as dishonourable; an opposition was begun, with Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado at its head, and Pezet, rather than plunge the country in civil war, left for England. Prado declared war on Spain, allied himself with Chili, and in May, 1866, the Spanish fleet was forced to retire. Prado's position, however, as chief magistrate was unconstitutional, and he was obliged to give way to Canseco, second vice-president and legal successor of Pezet. In 1868, Balta, who had headed an insurrection in the north the year before, was made president. With Balta's administration began a period of peace and of reckless loans for public works, especially for railroads and forts. In 1871 there were two unsuccessful revolts against Balta's rule, and on July 26th, 1872, Balta was assassinated by the agents of Gutierrez, whom the president blocked in a projected *coup d'état* and who was immediately killed by the people. The constitutional government continued, and Manuel Pardo was regularly elected president on August 2nd. Pardo at once attempted to meet the tremendous obligations created by Balta's internal policy. In this year the czar of Russia was requested to pass on Peru's claims against Japan for the seizure of the *Maria Luz*. In February, 1873, Bolivia and Peru united to prevent Chili from seizing the valuable nitrate deposits, and in 1874 a treaty with China was signed regulating coolie immigration.

[1875-1881 A.D.]

In 1875 the fall in the price of guano, due to artificial manures, cut into the government resources; but the state bought up the nitrate deposits and thus formed a monopoly. In this year the *Maria Luz* case was decided in favour of Japan. In 1876 General Prado was elected president. In 1879 Chili seized all Bolivian ports and made war on Peru when Peru offered to mediate. The quarrel was fixed on Peru. During the last of May and the first of June the Peruvian navy made some opposition, though against great odds, and on October 8th the *Huascar*, the only seaworthy ship in the Peruvian navy, was disabled by the two superior Chilean ironclads. The Chilean army landed at Pisagua on November 2nd, and won the battle of San Francisco on the 18th. One month later, President Prado left the country, of which Pierola, as the result of a revolution, assumed control as supreme chief on December 23rd. The blockade was kept up and the province containing the coveted nitrate soon seized.^a

POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1880

The victory of the Chileans over the combined forces of Peru and Bolivia at Tacna on June 7th, 1880, marked the close of the second stage of the war which had broken out in April of 1879. In November, 1880, the Chileans began to make preparations for the landing of an army to attack the Peruvian capital. The Peruvians meanwhile had not been idle. After the crushing defeat at Arica every effort was made to put Lima in an effectual state of defence. Under the direction of Señor Nicolas de Pierola, who had assumed dictatorial powers after the departure of General Prado to Europe, all the remaining strength of Peru was organised for resistance. The military command was confided to General Andres Caceres. The Peruvian army at this juncture numbered twenty-six thousand men of the line and eighteen thousand in the reserves. The defensive measures inspired great confidence, both Señor Pierola and General Caceres considering the position of Lima practically impregnable. At daybreak on January 13th, 1881, the Chilean attack began, and the action soon became general throughout the whole length of the Peruvian first line of defence. The Chilean troops carried the trenches at the point of the bayonet after repeated charges, and at midday the defenders were forced to fall back upon the second line of fortifications. In this engagement, known as the battle of Chorrillos, the Chilean loss was eight hundred killed and twenty-five hundred wounded; the Peruvian, five thousand killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners. On the following day an attempt was made by the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments in Lima to negotiate peace, but it proved abortive. On January 15th, at two in the afternoon, the final struggle of the war, known as the battle of Miraflores, commenced, and continued for some four hours. The Chileans were again victorious, and carried the second line of defence, this success placing Lima completely at their mercy. At the battle of Miraflores the Chilean losses were five hundred killed and sixteen hundred and twenty-five wounded; the Peruvian, three thousand, including killed and wounded. On January 17th a division of four thousand Chilean troops under command of General Saavedra entered Lima under instructions from the Chilean commander-in-chief to occupy the city and restore order within the municipal limits.

Desultory fighting was now maintained by the remnants of the Peruvian army in the interior, under direction of General Caceres, against Chilean authority. The Chilean occupation of Lima and the Peruvian seaboard

continued uninterruptedly until 1883. In that year Admiral Lynch, who had replaced General Baquedano in command of the Chilean forces after the taking of Lima, sent an expedition against the Peruvians under General Caceres, and defeated the latter in the month of August. The Chilean authorities now began preparations for the evacuation of Lima, and to enable this measure to be effected a Peruvian administration was organised with the support of the Chileans. General Iglesias was nominated to the office of president of the republic, and in October, 1883, a treaty of peace, known as the Treaty of Ancon, between Peru and Chili was signed. The army of occupation was withdrawn from Lima on October 22nd, 1883, but a strong Chilean force was maintained at Chorrillos until July, 1884, when the terms of the treaty were finally approved. The principal conditions imposed by Chili were the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapacá and the occupation for a period of ten years of the territories of Tacna and Arica, the ownership of these districts to be decided by a popular vote of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica at the expiration of the period named. A further condition was enacted that an indemnity of 10,000,000 soles was to be paid by the country finally remaining in possession—a sum equal to about £1,000,000 to-day. The Peruvians in the interior refused to recognise the validity of the nomination of President Iglesias, and at once began active operations to overthrow his authority on the final departure of the Chilean troops. A series of skirmishes now took place between the men in the country under Caceres and the supporters of the administration in Lima. Affairs continued in this unsettled state until the middle of 1885, Caceres meanwhile steadily gaining many adherents to his side of the quarrel. In the latter part of 1885 President Iglesias found his position, after some severe fighting in Lima, impossible, and he abdicated his office, leaving the field clear for Caceres and his friends to assume the administration of public affairs. In the following year (1886), General Caceres was elected president of the republic for the usual term of four years. The task assumed by the new president was no sinecure. The disasters suffered in the war with Chili had thrown the country into absolute confusion from a political and administrative point of view. Gradually, however, order in the official departments was restored, and peaceful conditions were reconstituted throughout the republic.

The four years of office for which General Caceres was elected passed in uneventful fashion, and in 1890 Señor Morales Bermudez was nominated to the presidency, with Señor Solar and Señor Borgoño as first and second vice-presidents. Matters continued without alteration from the normal course until 1894, and in that year President Bermudez died suddenly a few months before the expiration of the period for which he had been chosen as president. General Caceres, who was the power behind the scenes, brought influence to bear to secure the nomination of Vice-President Borgoño to act as chief of the executive for the unexpired portion of the term of the late president Bermudez. Armed resistance to the authority of President Borgoño was immediately organised in the south of Peru. In the month of August, 1894, General Caceres was again elected to fill the office of president, but the revolutionary movement set afoot against President Borgoño was continued against his successor, and rapidly gained ground. President Caceres adopted energetic measures to suppress the outbreak; his efforts, however, proved unavailing, the close of 1894 finding the country districts in the power of the rebels and the authority of the legal government confined to Lima and other principal cities held by strong garrisons. A concentration of the revolutionary forces was now made upon the city of Lima, and early in March, 1895, the

[1895-1904 A.D.]

insurgents encamped near the outskirts of the town. On March 17th, 18th, and 19th severe fighting took place, ending in the defeat of the troops under General Caceres. A suspension of hostilities was then brought about by the efforts of the British consul, Mr. St. John. The loss on both sides to the struggle during these two days was twenty-eight hundred between killed and wounded. President Caceres, finding his cause was lost, left the country, a provisional government under Señor Candamo assuming the direction of public affairs. On September 8th, 1895, Señor Pierola was declared to be duly elected as president of the republic for the following four years. The Peruvians were now heartily tired of revolutionary disturbances, and the administration of President Pierola promised to be peaceful and advantageous to the country. In 1896 a reform of the electoral law was sanctioned. Revolutionary troubles again disturbed the country in 1899, when the presidency of Señor Pierola was drawing to a close. In consequence of dissensions amongst the members of the election committee constituted by the Act of 1896, the president ordered the suppression of this body. In September, 1899, President Pierola vacated the presidency in favour of Señor Romaña, who had been elected to the office as a popular candidate and without the exercise of any undue official influence.^c Romaña was succeeded in 1903 by Manuel Candamo, and after the latter's death in 1904 Dr. Serapio Caldero held the office temporarily until in a special election Dr. Pardo was chosen.^a

The principal political problem before the government of Peru at the opening of the twentieth century was the question with Chili of the ownership of the territories of Tacna and Arica. The period of ten years originally agreed upon for the Chilean occupation of these provinces expired in 1894. At that date the peace of Peru was so seriously disturbed by internal troubles that the government was quite unable to take active steps to bring about any solution of the matter. Since 1894 negotiations between the two governments have been attempted from time to time, but without any satisfactory results. The question hinges to a great extent on the qualification necessary for the inhabitants to vote, in the event of a plebiscite being called to decide whether Chilean ownership be finally established or the provinces revert to Peruvian sovereignty. It is not so much the value of Tacna and Arica that makes the present difficulties in the way of a settlement, as it is that the national pride of the Peruvians ill brooks the idea of permanently losing all claim to this section of country. The money, about £1,000,000, could probably be obtained to indemnify Chili, if occasion for it arose.

The question of the delimitation of the frontier between Peru and the neighbouring republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil has also cropped up at intervals. A treaty was signed with Brazil as far back as 1876 by which certain physical features were accepted by both countries as the basis for the boundary, but nothing has been accomplished towards definitely surveying the proposed line of limits. In a treaty signed by the three interested states in 1895 a compromise was effected by which Colombia withdrew a part of the claim advanced, and it was agreed that any further differences arising out of this frontier question should be submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown.^c

CHILI

Chili, the long coast land stretching between the Andes and the Pacific, had the advantage of a more stable political organisation than the other South American republics. However, even Chili was not free from civil

disturbances. From the time (1817) when General San Martin with emigrant Chilians and auxiliary troops from La Plata, starting from Mendoza, crossed the pass of Uspallata over the Andes, and, a year afterwards, conquered the Spaniards, surprised by this bold march, in a desperate fight at Chacabuco on the Mayo river, until the year 1826, when General Freire conquered the island of Chiloe, the last standpoint of the Spanish government, Chili also was torn by party struggles.^b

On May 2nd, 1826, after a series of political broils and constitutional changes, Freire resigned from the presidency. Pinto succeeded him on the 8th. At the end of the year there were complications with Great Britain.

The congress of 1828 drew up a liberal constitution. Revolts, especially of the conservative party, followed. Pinto resigned in July of the following year, was re-elected, and again resigned on November 2nd. A revolution headed by General Prieto opposed the government of Vicuña and occupied Santiago in December. By this time the conservatives controlled Santiago, and by 1830 all Chili. Prieto became president in 1831. In 1832 General Bulnes suppressed the Pincheiras, and the same year the silver deposits of Copiapo and Chañarcillo were discovered. The year following Portales, a conservative, became governor of Valparaíso. The next three years were occupied with a war which Chili waged successfully against the Peruvian-Bolivian confederacy. On June 6th, 1837, Portales was shot. In 1841 a steamship line between Valparaíso and Callao began running and a foreign commerce was built up. Prieto's second five-year term ended, and he was succeeded September 18th, 1841, by Bulnes, who proclaimed a political amnesty, but showed himself in general a conservative (*Pelucon*). In 1842 Valparaíso was made a province. The colony of Punta Arenas was established on the straits of Magellan in 1843, and the University of Chili founded in Santiago. Atacama also became a province in this year. The year following (1844) Spain recognized by a treaty the independence of the republic.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 made a great Pacific market for Chilian wheat. In 1851 Manuel Montt succeeded Bulnes as president. In 1858 the liberals and anti-administration conservatives united. Martial law was proclaimed in the middle of December. In September, 1859, the principal liberal leaders were banished.

In 1861 Perez succeeded Montt as president, at a time of financial depression due to the failure of Chilian breadstuffs to compete with those of California and Australia. Perez's policy was to unite the conservatives and the moderate liberals, with the result that the Montt-Varistas and the radicals also united. The year following the Araucanian Indians set up an empire, led by a Frenchman, who was speedily captured by the Chilian authorities. In 1865 the liberals succeeded in passing a law permitting the exercise of religions other than the Roman Catholic. Spain demanded satisfaction from Chili and blockaded the Chilian ports. Peru and Chili formed in 1866 an alliance against Spain. After numerous engagements and destruction of property, the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving the demands of Spain unsatisfied. Soon after this Perez was re-elected, defeating the *Pelucon* candidate, Bulnes. The policy of colonising the Araucanian frontier was carried on. Bolivia granted Chili the territory in dispute between them as far as the 24th parallel, with half the customs between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

The discovery of the Caracoles silver mines in 1870 opened up the question of the Bolivian boundary. In 1871 the conservative candidate, Errazuriz, was elected. In this year also the constitution was revised, the most important change being the prohibition of the re-election of the president. In 1872

[1873-1903 A.D.]

Ramirez discovered guano at the straits of Magellan, and so raised the question of the Argentine boundary. In 1873 Bolivia and Peru made a secret treaty guaranteeing mutual protection against the attacks of Chili, and in 1874 Chili and Bolivia agreed that Chili's claim to half duty from Bolivian ports should be exchanged for twenty-five years' freedom from taxation for all Bolivian industries in Bolivia. The following year Peru roused Chilean hostility by an attempt to monopolise the Tarapaca nitrate beds in which Chilean capital was interested.

In 1876 Anibal Pinto was elected president. Two years later the Bolivian government refused to be bound by the terms of the treaty of 1874 unless Chili pay a tax of ten cents a quintal on all nitrates. On March 1st, 1879, war was declared by Bolivia. Peru's offer to mediate was refused by Chili, which declared war against Peru. This war terminated in 1884 with a treaty favourable to Peru.

In 1886 José Manuel Balmaceda was elected president. He gradually lost the support of all parties save the office-holders, and on January 7th, 1891, civil war broke out, the navy and the congress opposing the army and the president. After a decisive victory of the revolutionary party, Balmaceda took refuge with the Argentine consul, and committed suicide on the last day of his term. Jorge Montt, head of the revolutionary junta, became president, and a general amnesty was declared December 25th. On October 16th, 1891, a sailor of the United States navy was killed by a mob in Valparaíso. The United States pressed on Chili the necessity of reparation, and in 1892 the Chilean government replied satisfactorily. In 1893 a Chilean Claims Commission was constituted to settle all claims between Chilean and American citizens. The newly elected congress decreed the resumption of specie payments on January 1st, 1896. The municipalities received from congress full self-governing powers. The gold standard was established February 11th, 1895. In 1896 Errazuriz, the government candidate, was elected president. A period of financial depression set in, due to the conversion of the paper money and to the cessation of shipments of nitrates. During 1898 financial conditions grew worse, partly because of threatening war with Argentina over the boundary. The president put the currency again on an inconvertible paper basis. Finally Chili decided to observe the Argentine agreement of 1896, and Argentina agreed. The question of the ownership of Puña of Atacama was settled in 1899 by the arbitration of the United States minister to Buenos Ayres, who gave one fourth of the disputed territory to Chili. Errazuriz quarrelled with congress over his cabinet (the last of thirty during his administration) and resigned in May, 1901. Riesco was elected president. In November the conversion of the paper currency, which was to have begun January 1st, 1902, was postponed to October, 1903. The Chilean lower house refused its assent to the Billingshurst-Latorre protocol as to the method of the plebiscite on the Tacna-Arica provinces. A new boundary dispute arose with Argentina as to the possession of Ultima Esperanza. Chili refused to be a member of the Pan-American congress unless the plan for compulsory arbitration between all American governments should be understood as referring only to the future. In 1902 Colombia and Ecuador joined Chili in objection to the Pan-American scheme of retro-active compulsory arbitration, and a treaty was signed between Chili and Colombia. A severe cabinet crisis followed the draft on the conversion reserve to pay for new war-ships. In January, 1903, congress voted to consider the tenders to build the trans-Andean railway. Strikes took place in May, necessitating the proclamation of martial law. Grave ministerial

difficulties ensued. In 1904 Bolivia gave up to Chili her claims to the Pacific littoral; in return Chili agreed to assume certain war claims and to build a railroad from Tacna to La Paz. On July 25th, 1906, Pedro Montt, the vice-president, was elected president. In the following August the city of Valparaiso and other towns were overwhelmed by an earthquake, which killed several thousand people and destroyed property estimated at \$100,000,000.^a

BOLIVIA

After the rich and fruitful land between the river Beni to the western coast region of Atacama, with the rich gold mines of Potosi, had been led to independence by Bolivar and by General Sucre and had adopted a republican representative constitution, the country was rent with civil strife. Not until Santa Cruz became president (1831) and effected an adjustment of party disputes by a new civil code did better days ensue. Santa Cruz acted as pacificator in Peru, which was torn by internal struggles, and brought about a union between the related states in which he as protector was to stand at the head of the central power. This arrangement, however, only sowed seeds for new civil wars. The confederation had bitter opponents in both Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, General Gamarra raised the standard of revolt against the protector, and, supported by the envious Chilians, defeated him at Yungay; in Bolivia, General Velasco found so many followers that Santa Cruz found it advisable to leave the republic. Not until the Peruvians under Gamarra had taken advantage of the confusion of their neighbouring state to seize the rich district La Paz, on Lake Titicaca, did the Bolivians unite and elect General Ballivian president. After a victorious engagement on the Pampa of Ingavi, near Viacha, in which Gamarra was killed, Ballivian crossed the boundary and compelled a treaty of peace and the establishment of the former status (1841).^b

This victory definitely assured the independence of Bolivia, but a period of disunion and anarchy followed, the details of which are tiresome and confusing. As Mr. Dawson^d says: "A recital of the literally countless armed risings, and of the various individuals who exercised or claimed to exercise supreme power, would throw little light on the progress of the country. Foreign commerce and domestic industry were so small that the government was always poor and unable to meet its expenses. Peru's possession of the seaports held Bolivian commerce at her mercy, and the military and naval power of Chili was a continual menace. Either of Bolivia's larger neighbours could easily bring on a revolution by opportune aid to ambitious factions, and the turbulence of the creole military classes was not restrained by any powerful and intelligent commercial and industrial population." Finally, in 1848, Belzu attained to the presidency and managed to maintain himself in power for seven years, at the end of which he was succeeded by his son-in-law Cordova.

During the next fifteen years the presidency changed hands eight times, and no less than four new constitutions were promulgated. In 1876 General Daza usurped the highest power, and in 1879 led the country into a war with Chili which involved a war between Chili and Peru. Daza was deposed after the first defeat, and the troops elected Colonel Camacho to lead them in his stead. The war lasted until 1883, when Chili, completely victorious, concluded a treaty of peace with Bolivia, taking from that country the territory which had been in dispute. In 1886 a boundary treaty between Bolivia

[1886-1901 A.D.]

and Peru was drafted, by which, among other provisions, Bolivia's war debt was remitted, and an attempt made to induce Chili to allow Peru to cede to Bolivia the provinces of Tacna and Arica. In 1887 a treaty was concluded with Paraguay, settling the international boundary and arranging for Bolivian trade by the Paraguay river.^a

On May 18th, 1895, a treaty was signed at Santiago between Chili and Bolivia, "with a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship which unite the two countries," and "in accord with the higher necessity that the future development and commercial prosperity of Bolivia require her free access to the sea." By this treaty Chili declared that if, in consequence of the plebiscite (to take place under the Treaty of Ancon with Peru), or by virtue of direct arrangement, she should "acquire dominion and permanent sovereignty over the territories of Tacna and Arica, she undertakes to transfer them to Bolivia in the same form and to the same extent as she may acquire them"; the republic of Bolivia paying as an indemnity for that transfer \$5,000,000 silver. If this cession should be effected, Chili should advance her own frontier north of Camerones to Vitor, from the sea up to the frontier which actually separates that district from Bolivia. Chili also pledged herself to use her utmost endeavour, either separately or jointly with Bolivia, to obtain possession of Tacna and Arica. If she failed, she bound herself to cede to Bolivia the roadstead (*caleta*) of Vitor or another analogous one, and \$5,000,000 silver. Supplementary protocols to this treaty stipulated that the port to be ceded must "fully satisfy the present and future requirements" of the commerce of Bolivia.

On May 23rd, 1895, further treaties of peace and commerce were signed with Chili, but the provisions with regard to the cession of a seaport to Bolivia still remain unfulfilled. During those ten years of recovery on the part of Bolivia from the effects of the war the presidency was held by Doctor Pacheco, who succeeded Campero, and held office for the full term; by Doctor Aniceto Arce, who held it until 1892; and by Doctor Mariano Baptista, his successor. In 1896 Doctor Severo Alonso became president, and during his tenure of office diplomatic relations were resumed with Great Britain, Señor Aramayo being sent to London as minister plenipotentiary in July, 1897. As an outcome of his mission an extradition treaty was concluded with Great Britain in March, 1898.

In December an attempt was made to pass a law creating Sucre the perpetual capital of the republic. Until this time Sucre had taken its turn with La Paz, Cochabamba, and Oruro. La Paz rose in open revolt. On January 17th of the following year a battle was fought some forty miles from La Paz between the insurgents and the government forces, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of a colonel and forty-three men. Colonel Pando, the insurgent leader, having gained a strong following, marched upon Oruro, and entered that town on April 11th, 1899, after completely defeating the government troops. Doctor Severo Alonso took refuge in Chilean territory; and on October 26th Colonel Pando was elected constitutional president and formed a government.

Peace and prosperity for Bolivia, as well as for the two republics with whose fortunes her own are so closely allied, depend mainly on the question of her seaboard, in which Chili and Peru are also concerned, being definitely settled, and, with it, the question of boundary. In October, 1901, Tacna and Arica had not yet been invited to declare by plebiscite their willingness to become Chilean territory. Chili still waited the final settlement of her frontier with Peru, and Bolivia was still without her seaport. The feeling of sus-

pense, engendered by the uncertainty of the situation, had led to some show of impatience on the part of Chili, who seemed disposed to press for the legitimisation of her position on what was formerly Bolivian territory before the way had been cleared towards providing Bolivia with a compensating access to the sea.^e In 1904 Bolivia agreed to recognise the sovereignty of Chili over the Pacific littoral in consideration of Chili's assuming certain war claims and agreeing to construct a railroad from Tacna to La Paz. In the same year in return for \$10,000,000 Bolivia gave up to Brazil her claims to the Acre district.^a

ECUADOR

After the old Spanish province of Quito had broken away from the republic of Colombia (1830) and had constituted itself into the independent republic of Ecuador the history of the country alternated between revolution and reaction. Flores himself, the leader of the conservatives, managed to keep in power for fifteen years.

At the time when the reactionary movement was triumphing in Europe the clerical party in Ecuador gained a temporary victory, but it was of short duration. The threatening attitude of the government of New Granada gave the supremacy to the opposition. A junta constituted in Guayaquil declared the president Naboa to be deposed, and brought about his capture and exile. General José Maria Urbina, the radical leader, now [1852] took the helm as president and dictator, and established his seat in Guayaquil.^b

In 1834 General Flores' term of office as president expired, and Rocafuerte was elected; Flores¹ himself was appointed commander-in-chief of the republican forces. In January, 1835, the liberal army [under Flores] was routed and put to flight.

Rocafuerte convoked an assembly in Ambato, which elected him president in June, 1835; the same assembly confirmed the appointment of Flores as generalissimo.^f

The next twenty-five years were filled with disputes between liberals and conservatives. The only events of importance were the adoption of a penal code in 1837, the recognition of the independence of Ecuador by Spain in 1841, a convention with England for the abolition of slavery in 1847, and the adoption of the decimal system in 1858.^a

In 1861 a newly elected national assembly gave the presidency to Moreno. From that time on the conservatives remained in power for several years, and Moreno, a scholarly man of mathematical and historical knowledge, who understood various languages, took advantage of the peace to increase commerce and general prosperity. But the democrats nourished a deep hatred against him and worked continually for his downfall. However, it was not until the war broke out between Peru and Spain that Moreno was no longer able to maintain his place. After a hotly contested election, Geronimo Carrion was chosen president of Ecuador (May 1st, 1865). He, too, belonged to the conservative party, but followed a different policy and entered the alliance of Peru and Chili against the former mother country (1866).^b In 1869, however, Moreno was re-elected, this time for a term of six years.

[¹ Flores had just signed a treaty of peace with Rocafuerte, who as liberal leader had defeated him the previous year.]

[1869-1908 A.D.]

Moreno showed himself reactionary and intensely devoted to the clerical party. Nevertheless, in 1875, he was re-elected for a third term, no doubt because of the perfect governmental control of elections. On the 14th of August, just before his inauguration, he was assassinated by three private enemies among his own political following. The party of the administration broke into three factions, which were easily defeated, perhaps with a show of force, by the liberal candidate, Antonio Borrero.

The new president acted with too much moderation and too great friendliness towards the clerical party to satisfy the radicals, and under the lead of General Veintemilla they revolted in Guayaquil, and in 1876 formed a provisional government with Veintemilla as provisional president.

In October, 1882, a revolution broke out against Veintemilla, in which moderate liberals, conservatives, and clericals joined. In May of the following year Antonio Flores, son of General and President Flores, landed in Ecuador and joined the insurgents in the siege of Guayaquil, which resulted in the capture of the city on July 9th. Veintemilla escaped to Peru. A convention, meeting in October, adopted the constitution of 1861 and elected José María Plácido Caamaño provisional president. General Alfaro, leader of the liberals, occupied the northern cities of Ecuador. On the 17th of February, 1884, Caamaño was proclaimed president. Liberal revolutions continued to disturb the country for a period; but meeting with no success the movement died a natural death. An attempt was made to assassinate the president, but it was unsuccessful.

Little of importance occurred in the next ten years. In 1887 the boundary dispute with Peru was referred to the queen of Spain for arbitration. In 1888 Antonio Flores was elected president to succeed Caamaño. The following year the ecclesiastical tithe was abolished, but set export tariffs were reserved to the church. In September of the same year Chinese immigration was abolished.

In 1891 a new tariff went into effect with most duties increased and with a special *ad valorem* duty of 20 or 25 per cent. to raise interest, and a sinking fund for the national debt. In June, 1892, Flores was succeeded by Luis Cordero, a moderate liberal. The foreign debt was scaled down more than 60 per cent., from £2,000,000 and more to £750,000.

In 1895 the Japanese government, on the eve of its war with China, bought from Ecuador the *Esmeralda*, a cruiser purchased the year before from Chili. The sordidness and corruption of the government of Ecuador in this transaction aroused general disgust, of which General Elroy Alfaro, the radical leader, took instant advantage by invading the country. The government was everywhere beaten; Alfaro occupied Guayaquil in June, took Riobamba after a desperate fight, and September 1st entered Quito with practically no opposition. On October 28th he was made supreme chief of the republic. The year following, the national convention meeting at Guayaquil voted religious freedom for the first time. The convention also made General Alfaro president.

In 1897 the constitution was again amended, and a little later the foreign debt was taken over by the Guayaquil and Quito Railroad Company, an American corporation. A coinage law passed providing for the adoption of the gold standard November 4th, 1900. In 1901 General Leonidas Plaza became president, and in 1905 was succeeded by Lizardo García. Early in 1906 the García government was overthrown by a revolution, and Alfaro again became president. Revolts against his authority broke out the same year and in 1907, but were quickly suppressed.

ARGENTINA

A general congress of the La Plata states, convened in 1824, adopted a new constitution, which gave Buenos Ayres the control of foreign affairs. On February 2nd, 1825, a commercial treaty was signed with Great Britain. On December 24th, 1826, a strong centralist constitution was voted, but was not adopted by all the provinces. Rivadavia was elected president. In this same year Argentina made war with Brazil for the Banda Oriental, which was finally recognized by each as the independent state Uruguay. In 1827 Rivadavia abdicated because of the ill-success of the centralist constitution, and on August 27th of the following year Argentina formed an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay for purposes of international peace. In 1829 Rosas, the guacho-leader of the federalists, effected the adoption of a federalist constitution, and became governor of Buenos Ayres and supreme head of the confederation.

In August, 1830, he received dictatorial powers for two years. In this year France protested through her consul against French citizens being obliged to render Argentina military service. The next twelve years saw the steady increase of Rosas' power. Then the tide turned. The story of Urquiza's rebellion and Rosas' downfall has been told in the history of Uruguay. On May 1st, 1853, at Santa Fé a constitution was adopted modelled on that of the United States of North America. Parana was made temporary capital until Buenos Ayres should accept the constitution. Urquiza was chosen first president. In 1859 Buenos Ayres sent an army against the federal government, which was defeated at Cepeda, October 23rd, by Urquiza, who seized the city and forced it to join the confederacy.

In 1861 Derqui, Urquiza's successor, was deposed after being defeated, September 17th, at Pavon, by Mitre of the Buenos Ayres party, being suspected of hostility to the provincial governments. The federalist constitution was abolished and a centralised government begun. Mitre became provisional president in May, 1862, and in October entered on a regular term of six years. The government then assumed some stability, and the country made great industrial advances. In 1864 Great Britain and Argentina referred to the president of Chili the case of losses to Great Britain through an Argentine decree forbidding vessels from Montevideo to enter the ports of Argentina, and on May 4th, 1865, Argentina joined Uruguay and Brazil with a formal treaty of alliance to suppress Lopez, the Paraguayan dictator, who invaded Argentina, and occupied Corrientes, April 13th. Mitre held the supreme command in this war for two years. In 1868 Sarmiento succeeded Mitre as president, and Argentina no longer played an important part in the Paraguayan War. Sarmiento was a civilian, the "schoolmaster president," and Argentina took a remarkable industrial start, due partly to the trade of the Brazilian army, and partly to Sarmiento's policy of encouraging immigration, commerce, agriculture, and education. In 1870 a caudillo revolt in Entre Rios, led by Lopez Jordan, resulted in the capture and murder of Urquiza.

By the terms of the Paraguayan Peace, Argentina and Brazil, though victorious, agreed to the arbitration of their dispute. A decision in favour of Argentina was rendered by the Chilian president in the case with Great Britain, pending since 1864. In 1872 the first Argentine coal deposits were discovered. Avellaneda was elected president in 1874. The financial condition of the country was bad, because of the heavy expenses of the Paraguayan

[1874-1908 A.D.]

war and the fact of the revenue being limited by import taxes. On February 3rd, 1876, the boundary dispute with Paraguay was referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. In 1877 a stamp tax was introduced, the high tariff having gradually killed import trade and with it the government's sole income. The frontier dispute with Paraguay was decided against Argentina on November 12th, 1878.

In 1880, after a brief and bitter civil war between the Buenos Ayres party and Roca's followers, Roca became president; the city of Buenos Ayres was separated from the province of the same name and put under federal control. On July 23rd, 1881, a convention was signed between Chili and Argentina, arranging the Patagonian boundary. Argentina bonds first reached par in December. In 1883 the currency was made convertible, the old paper dollar notes being exchangeable for four cents gold. At the same time great government loans were floated. A financial panic resulted from the government loans still unfloatd and from the constriction of the money market following specie resumption. On January 16th the national currency was declared legal tender and the panic subsided. In this year Argentine expeditions explored Patagonia, and the next year there were gold discoveries in Argentine Patagonia. Roca was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Juarez Celman.

Administrative dishonesty during the next three years resulted in an alarming financial condition, and necessitated the resignation of Celman. He was succeeded by Pellegrini, who effected no reforms. In 1891 the disorder became so grave that martial law was proclaimed. The following year the powerful vote of the liberal opposition to the government was forcibly suppressed, and Saenz Peña, the administration candidate, was elected. In 1894 the opposition made great gains in the congressional elections. A sudden fall in the price of agricultural products and excessive importation forced up the price of gold to a premium of 320. In 1895 the president resigned. Vice-President Uriburu succeeded him, and immediately proclaimed an amnesty. On April 17th, 1896, a protocol was signed referring the Patagonian dispute with Chili to the arbitration of the British government.

In 1898 Roca, leader of the nationalist party and of the provinces as against the capital, was elected president and took office in October. New internal duties were voted, and it was proposed to realize on the national railroads by their sale or lease. In 1899 the Puña of Atacama dispute was settled by the arbitration of the United States minister at Buenos Ayres. In the autumn of 1900 Argentina entered into an *entente* with Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia for the purpose of withstanding Chilean aggression. In 1901 a "Unification Bill," aimed to consolidate the national indebtedness, met with great popular opposition, and was withdrawn. Soon after this Chili quarrelled with Argentina over Ultima Esperanza. On November 20th, 1902, King Edward made the award in the boundary dispute with Chili, giving Chili nearly 60 per cent. of the disputed territory, but to Argentina nearly all the fertile soil. In 1904 Manuel Quintana became president. He died in March, 1906, and was succeeded by Vice-President Figueroa.

URUGUAY

The constituent assembly met at Montevideo, July 18th, 1830, declared the constitution drafted in the former year, and elected Fructuoso Rivera president. Two years later Rivera was sharply attacked by the blancos.

Montevideo was seized by them in the president's absence, but soon retaken. The civil war thus begun lasted two years. The colorados were successful in this civil war, but Oribe, formerly a follower of Rivera, leader of the blancos, was elected president.

From 1835 to 1851 Uruguay was torn between two factions, one of which desired, one of which opposed the incorporation of Uruguay into the Argentine Confederation. Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, led the Argentine party, and Oribe united with him. Rivera led the opposition and was for a time successful, but in 1841-1842 he suffered reverses. In 1843 Oribe began the nine years' siege of Montevideo. Suarez became acting president. In 1845 English and French fleets intervened against Rosas at a moment when his victory seemed assured. His next reverse was the defection of one of his best generals, Urquiza, governor of Entre Rios. Entre Rios became a separate state, and in 1851 Urquiza led an alliance between Entre Rios, Corrientes, the Unitarians, the Colorados, and Brazil. This alliance compelled the surrender of Rosas at Montevideo, and again defeated him in the great battle of Monte-Caseros.

After several governmental crises Flores became president in 1854. A strong opposition to him had grown up within the colorado party. Revolution followed, compelling his resignation. In 1857 Oribe died, and this was a signal for disorder to begin again. In the first week of January, 1858, Diaz and his troops occupied Montevideo, and chose Freire president, but this revolutionary government was crushed. Freire and twenty-four officers were executed.

In April, 1863, Flores returned from Argentina with an Argentine following, and was quickly joined by the colorados. Brazil recognised Flores as president, but Uruguay, now in the hands of Flores, joined Brazil in making war on Paraguay. Brazilian troops entered Uruguay October 12th. On the 20th of February, 1865, a convention signed at La Union gave Flores complete control. On May 1st, by the *entente* with Argentina, the Triple Alliance was formed against Paraguay. The withdrawal of Flores from active participation in the war with Paraguay, however, practically removed Uruguay from the struggle. The president's home administration in this year did much to advance the country's industrial condition. On February 19th of the following year, 1868, the president was assassinated—probably as the result of a blanco plot. Three days afterwards Manuel Flores, a brother of the president, who acted as provisional executive, was killed, as were also twenty-one more colorado leaders. Nevertheless, the machinery of government remained with the colorados, who elected as president one of their number, Lawrence Battle.

During the succeeding seven years there were constant struggles between the blancos and the colorados. On March 1st, 1873, Ellaury was elected president. As the result of the friction between him and the legislature, the president left the country on January 15th, whereupon Pedro Varela, vice-president in Ellaury's administration, succeeded him. Varela's financial policy was flagrantly corrupt, and as a result there was a general rising against him. General Latorre, a colorado, who deposed Ellaury and replaced him with Varela, led the opposition, and on the 10th of March, 1876, Latorre was made provisional president—practically dictator—the following year becoming president. He introduced rigid economy, and proposed refunding the national debt at 6 per cent., instead of 12 per cent. His strict administration roused opposition, and in 1880 he resigned. General Maximo Santos became president in 1882. Santos won hatred through his corrupt adminis-

[1882-1908 A.D.]

tration, and after being wounded by an assassin he fled the country, and was succeeded by his enemy, Maximo Tajes.

Herrera y Obes, prime minister, holding the portfolio of the interior, was the actual administrative head of Tajes' government. A national bank was founded in 1887, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and on July 18th, 1888, the first South American international congress met at Montevideo. The 6 per cent. bonds of the government, amounting to \$21,276,800, were converted to 4 per cent. bonds by the issue in London during August of \$20,000,000 of bonds at 82½.

In March, 1890, Julio Herrera y Obes became president. In June of the same year the government negotiated a loan of \$10,000,000 from the Barings, to avert threatened financial panic, and in the next month, after the national bank had suspended specie payment, the government unsuccessfully attempted to make the notes of the bank legal currency for six months; but the co-operation of the business men of Montevideo in favour of gold payments drove the bank-notes out of use. Early in October, at the orders of the president, who was practically supreme, the legislature voted the consolidation of the external debt and the reduction of the interest rate to 3½ per cent.

In 1894 Herrera y Obes' administration drew to a close, with general discontent on account of his extravagance and his complete control of the legislative machinery. On March 21st Borda was chosen representative of the administration, but was pledged to economy—a pledge he lived up to through the year. But Borda was clearly in the hands of corrupt advisers, and by 1896 had lost popularity. His term was filled with the uproar of a blanco revolution. On August 25th, 1897, he was assassinated.^a His place was taken by the vice-president, Juan Luis Cuestas, who, though formerly a violent colorado, immediately negotiated with the blancos, and on September 10th secured peace by granting them all they asked, notably electoral reforms and a minority representation. Cuestas openly opposed the presidential candidacy of Herrera y Obes, and, after an attempt to abduct the president, this leader of the opposition was arrested and exiled.

At the beginning of 1898 President Cuestas declared himself dictator, and on February 10th dissolved the government and convoked an assembly of notables or council of state. A military revolt on July 4th of the same year in favour of Herrera y Obes occasioned a sharp and bloody struggle in Montevideo; but it proved unsuccessful and the enterprise was abandoned. The year passed without a presidential election, Cuestas occupying the office of provisional governor. In February, 1899, Cuestas formally resigned and was constitutionally elected president in March.

In 1901 a "scientific congress" of the Latin-American countries met in Montevideo and urged international arbitration. Chili alone refused to agree to this motion. In the same year President Cuestas utilised domestic capital for internal improvements, notably the harbour of Montevideo. An electoral agreement was effected (with some difficulty) between the two parties. Two years later José Ordóñez, a leader of the liberal colorado faction, and so a sympathiser with Cuestas, was chosen president. But in March the blancos rebelled against him, being especially opposed to the appointment of departmental prefects. On the 22nd, however, a compromise was effected and new prefects were appointed in six departments.

The year 1904 was marked by an attempt at revolution. In September, 1907, the chambers passed a bill abolishing the death penalty.

PARAGUAY

The people still feared Francia, even after he was dead, as an evil demon. His secretary, Patiño, attempted to carry on his master's government and formed a junta, which put him in prison, where he hanged himself.

On January 23rd, 1841, the people deposed the junta and put in power a triumvirate, almost immediately superseded by Alonso, commandante generale, and his secretary, Carlos Antonio Lopez. The real power was in Lopez's hands. The consular government passed sane though crude laws, and proclaimed that the children of all slaves born after that year would become free in 1867. When the consular term expired in 1844 Lopez was elected by congress president for ten years, with practically dictatorial powers. In this year Rosas in Buenos Ayres forbade Paraguayan vessels to sail to the sea. The year following Paraguay was opened to outside influence and foreigners were declared free from military service.

In 1857 Lopez was re-elected, this time for life, with the privilege of naming his successor. On September 10th, 1862, the elder Lopez died, and his place was taken immediately by Francisco Solano Lopez.

Lopez, on August 30th, 1864, claiming to be protector of the equilibrium of La Plata, ordered Brazil to withdraw her armed interference in behalf of Flores' revolution in Uruguay, and followed this order by a show of force, thus provoking war, for which Lopez made elaborate preparations throughout the year. In December the Paraguayan forces occupied the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. Lopez crossed the Argentine province of Corrientes so as to overrun Rio Grande, and thus drew Argentina into the confederation against him. Uruguay and Brazil formally became members of the alliance on May 1st, the three powers agreeing to overthrow the government of Paraguay, which declared war on March 18th.

The war ended in the complete ruin of the country. On March 1st, 1870, in a skirmish at Aquidaban, Lopez was killed. Cirilo Rivarola was elected president. In 1872 Rivarola resigned, and Jovellanos took his place. On March 27th the treaty of peace with Brazil was ratified, the claims made against Brazil and Argentina were relinquished, and the new republic promised to pay Brazil \$200,000,000, Argentina \$35,000,000, and Uruguay \$1,000,000, as expenses of the war. In 1874 Juan Bautista Gill became president. At this time the republic was listed as bankrupt in Europe.

In 1876 payment of interest on the home loan was resumed, and coffee planting began to be an important industry. The Brazilian army of occupation was withdrawn on June 22nd. On April 12th, 1877, President Gill and his brother, minister of finance, were assassinated. Bareiro was made president, and was succeeded by Caballero.

In 1885 the government negotiated for the settlement of the national debt as held by British bondholders. On November 28th, 1886, General Patricio Escobar was made president. Juan G. Gonzalez entered office as president November 25th, 1890. In 1892 the government ceased to pay the coupons on its bonds. Two years later President Gonzalez was deported to Buenos Ayres. A new arrangement was made for paying the national debt. In 1898 Emilio Aceval became president, and was succeeded in 1902 by Juan Ezeurra. In December, 1904, Señor Gaona was elected president, but was deposed in 1905, and Señor Don Cecilio Baez was chosen provisional president. In November, 1906, General Ferreya was elected to succeed him.^a



CHAPTER VI

MEXICO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN none of the Spanish possessions at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the necessity of a radical and sovereign change more keenly felt than in New Spain—to-day the republic of Mexico. For reasons which we will not examine here, and which belong rather to the domain of the philosopher and statistician than to that of the historian, all the evils connected with Spanish administration in America were united in this country, in which the line of demarcation between the two classes of society—the privileged and the exploited—was also more clearly marked. The latter class and the more important one, although formed of heterogeneous elements, was composed of what might be called the indigenous Mexican [creole] and of the popular elements; it made common cause with the natives of the country, not through sympathy or because it understood their needs, but because, although belonging in greater part to the conquering race, it was kept out of the public offices and hence became confounded with the conquered, identifying itself with them and thus preparing the work of common vengeance.

The other class included, besides what might be called the official class, the authorities and the employees of the public administration of the colony—mostly of Spanish origin—a certain aristocracy which had been created at the time of the conquest of Mexico, after the model of that nobility which the conquering races had formed in Spain: the higher clergy, bishops, dignitaries, and prelates, the large landholders, chief merchants, etc. The growing aversion, the mutual defiances and deep enmities which separated the individuals of the one class from the other, manifested themselves on the one hand in an inexorable war and in protests imprinted with threats and maledictions, and on the other hand in continual severities and in an insulting defiance.

From the year 1789, in which the first conspiracy against the mother country—a spark which was a precursor of the storm soon to break—was denounced to the viceroy, Don Miguel José de Aranza, down to the promulgation in 1857 of the constitution and of the laws of reform which completed it, Mexico may be considered as in a state of permanent warfare,

sometimes foreign, more often civil, but almost always disastrous and sanguinary.

As we have already said, it was under the vice-royalty of Aranza that the first symptoms of rebellion against the royal power were manifested in New Spain. However, their first revolutionary movement, so rapidly discovered and suppressed, was speedily reawakened under the rule of Don Pedro de Garibay. Later, in 1809, a new conspiracy was discovered at Morelia, and finally, in 1810, under the governorship of Don Francisco Venegas, there broke out at Dolores the great insurrection from which Mexican independence was to emerge, and which had for its leader Hidalgo, curate of that same town of Dolores, in the state of Guanajuato.^b Hidalgo, a man noble in his intentions, although perhaps not seeing clearly the scope and the final end of his undertaking, kindled a civil war than which history can hardly show a more terrible one. The storm of revolt raged fiercely through the land and soon carried away with it all classes of society in its confusing vortex, destroying and deranging the old order of things and creating new only with difficulty.^c

The creoles sided with the Spanish government. Hidalgo, who had soon an immense force with him, took Guanajuato by storm, and occupied Valladolid, whence he advanced over the table-land of Toluca to that of Tenochtitlan. The Spanish governor sent a small corps against him, which was defeated by Hidalgo on the 30th of October at Las Cruces, a pass in the chain which separates the table-lands of Tenochtitlan and Toluca. But notwithstanding this victory, Hidalgo retreated, and eight days afterwards was in his turn defeated by Calleja. Hidalgo retired to Valladolid and Guadalajara, and in the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned town he was again defeated, and soon afterwards taken prisoner and shot.

In the mean time the whole country had risen in insurrection, and many leaders began to act separately. The most remarkable among them was Don José Maria Morelos, who with great activity, talents, and success maintained the southern provinces in rebellion against the governor and formed a *junta*, or central government, which in September, 1811, assembled in the town of Zitacuaro, in the state of Michoacan. But that town was soon afterwards taken by Calleja, and the *junta* were dispersed. Calleja, however, was soon obliged to march against Morelos, who had penetrated into the table-land of Tenochtitlan from the south. He was attacked by Calleja in the town of Cuantla y Amilpas, and after defending himself for nearly three months with great skill and gallantry, he abandoned that place and took Oajaca.

The *junta* was now increased by new members, and under the title of the "national assembly" it declared the independence of Mexico on the 13th of November, 1813. But after that event Morelos had less success in his daring enterprises, and in November, 1815, he was taken prisoner, conducted to Mexico, and shot. Many of his companions-in-arms maintained the conflict for some time, but they did not act in concert with one another, especially after one of them, Terán, had dissolved the congress, which had been transferred from Oajaca to Tehuacan, in the state of Puebla. The viceroy, Venegas, supported by the gallantry and skill of Calleja, destroyed successively the armies of these chiefs, so that when Don Javier Mina, the famous Spanish guerilla chief, landed in Mexico, in 1817, the fortune of the insurgents was at so low an ebb that he was unable to restore their cause and he perished in the attempt. The country gradually became more tranquil, and in 1820 it was restored nearly to the same degree of order which it had

[1820-1823 A.D.]

enjoyed before 1808, to which fortunate results the mildness of the new viceroy, Apodaca, materially contributed.

The events which occurred in Spain in the beginning of 1820 suddenly changed the aspect of affairs, and deprived Spain of the most valuable of her possessions in America, which it had regained at the cost of much blood and treasure. The Spaniards and the creoles, who had formerly made common cause, were now divided into two parties, royalists and constitutionalists. Apodaca, who inclined to the former party, wished to overthrow the constitution of Mexico, and chose for his instrument Don Agustin de Iturbide, a young man, born in the province of Valladolid, of respectable but not wealthy parents. He had distinguished himself in the battle of Las Cruces, and always shown great attachment to the Spanish party. Iturbide had about eight hundred men under his command, when, on the 24th of February, 1821, at the little town of Iguala, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco, he issued a proclamation which, since that time, has been called the Plan of Iguala. Its object was to conciliate all parties. It was to establish the independence of Mexico and still to preserve its union with Spain. To effect this, the crown of Mexico was to be offered to the king of Spain, and in case of his refusal, to one of his brothers, Don Carlos or Don Francisco de Paulo, provided they would consent to reside in the country.

Though Iturbide had certainly exceeded the powers which he had received from Apodaca, the viceroy, seeing that this proposal met the wishes of most persons, took no step to crush Iturbide, and the Spaniards of the capital, alarmed at this delay, deposed him, and placed Don Francisco Novella at the head of affairs. But the disorders which always attend such violent changes gave Iturbide time to unite his troops with those of Guerrero, the only insurgent chief still existing in the country, and to bring over to his party all the western and northern provinces. Before the month of July the whole country recognised his authority, with the exception of the capital, in which Novella had shut himself up with all the European troops. At this moment he received intelligence of the arrival at Vera Cruz of the new constitutional viceroy Don Juan O'Donoju. Iturbide hastened to the coast, obtained an interview with O'Donoju, and persuaded him to accept the Plan of Iguala as an armistice and final settlement, if it should be approved in Spain. This is called the Treaty of Cordova, from the place where it was made.

Iturbide thus got possession of the capital, where a junta and regency were established, but in such a form that all power remained in the hands of Iturbide. By a decree of the cortes, dated the 13th of February, 1822, the Treaty of Cordova was declared to be illegal, null, and void, and Iturbide, who had the power in his hands, and a great number of adherents, found no difficulty in ascending the throne. The army declared him emperor of Mexico on the 18th of May, 1822, and he took the title of Augustin I. He was acknowledged by the Mexican congress, which had been opened on the 24th of February; but a struggle for power soon arose between Iturbide and the congress, which the emperor terminated by dissolving the assembly, in the same manner as Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament. On the same day he formed a new legislative assembly, composed of persons favourable to his wishes and intentions. But he had not skill enough to reconcile his companions in arms to these changes. Several generals declared against his proceedings, and prepared for resistance. Iturbide, terrified at the storm which was ready to burst on all sides, called together the old congress, abdicated in March, 1823, and went to

Europe, whence, however, he returned to Mexico in 1824. He had been outlawed by the congress, and upon landing on the coast he was shot at Padilla, in Tamaulipas.

Mexico was thus left without a regular form of government, or even a constitution, affairs being managed provisionally by Bravo, Victoria, and Negrete. But on the 4th of October, 1824, a constitution uniting the sixteen original states into a federal republic was proclaimed by a national convention after a session of fourteen months. The first congress assembled at Mexico (January 1st, 1825), and installed General Victoria as president of the nation.

With the exception of some discontents occasioned by *pronunciamentos* of Robato, Padre, Arenas, and others, Victoria's administration was encouraging to the friends of republicanism, until his term of office had nearly expired. All parties had then merged into two, the Escoceses and Yorkinos, or Scotch and York parties—the first strongly opposed to republicanism, the second in favour of it. In December, 1827, General Bravo placed himself at the head of the Scotch party, and marched against the president, but he was defeated by the latter and banished. In the succeeding election, however, the Escoceses elected their presidential candidate, Gomez Pedraza, by a majority of two votes. The exasperated republicans were not disposed to submit to this defeat with a good grace, and even before Pedraza was installed, Santa Anna marched against him with a small force. The Indians flocked to the standard of the insurgents, and on the 4th of December, 1828, a pronunciamento was issued in favour of Guerrero, the president's political opponent. The city of Mexico was rifled, and Pedraza compelled to fly to the United States. Immediately after, congress declared in favour of Guerrero for president and Bustamante for vice-president. The latter act was most unfortunate. The new administration had scarcely gone into operation when the vice-president raised an army, induced Santa Anna to join him, overthrew Guerrero, and seized the government. Not long after (September 11th, 1829), Santa Anna broke the remaining Spanish influence in Mexico, by the victory of Barradas.

Guerrero was executed by order of the government in 1831, and in the following year Santa Anna took up arms against Bustamante. After various successes, he induced the president to permit the recall of Pedraza, who was immediately elevated to his former dignity, and served out his term of office. At its expiration, May 15th, 1833, Santa Anna was elected to succeed him.

Santa Anna's energy of character and skill as a general were known and dreaded throughout Mexico; but he was subjected to the same dangers from insurrections, declarations, and other symptoms of discontent as his predecessors had been. The most formidable to the constitution was the Plan of Tuluco, substituting a central for a federal republic, abolishing the individuality of the states, and constituting the chief magistrate a military chieftain. It gave rise to the Texan revolution, during which the president marched into the disaffected department, and, after alternate success and disaster, was entirely defeated and taken prisoner at San Jacinto. On returning from the United States, he found his influence destroyed, and retired to his farm at Manga de Clavo. During his absence and retirement affairs were conducted by Barragan, Coro, and Bustamante.

The insurrection of Alexia, in 1838, afforded the first opportunity for Santa Anna to reappear in public life. The insurgents were defeated, and their leader was put to death. The blockade of Vera Cruz by the French, during the ensuing winter, was another step towards regaining popularity.

[1839-1847 A.D.]

He there received a severe wound in the leg, which rendered amputation necessary; but this mischance he knew well how to appropriate to his own benefit. In 1839 the difficulties between France and Mexico were settled by British arbitration, Mexico paying an indemnity of 600,000 piastres. Santa Anna became acting president.^a

In July, 1840, Urrea attempted to overthrow the government, but was defeated; but one year after, Valentia, Lombidini, Alaman, Paredes, and Santa Anna pronounced against Bustamante. This revolution was one of the most fearful of all that have distracted Mexico since the days of the viceroys. The armies fought more than a month in the streets of the capital, after which it was subjected to bombardment. The president was finally overthrown, and Santa Anna inaugurated military dictator (January 1st, 1841).

The dictator held his power with great firmness until 1843, when he ordered Paredes to be arrested at Tula, in consequence of his having joined Valencia in a proposed insurrection. This measure incensed the friends of Paredes, and they collected in small parties preparatory to revolting. The dictator then changed his policy, and invited the general to accept the government of Sonora and Sinaloa.

This, however, was ineffectual, and, leaving Canalizo at the capital, Santa Anna marched against the insurgents. A civil war was the consequence. This was ended by the indiscreet zeal of Canalizo, who, on the 2nd of December, 1844, closed the sitting of congress, and declared Santa Anna supreme dictator. Incensed at this act, the people and army rose *en masse*, imprisoned Canalizo, and caused Herrera to be proclaimed president by congress. Santa Anna was left almost entirely alone, and, after the most violent efforts at the head of a small force, he was taken prisoner. After long deliberation, congress condemned him to perpetual exile. In June, 1845, he embarked for Havana, in company with his wife, nephew, and a few friends.

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES

Congress now proclaimed a general amnesty and passed a vote recognising the independence of Texas, on condition of its not becoming a part of the United States. This state of quiet was of short duration. The separation of Texas from the parent government was, of all measures, the most unpopular in Mexico; and soon Paredes, aided by Arista, was in arms against Herrera. The latter was deposed, Paredes assumed the reins of government, and the United States minister was ordered from the country. In the ensuing war Paredes marched with the army to the north, leaving the management of affairs in the hands of General Bravo. His efforts were attended with uninterrupted misfortune, and the nation again turned its gaze towards Santa Anna, as the only one capable of retrieving its disasters. Vera Cruz and other cities declared for him, and General Salas, assuming provisional authority, imprisoned Paredes, and invited Santa Anna to return. He arrived at Vera Cruz, August, 1846, and was immediately appointed president and dictator.^d

Santa Anna rejected American offers of peace and British offers of mediation and the war continued. It will not be necessary here to enter upon its details; Santa Fé was lost on August 22nd, and Monterey on September 24th. In January of the next year the government forced a loan of \$4,000,000 from the church. Taylor won the two days' battle of Buena Vista on February 22nd and 23rd, and Scott defeated the Mexicans at Cerro Gordo, April 18th, and took the city of Mexico on September 15th. The easy victory of the

American army was made more simple by the opposition to the war of the moderados or polkos, under Salas' leadership. In November Anaya became acting president, succeeding Peña y Peña, and Santa Anna left the country.

On February 2nd, 1849, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed near Mexico City, and was submitted to the United States senate on February 23rd; it was ratified on March 16th by the United States senate; on May 19th, by the Mexican authorities; ratifications were exchanged May 30th, and the treaty was proclaimed in July. It took from Mexico the provinces of New Mexico and California on payment of \$15,000,000, and made the southern boundary of Texas the Rio Grande. Herrera's wise administration, which began at Queretaro June 3rd, was menaced by Paredes and the guerilla chieftains even in August, and as early as June 16th Old California, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas seceded from the republic.^a

CHARACTER OF SANTA ANNA

Among all the agitators of the country no one was, by turns, so much courted and dreaded as Santa Anna. His political history discloses many but not all the features of his private character. He possessed a wilful, observant, patient intellect, which had received very little culture, but constant intercourse with all classes of men made him perfectly familiar with the strength and weaknesses of his countrymen. There was not a person of note in the republic whose value he did not know, nor was there a venal politician with whose price he was unacquainted. Believing most men corrupt or corruptible, he was constantly busy in contriving expedients to control or win them. A soldier almost from his infancy, during turbulent times among semi-civilised troops, he had become so habitually despotic that when he left the camp for the cabinet he still blended the imperious general with the intriguing president. He seemed to cherish the idea that his country could not be virtuously governed. Ambitious and avaricious, he sought for power not only to gratify his individual lust of personal glory, but as a means of enriching himself and purchasing the instruments who might sustain his authority. Accordingly, he rarely distinguished the public treasure from his private funds. Soldier as he was by profession, he was slightly skilled in the duties of a commander in the field, and never won a great battle except through the blunders of his opponents. He was a systematic revolutionist, a manager of men, an astute intriguer; and, personally timid, he seldom meditated an advance without planning a retreat. Covetous as a miser, he nevertheless delighted to watch the mean combat between fowls upon whose prowess he had staked his thousands. An agriculturist with vast landed possessions, his chief rural pleasure was in training these birds for the brutal battle of the pit. Loving money insatiably, he leaned with the eagerness of a gambler over the table where those who knew how to propitiate his greediness learned the graceful art of losing judiciously. Sensual by constitution, he valued woman only as the minister of his pleasures. The gentlest being imaginable in tone, address, and demeanour to foreigners or his equals, he was oppressively haughty to his inferiors, unless they were necessary for his purposes or not absolutely in his power. The correspondence and public papers which were either written or dictated by him fully displayed the sophistry by which he changed defeats into victories or converted criminal faults into philanthropy. Gifted with an extraordinary power of expression, he used his splendid language to impose by sonorous periods upon the credu-

[1849 A.D.]

lity or fancy of his people. No one excelled him in ingenuity, eloquence, bombast, gasconade, or dialectic skill. When at the head of power, he lived constantly in a gorgeous military pageant; and, a perfect master of dramatic effect upon the excitable masses of his countrymen, he forgot the exhumation of the dishonoured bones of Cortes to superintend the majestic interment of the limb he had lost at Vera Cruz.

It will easily be understood how such a man, in the revolutionary times of Mexico, became neither the Cromwell nor the Washington of his country. The great talent which he unquestionably possessed taught him that it was easier to deal corruptly with corruptions than to rise to the dignity of a loyal reformer. He and his country mutually acted and reacted upon each other. Neither a student nor a traveller, he knew nothing of human character except as he saw it exhibited at home, and there he certainly sometimes found excuses for severity and even despotism. It is undeniable that he was endowed with a peculiar genius, but it was that kind of energetic genius which may raise a dexterous man from disgrace, defeat, or reverses, rather than sustain him in power when he has reached it. He never was popular, and never relied for success on the democratic sentiment of his country. He ascertained, at an early day, that the people would not favour his aspirations, and, abandoning federalism, he threw himself in the embrace of the centralists. The army and the church establishment—combined for mutual protection under his auspices—were the only two elements of his political strength, and as long as he wielded their mingled power, he was enabled to do more than any other Mexican in thoroughly demoralising his country. As a military demagogue he was often valuable even to honest patriots, who were willing to call him to power for a moment to save the country either from anarchy or from the grasp of more dangerous aspirants. Until the army was destroyed, Santa Anna could not fall, nor would the military politicians yield to the civil. As long as this dangerous chief and his myrmidons remained in Mexico, either in or out of power, every citizen felt that he was suffering under the rod of a despot, or that the progress of his country would soon be paralysed by the wand of an unprincipled agitator. But with the army reduced to the mere requirements of a police system, and Santa Anna beyond the limits of the republic, the nation may breathe with freedom and vigour.^e

GROWTH OF THE MONARCHICAL PARTY

The history of the republic is one of boundless anarchy. Presidents and counter-presidents, back and forth in countless number; disputes and struggles as to whether to have a central or a federative state; civil wars; demoralisation of all classes; repeated appearance on the scene of Santa Anna, who always came as a saviour in time of need, and who, three times banished and three times recalled, was called on to exercise the dictatorial power; financial and economical ruin of the country—such are in general the chief events which filled the history of the republic, upon the details of which we will not enter. It can easily be understood that under such circumstances a monarchical party was gradually formed; this had its special organ in the *Universal*, and saw its salvation only in monarchical institutions. This monarchical party, which had in fact been founded ever since the declaration of independence, and, although not numerous, had maintained its position, counted many worthy men among its members, among others Don Gutierrez de Estrade, a rare, blameless character whom years before disgust at the ruinous

condition of his republican fatherland had sent into voluntary exile to Europe. Although his views were inopportune, he was one of the few who had carefully studied and understood the conditions of Mexico, and already in 1846, at Vienna, he had tried to gain an Austrian archduke for an imperial throne in Mexico. Prince Metternich imposed three, at that time, impossible conditions, before the matter could even be considered: consent of the sea power, a majority of the Mexican people, and sufficient financial means. It is difficult not to recognise the wisdom of the old state chancellor in these conditions.

In the year 1850 the monarchical party began to rouse itself to action. Opposed to it stood two other parties, the liberal, which was really conservative, and the democratic, called more appropriately the radical. To this belonged General Arista, who had been made president in 1851, and during his short time of office, being a plaything of all parties, had accomplished nothing good or useful. In 1852 Arista was obliged to give up his position of power, in consequence of the revolt of nearly all the Mexican states. Santa Anna, who had been living in Cartagena (New Granada), was again called back. Lucas Alaman says, in his history of Mexico, that the history of the republic after 1823 could best be designated as the history of Santa Anna's revolutions. His rule as dictator aroused hopes of great things; he showed great energy and a zealous effort to improve the disordered conditions of his country. Through the Gadsden Treaty, concluded with North America on December 30th, 1853, although he ceded a considerable territory north of the Rio Grande, he brought \$10,000,000 into the exhausted treasury.

True to his convictions, he strove to rule alone; in 1854 he adopted the title "most serene highness," obtained the right to choose his successor, and renewed the order of Our Lady of Guadalupe. But the rebellion soon broke out again. Juan Alvarez, an Indian chief in Guerrero, defeated him in several battles, and in 1855 Santa Anna had to go into exile again. The dictatorship was at an end, but the confusion was so much the worse. In the capital, the houses of the ministers were immediately plundered, and the monument was torn down which had been erected a few months before to "the most meritorious servant of his fatherland."

With Alvarez all the horrors of barbarism celebrated a complete victory over what little was left of morality and outward decency. Immediately after his entry he declared all privileges of the soldiers and clergy abolished. The rough Indian, however, could not maintain himself in the presidential chair, in which he had never felt at ease. Hence he declared that he no longer had any desire to be president, took all that he found in the way of weapons, guns, and ammunition, emptied the treasury, in which were two hundred thousand piastres, and on December 12th, 1855, surrendered his power to the tax-collector, Ignacio Comonfort. The latter belonged to the conservative party, and had soon to struggle with a rebellion, which he put down successfully, and to fight out differences with Spain, which, through the mediation of the United States, were settled in favour of Mexico. On June 15th, 1856, he issued the famous decree forbidding all corporations to hold real estate. Thereby the clergy lost their numerous estates, and hence did not neglect to place all possible difficulties in the way of the president, even to raising a revolt against him in Puebla. In these battles Colonel Miguel Miramon first distinguished himself by his courage and decision. On the other side, the governor of Coahuila, the liberal General Santiago Vidaurri, had likewise arisen, but was persuaded by the compromise of 1856 to recognise the president.

In the congress, elected amid the general disorder and clothed with constitutional power, which opened on February 18th, 1856, triumphant radicalism

[1857-1859 A.D.]

soon gained the upper hand. Instead of working for a constitution appropriate to the needs of the country, congress, with inopportune and sometimes shallow pathos, discussed the most sublime social questions, discussed the rights of men, the freedom of labour, changed the laws of marriage, arbitrarily broke treaties with Spain, and completed the long list of its grave mistakes by laying hand on the ecclesiastical institutions, and plunged into this most dangerous of reforms without any reflection and even with inexcusable levity. In the mean while, anarchy reigned on all sides under a thousand forms. Armed bands plundered and robbed without punishment, one *pronunciamento* followed another, and discord soon broke out between Comonfort and the assembly, which, however, finally ended in a constitution of which the radicals could proudly say that it went "to the extreme verge of liberty" and began by placing the "rights of man" at the head.

The archbishop of Mexico forbade granting absolution to those who should swear to the constitution, whereupon twenty-seven generals and higher officers immediately refused to take the oath. According to the custom of the country the knot was cut by a *coup d'état*. The new constitution was to go into effect on September 10th. Before that a definitive president and a regular congress had to be chosen. The elections were held in July, 1857, in the midst of universal disorder, and as a result Comonfort became president, a stubborn radical of Indian blood. Don Benito Juárez became president of the supreme court, and a legislature was elected which was, if possible, even more revolutionary than the constituent. Mexico was again to form a federative republic, but even before the new form was introduced several states had broken loose from the central government and others had altered their constitutions and inner organisation in wholly sovereign fashion. On December 17th General Felix Zuloaga with his troops declared against the constitution and dispersed the congress. Comonfort (who had proclaimed himself dictator on December 1st, 1857) placed himself at the head of the movement, but his dictatorship lasted only a month. The rebellion soon turned against him and compelled him, in January, 1858, to lay down his office.^c

Not even the European ambassadors and consuls who lived in the midst of affairs were able to give a complete picture of the confusion which reigned in Mexico in the year 1858. The British *chargé d'affaires* counted no less than eight prominent party leaders, every one of whom went his own way. With the spring of 1859 the confusion cleared to some extent, in that the aims and objects of both parties became more recognisable. In Mexico General Miramon stood at the head of the government, while the republican-federalist party put up Juárez as president, who in the mean while made Vera Cruz his headquarters. The war between the two parties raged with bitterness, being split up at first into a hundred guerilla warfares in accordance with the nature and custom of the country. The envoys of European powers negotiated with the chief who was in possession of the capital, whereas North America sent its ambassador to Juárez.

Juárez was without question one of the first men of his country. It can be imagined, however, with what bitterness the news of the presidency of an Indian supreme judge was received in the circles of the conservatives and of the church party. Two elements worked together against him: in him was hated the reckless radical reformer, who was willing not only to follow Comonfort's laws, but even to extend them, but he was still more despised as an Indian who presumed to rule over men of pure Spanish blood. Besides, Juárez, immediately after becoming president, had concluded several treaties

with America, so that a large portion of the Mexicans from the very first detected in him a man who would unconcernedly see the independence of his land disappear and become absorbed in the great republic of the north.

The final possession of the land had to be decided by arms. After many single battles in the year 1860, towards the end of the year (December 22nd) a battle was fought at San Miguelito, in which the conservatives were completely defeated. After scenes of indescribable confusion, on January 1st, 1861, the constitutional president, Juarez, made his entry into Mexico, and proclaimed his intention of attempting to conciliate the warring elements and of giving back peace and prosperity to the land.⁷

EUROPEAN INVASION

For years during the confused condition of the country the rights and property of foreigners had been frequently violated, without the demands for indemnification of the European powers having met with any response; but complaints and protests became more frequent when the *puros* under Juarez came into power. Instead of satisfying these demands, the chief thought of the new government was to fill the empty treasury. Congress passed a law according to which all payments, including the interest on the debt to England, were to be suspended for two years and the inland duties on foreign wares were to be doubled. At this point the government of Spain succeeded in persuading France and England to adopt joint measures against the republic. By the convention of London (October 31st, 1861) the three powers—France, England, and Spain—declared that on account of the unreliability of the Mexican authorities they felt compelled to demand better protection for their subjects and their property, and to enforce the execution of the agreements stipulated by treaty, adding at the same time that they had no intention of curtailing the right of Mexico to choose and model her own form of government, nor did they have in mind any extensions of their own possessions or other private interests. After the conclusion of this convention, three fleets with landing troops were despatched to America to demand satisfaction for the past and guarantees for the future. They occupied the city of Vera Cruz, together with the fort San Juan de Ulua, which had been evacuated by the Spanish troops and officials, and took up camping positions inland, where the troops were less exposed to the ravages of the yellow fever. The Spaniards, under General Prim, camped in Orizaba; the French, under De la Gravière, in Tehuacan; the English commander, Sir Charles Wyke, chose Cordova. But since the expedition had no commander-in-chief, and a joint method of procedure was difficult of attainment, while at the same time the three leaders followed different ends and interests, the undertaking lacked strength and unity. Juarez responded to a manifesto drawn up in a moderate tone by the plenipotentiaries of the three powers (February 19th, 1862) by threatening to punish all who should have any intercourse with the foreigners, and after long delay he rejected an ultimatum in words which sounded like an insult. Nevertheless, the commanders entered upon fresh negotiations with Juarez, and through the Treaty of La Soledad concluded a sort of truce in which the presidency of Juarez was indirectly recognised in contradiction to the convention of London. Soon afterwards Don Juan Almante Son of the revolutionist Morelo, who had spent several years in Paris and was greatly esteemed by the conservatives, arrived in camp, in company with Father Miranda and other heads of the church party.⁹

[1862-1865 A.D.]

FRENCH EXPEDITION

But as the French harboured leaders of the Mexican reactionaries, and showed a disposition to interfere in Mexican domestic politics, which lay beyond the terms of the joint convention, Great Britain and Spain withdrew their forces in March, 1862. For the refugees in Paris had been taken up by the empress Eugénie and the French "clericals," and had revived the old idea of a Mexican monarchy, which Napoleon adopted in the autumn of 1861. More troops were sent from France. Their advance was checked by Zaragoza and Porfirio Diaz in the battle of Cinco de Mayo, May 5th, 1862, and in September of that year thirty thousand more French troops arrived under General Forey. Wintering at Orizaba, they recommenced their advance, February 17th, 1863, besieged and reduced Puebla, and entered Mexico City June 17th. A provisional government of Mexicans was established, nominated directly or indirectly by Dubois de Saligny, the French plenipotentiary. It adopted monarchy, offered the crown to Maximilian of Austria, brother of the emperor Francis Joseph, and, should he refuse, left its disposal to Napoleon III.

Maximilian, after making some difficulty as to renouncing his right of succession to the throne of Austria, as was required of him, accepted the crown subject to the approval of the Mexican people, and reached Mexico City June 12th, 1864. Juarez meanwhile had set up his capital, first in San Luis Potosi, then in Chihuahua. The new empire was unstable from the first. Before Maximilian arrived the provisional government had refused to cancel the sales of confiscated church lands, as the clericals demanded. When he came, a host of new difficulties arose. A new loan, nominally of about £8,000,000, but yielding little more than four, owing to discount and commission, was raised in Europe, but no funds were really available for its service. Maximilian spent his resources too freely in mere luxury, and carried the elaborate etiquette of the court of Vienna to Mexico. Favouring as he did toleration of Protestantism and the supremacy of the crown over the church, he was too liberal for the clericals who had set him up. As a foreigner he was unpopular, and the regiments of Austrians and Belgians, which were to serve as the nucleus of his own army, were more so. As an administrator he was enthusiastic, but futile; his reforms, excellent on paper, could not be carried out, for the trained bureaucracy necessary—nay, even the material for it—did not exist. For a time he nominally held sway over about two thirds of the country—roughly, from latitude 18° to 23°, thus excluding the extreme north and south. Oajaca City, under Porfirio Diaz, capitulated to Bazaine—who had superseded the too pro-clerical Forey in October, 1864—in February, 1865, and by the autumn of that year the condition of the Juarists in the north seemed desperate. But the towns asked for permanent French garrisons, which were refused, as weakening their own power of self-defence. Instead, the country was traversed by flying columns, and the guerillas dealt with by a French service of "contreguerilla," who fought with much the same savagery as their foes. Directly the French troops had passed republican bands sprang up, and the non-combatant Mexicans, to save themselves, could only profess neutrality. Yet on October 3rd, 1865, Maximilian, misled by a false report that Juarez had left the country, issued a decree declaring the Juarists guerillas, who, whenever captured, were to be tried by court-martial and shot. Mexican generals on both sides had done as much. But Maximilian's decree prepared his own fate.^h

MAXIMILIAN ON THE THRONE

It was Maximilian's intention to govern; but, as ill luck would have it, he did not grasp the essentials of government. Thus, he had been chosen emperor by an assembly of notables selected by the French minister; this election had been ratified—he held the ratification good—by the votes of one section of the people expressed in acts of approval which had been laid before him; thence he derived his right to the crown. But, in order to govern, something else was needed. Maximilian owed to this people, which was to be rescued from barbarism, that which makes the strength of civilised nations—namely, a constitution. Of that he never even thought, and no one thought of it for him. There were, then, neither houses of parliament, nor popular delegates, nor any kind of control by the citizens, nor representation of the taxpayers. All power was concentrated in the emperor's hands.

This condition of affairs would not have been without its advantages if Maximilian had been another man. Dictatorial powers are sometimes good to draw a people from a state of decay and anarchy into which years of turmoil and revolution have plunged it. But the hand which holds the helm must steer without weakening, and undeviatingly; in fact, the head which guides the hand must contain that something which men admire and curse under the name of genius. The founders of empires are despots; so much the better if liberty follows after.

Maximilian, then, without elective bodies near him, remained alone, exposed to the responsibilities of power; he confined himself to employing executive agents, that is to say, ministers. He confided the foreign office to Ramirez; he summoned Peza to the ministry of war and of the navy, and Robles Pezuela to the ministry of public works, commerce, and industry. The choice was good; both had been under-secretaries of state under the regency in the same offices of which they now became the titular heads. Some days later he completed his ministry by naming Escudero y Echanove minister of justice, and Cortes Espaza home secretary. All belonged to that new party which was fairly representative of moderate opinions.

There lay the future; at least so it was thought amongst the representatives of France. To afford this policy an efficient support, M. de Montholon, the French minister plenipotentiary, resolved to add to the weight of French arms the influence of that other power which has developed with so much rapidity in our century, and which possesses a force which penetrates everywhere; we mean the press. There were already several newspapers in Mexico, and amongst them the *Estafette*, edited by a Frenchman; but the *Estafette* did not represent the policy of intervention. M. de Montholon set to work to create a new paper, the management of which he confided to a Frenchman.

L'Ere Nouvelle appeared on October 1st. The programme of the paper was naturally conservative and liberal. Notwithstanding its origin, it did not separate the cause of intervention from that of the empire, and it laboured to disseminate the doctrines of equality before the law and of the abolition of the privileges of the clergy and nobility, which corresponded to the doctrines of 1789. It was a valuable and useful auxiliary to the cause of intervention.

From the time of his arrival in Mexico, Maximilian, dazzled by the acclamations which greeted him on the way and intoxicated by his popularity, thought only of destroying what he believed to be the last remnants of rebellion.

[1865 A.D.]

"My duties as sovereign," he wrote to his minister of state on November 3rd, "oblige me to protect the people with an iron hand, and, in answer to the needs loudly expressed in all quarters, we, as head of the nation, in full recognition of our sacred mission and of the duty which is imposed upon us, declare that all the armed bands still roaming in some parts of our beautiful country and spreading desolation, turmoil, and menace against the liberty and labour of industrious citizens, shall be considered as assemblies of bandits and fall consequently under the inflexible and inexorable rigours of the law. If our government respects all political opinions, it cannot tolerate the criminals who violate the first of the liberties it is called on to guarantee, namely, that of person and property."

To the political prefects he gave analogous instructions, especially recommending them to show themselves severe towards the theft and pillage which had discredited Mexico in the eyes of the whole world. Then, with that imagination which he could neither master nor regulate, he embraced, in his recommendations, all the subjects which presented themselves to his mind: the care of the roads, the public health, the development of public instruction and of agriculture, the breeding of animals, the improvement of the race of horses, the investigations respecting coal, mercury, and copper mines, the state of abandoned tracts of country, etc. To stimulate the prefects' zeal, and in the hope of obtaining better information, he borrowed from Charlemagne the institution of *missi dominici*, and created inspectors, charged to see everything, hear everything, and report to the emperor what they had seen and heard. He forgot only one thing in assigning their duties to these prefects, and that was the keeping of the civil registers. He left this in the hands of the clergy, only imposing on them the obligation to transmit a copy every month to the civil administration.

He completed these measures of government by the creation of a council of state, to which he assigned as duties the drafting of laws and regulations and the administrative judgment of disputed claims, and all questions concerning the responsibility of the great functionaries which should be submitted to it by the emperor.

The composition of this council bore the mark of Maximilian's inclinations; that is to say, the councillors were taken as much from the clericals as from the liberals. Above all it bore the mark of the tendencies of those immediately about the emperor, in that nearly all these councillors were hostile to France. These selections were so much the less justified in that, if Maximilian's government had the time to legislate and create a council of state, it was precisely to the arms of France that they owed it. Every fresh day of success ought to have reminded them of it.

The French victories, whilst they witnessed to the bravery of the French army and the services it was rendering to the empire, showed only too plainly how little the country was really pacified, and what need there still was for our military co-operation. When, therefore, in the last two months of this year of 1864, the marshal, in obedience to the desire so often expressed by Napoleon III, sent back to France the troops that had first arrived in Mexico with General Lorencez, the battery of the garde imperiale, the 2nd zouaves, the 99th regiment of the line, and the 1st battalion of foot chasseurs, the Mexican government felt nothing but regret at the measure. The arrival of the Belgian legion did not seem enough to make up for this withdrawal.

The empress Charlotte echoed this impression in a letter addressed to Europe: "We must have troops; the Austrians and Belgians are very well in times of calm, but let the tempest come and there is nothing but red panta-

loons. If I may be allowed to say all I think, I believe that it will be very difficult for us to get through the first vital crisis if the country is not better occupied than at present. The troops are all very scattered, and it seems to me that instead of recalling any they ought to have been increased. I greatly fear lest the marshal may repent not having written what we asked him in the month of October; he feared the discontent in France, and has, I think, exchanged a slight unpleasantness for a greater one."

This letter reflects the impression that many had at the time—and that many have still—that Marshal Bazaine was absolute master, to do as he would, and to him was attributed the initiative in all the acts of his administration. This error is explained by the ignorance, which has existed till this day, of the secret correspondence that Napoleon III and Marshal Randon never ceased to carry on with him. Napoleon III had indeed declared in one of his letters that he gave him *carte blanche*; but it is none the less certain that in every circumstance the marshal obeyed orders from Paris, and, as regards the special case with which we are dealing, here is an extract from a letter of Marshal Randon (October 31st) which abundantly proves that, if he sent back troops, it was because he could not do otherwise: "I thank you for the assurance you give me that the home-coming of the troops you have designated for return to France will suffer no delay, for, if it had been otherwise, the question of the war budget would have been compromised, and it would have been difficult to make it understood why, after the repeated successes which our troops obtain at all points, and in view of the arrival of these nine thousand Belgians and Germans, the convention agreed upon with Maximilian should be delayed in its execution."

The marshal had, besides, an excellent motive for diminishing the French army of occupation; the Belgians and Austrians who came to Mexico were not so much to be despised as the empress Charlotte appeared to think, and they showed in several encounters that they were "very well" at other times than "times of calm."

The American Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, and a strong popular feeling was at once manifested in favour of asserting the Monroe Doctrine against Maximilian's government. In the summer there were threatening movements of United States troops towards the Rio Grande; early in 1866 Napoleon III announced to the French chambers his intention of withdrawing his forces; in response to a note of Seward, the United States secretary of state, of February 12th, 1866, he was induced to promise their return by three instalments at specific dates (November, 1866; March and November, 1867). Maximilian now turned for support to the Mexican clericals; meditated abdication, but was dissuaded by his wife Charlotte ("the better man of the two," as he had once jestingly said), who went to intercede for him with the emperor of the French. Finding him obdurate, she went on to appeal to the pope; on her way, at Bozen, she went mad (end of September, 1866).

Maximilian had meanwhile drawn nearer to the clericals and further from the French, and, to protect French interests, Napoleon III had decided to send out General Castelnau to supersede Bazaine, arrange for the withdrawal of the French forces in one body, and restore the republic under Ortega, who had quarrelled with Juarez, and was, therefore, of all republicans, least unacceptable to the clericals. But fearing the prospect, they induced Maximilian, who had retired to Orizaba for his health, to remain. Father Fischer, a German-American by extraction, was specially influential here.

[1867 A.D.]

A conference of eighteen representative Mexicans was summoned, and refused his offer to retire, by ten votes to eight. He yielded on condition that a congress of all parties should be summoned to decide the fate of the empire. Hereupon he returned to the capital; the Juarist dominion extended rapidly; the French troops left (in one body) on February 5th, 1867, ignoring and ignored by the imperial government, and shortly after Maximilian took command of the army at Queretaro. Here, with Miramon, he was besieged by the Juarists under Escobedo, and the garrison, when about to make a last attempt to break out and seek refuge in the fastnesses of the Sierra Gorda, was betrayed by Colonel Lopez to the besiegers (May 15th, 1867). Maximilian, with the Mexican generals Miramon and Mejia, was tried (fairly enough) by court-martial, and, refusing (or neglecting) to avail himself of various opportunities of escape, was convicted on charges which may be summarised as rebellion, murder, and brigandage, on June 14th, and executed with Miramon and Mejia on June 19th, 1867.^h

BANCROFT¹ ON THE EMPIRE OF MAXIMILIAN

The empire was undoubtedly a huge mistake. It can hardly be termed illegal, for all international law is based upon the right of might. The assembly which issued the plan and nomination may be challenged, but the country cannot repudiate the immense vote which lent confirmation, whatever the insincerity and reservation underlying that vote. The plea of compulsion affected only a part. It was but natural to suppose that a nation so long torn by revolutions and attendant maladministration would hail a stable government; and Napoleon and Maximilian hugged the belief only too eagerly, the latter influenced not a little by the glitter of an imperial crown. Unfortunately, their views were framed by European standards, and by the expressions of a comparatively small party in Mexico. The rest of the people they failed to understand or to fully consider. There was little to fear from the passive Indian, but everything from the middle race, the mestizos, that mixture of activity and indolence, of brightness and dreaminess, insincerity and selfishness, in whose ever-growing strength rests the future of the country. Although reckless and improvident by nature, the mestizo had tired for a while of war, and yielded with the substantial classes to the effort for a peaceful rule. But soon his jealousy was roused by the growth of foreign influence and the preference accorded to assuming officials from beyond the ocean. The gleam of foreign bayonets supporting the throne now flashed wider, and his restive independence of spirit took alarm, fostered by conservative discontent. The very strength of the invader became a source of weakness.

The liberal policy of Maximilian was based on apparently good grounds, seeking as it did to conciliate factions which formed the worst foe to unity and progress, and making an effort to reach the people itself. If in a sense he turned traitor to the principles of the party to whom he stood bound, and consequently lost a certain support, he did so in search of advancement and in the hope of greater gains. He meant well. Noble ideas ever filled his mind with grand and humanitarian schemes, but he lacked strength and energy to carry them out. He might have done well in a settled country like Lombardy, where he gained so much approval, but Mexico needed a creative reformer, and this he was not.ⁱ

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JUAREZ PRESIDENT

Meanwhile Porfirio Diaz had captured Puebla (April 2nd) and besieged Mexico City, which fell June 21st. The republican government behaved with comparative leniency, though Juarez and Diaz were to some extent forced on by their followers, who rejected a general amnesty. The last anti-Juarist stronghold submitted on July 20th, 1867. A good deal of discontent was caused among the republican rank and file, partly by the reduction of the army, and partly by a proposal to allow priests to vote, which came to nothing, and in the result Juarez's election in October to the presidency was opposed by Diaz, or rather Diaz's friends, but without success. But so soon as Juarez was elected, insurrections broke out in various states, and brigandage prevailed throughout the following year. There were unsuccessful insurrections also in 1869 (clerical) and 1870 (republican), but an amnesty, passed October 13th, 1870, helped to restore peace; trouble again arose, however, at the 1871 election, at which the candidates were Juarez, Lerdo de Tejada, and Diaz. Juarez's continued re-election was regarded as unconstitutional, and, no party obtaining a clear majority, the matter was thrown into congress, which elected him. Diaz's supporters refused to recognise him, and a revolution broke out which went on sporadically till Juarez's death on July 18th, 1872. Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, succeeded him, and amnestied the rebels, but made no further concessions.^h

Juarez with his death bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents in arms laid them down and placed themselves under the constitutional flag. He had ever an unflinching faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporising policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envoy of a triumphant reaction as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857 by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavouring to destroy it. Without him the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez, the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name to some of the most radical reforms the American continent ever witnessed.ⁱ

In the next year, however, laws were passed repeating in a stronger form the attacks of 1857 on the supremacy of the church, and prohibiting the monastic orders or monastic life. The first day of 1873 was marked by the opening of the Vera Cruz and Mexico railway. For the next two years there were only local disturbances, chiefly in Yucatan, and an Indian rising in Michoacan. Protestant missions established themselves (with some opposition) in the country, and diplomatic relations were renewed with France and Spain (1874). But towards the close of Lerdo de Tejada's term as president he was suspected of aiming at a dictatorship, and Diaz made preparations for a rising, then retiring to Brownsville. At the beginning of 1875 the revolution broke out in Oajaca, with the Plan of Tuxtepec, which was adopted by Diaz and proclaimed as the Plan of Palo Alto (March 22nd). Diaz's attempt to raise the north, however, failed, and, trying to reach Vera Cruz by sea, he was recognised on the steamer, recaptured while attempting a four-mile

[1875-1896 A.D.]

swim ashore, concealed by the purser for some days, generally inside one of the saloon sofas, and helped to get ashore in disguise at Vera Cruz. Lerdo was declared re-elected, but was overthrown and forced into exile (January, 1877), and Diaz, who had assumed the provisional presidency, was declared constitutional president on May 2nd, 1877. A law forbidding the re-election of a president till four years had elapsed from his retirement from office, the outcome of the republican opposition to Juarez and Lerdo, was passed in the autumn of that year (but so modified as to enable Diaz to be re-elected indefinitely in 1887 and 1892).

Diaz's first presidency (1877-1880) was marked by some unsuccessful attempts at revolution, notably by Escobedo from Texas; by the resumption of diplomatic relations with Spain, Germany, Italy, and some South American states (1877), and France (1880); by some frontier difficulties with the United States, whose soldiery had occasionally followed brigands into Mexican territory, and with Guatemala, which revived a claim, dropped since 1858, to a portion of the state of Chiapas; and by considerable internal progress, aided by a too liberal policy of subsidies to railways. The boundary questions were settled under President Gonzales (1880-1884); relations with Great Britain were renewed in 1883. The claims of the railways, however, necessitated retrenchment on official salaries, and the president's plan for conversion of the debt roused unexpected opposition in an ordinarily subservient congress. It was attacked with great force and eloquence by the youngest member of the house, Señor Miron; Señor Guillermo Prieto, a noted poet and ex-minister, added the weight of his authority to the attack; the students demonstrated against the bill in the streets; and finally it was rejected, on the ground that the expenses of conversion were too heavy and the burden on Mexico too great. At the end of 1884 Porfirio Diaz was again elected president, and was continually re-elected, the constitution being twice modified expressly to allow him to continue in office (1887, 1892).

The history of Mexico from 1884 to 1902 is almost void of political strife. President Diaz's policy was to keep down disorder with a strong hand; to enforce the law; to foster railway development and economic progress; to develop native manufactures by protective tariffs; to introduce new industries, *e.g.*, the production of silk and wine, of coca and quinine; to promote forestry; to improve elementary and higher education—for all which purposes the Ministerio del Fomento is a potent engine; to encourage colonisation, and, above all, to place the national credit on a sound basis. The first step in this process was a settlement of the British debt by direct arrangement with the bondholders, who were induced to exchange their outstanding bonds (at a discount of about 85 per cent.) for 6 per cent. bonds secured on one-fifth of the import and export duties and the product of certain direct taxes (1887-1888). In 1890 the Spanish bondholders' claims were satisfactorily arranged also. In 1891 the tariff was made more protectionist. In 1893 the depreciation of silver, Mexico's currency and principal article of export, necessitated stringent retrenchment in the diplomatic service and reduction of official salaries; but the budget balanced for the first time during many years, the floating debt was converted, and a loan raised for the completion of the Tehuantepec railway. After 1896 there were substantial annual surpluses, which were spent in reducing taxation and in the extinction of debt. In 1895 the 6 per cent. external debt was converted into a 5 per cent. debt, the bonds of which were in 1902 at a premium; in 1896 the alcabalas or interstate customs and municipal *octrois* were abolished, and replaced in part by direct taxation and increased stamp duties.

The institution by Diaz of the *guardias rurales*, a mounted gendarmerie composed of the class who in former days drifted into revolution and brigandage, was a potent means of maintaining order, and the extension of railways and telegraphs enabled the government to cope at once with any disturbance. The old local revolutions practically disappeared. In 1886-1887 there were some disturbances in Coahuila, New Leon, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas; subsequently hardly anything was heard of such disorders, except on the Texan frontier, where, in 1890, Francisco Ruiz Sandoval and, in 1891, Catarino Garza made incursions into Mexico with some support from Mexican ranch-owners in Texas and speculators who expected mining concessions in the event of a revolution. But the raiders, though they seem to have had some sympathisers in the Mexican army, were few, and in fact little more than brigands. Occasionally the church gave trouble—the presence of foreign priests was complained of; attempts to evade the law prohibiting conventual life were detected and foiled (1891, 1894); and there were Indian risings, repressed sometimes with great severity, among the Maquis of Yucatan and the Yaquis of Sonora. Now and then the old passions break out; in September, 1897, an absurd attempt to assassinate President Diaz was made by a countryman named Arroyo, who was secured, and early next morning lynched in the central police office, partly by members of the force, ten of whom, however, were sentenced to death for the crime. Discontent with Diaz's rule was confined to a small minority.

In foreign affairs the rule of Diaz was uneventful. There have been transient disputes with the United States (1886, 1888). In 1888-1890 and 1894-1895 a boundary dispute with Guatemala became serious, but Guatemala gave way at the threat of war (January, 1895). In the difficulty between England and the United States over the Venezuelan boundary (December, 1895) Mexico expressed strong adherence to the Monroe Doctrine in the abstract, and suggested that its maintenance should not be left wholly to the United States, but should be undertaken by all American powers.

In brief, under President Diaz's rule, the history of Mexico is mainly economic. In the six financial years 1893-1894 to 1899-1900 inclusive, the yield of the import duties increased by upwards of 80 per cent.; the revenue from stamps (an excellent index of the volume of business) over 60 per cent., though the duties were reduced; the postal revenue from 1895-1896 to 1899-1900 rose 60 per cent.; the telegraph revenue over 75 per cent. The great drainage tunnel which is to take the waters of the valley of Mexico, hitherto most inadequately drained, out to the Pacific was completed in 1902; the Tehuantepec Railway, likely to prove a formidable rival to any interoceanic canal, approached completion. Great improvements have also been made in the harbours at Tampico and Vera Cruz. In 1891 elementary education was reorganised, and made compulsory, secular, and gratuitous. Great attention has been paid to higher education, and—at least in the hospitals—to modern sanitation and hygiene.^h

In June, 1906, violent riots occurred among the miners at Cananea, Sonora, but were ultimately suppressed by the vigorous action of Colonel Kosterlitzky of the rural guards. Later in the year several attempts were made along the American border to start a revolution, but all proved failures. In July, 1907, the Mexican Central Railroad and the National Railroad were consolidated, the government buying up a majority of the stock.^a



CHAPTER VII

CENTRAL AMERICA

THE term Central America is usually applied to the region formerly known as Old Guatemala. In a geographical sense, however, it may be applied still more extensively, including the provinces of Guatemala, Yucatan, and the Balize.

Guatemala is an extensive region, stretching between the Pacific Ocean and Caribbean Sea, from the southern boundary of Mexico, to the isthmus of Darien. In its climate, soil, productions, and geographical features, it much resembles the West Indies, except that the Andes render it one of the most mountainous of American countries. The western shore is subject to the most violent earthquakes; the interior is but little known. Politically it is divided into the states of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.^b

DISCOVERY OF NICARAGUA

The discovery of Nicaragua follows closely upon the death of Vasco Nuñez Balboa, and was intimately connected with that lamentable proceeding. Andres Niño, a bold pilot who was well acquainted with the coast of Darien, and had been employed there, proceeded to the court of Spain. He proposed an expedition to the Spice Islands, which met with royal approval and with that of the bishop of Burgos. At the head of the expedition was placed Gil Gonzalez Davila, the contador of Hispaniola, formerly attached to the household of the bishop of Burgos. These explorers were to make use of the ships which had been constructed with incredible toil by Vasco Nuñez; and they relied upon the friendship of Lope de Sosa, who was to go out at the same time as governor of Darien, and to take a *residencia* of Pedrarias de Avila. Meanwhile, as might have been expected, Pedrarias had made use of these

vessels for his own purposes, and had sent the licentiate Espinosa on a voyage of discovery in the sea of the South, who had proceeded as far as Cape Blanco, which is situated in what is now the republic of Costa Rica.

Lope de Sosa arrived at Darien, but died almost immediately after his arrival — indeed, before he landed, accomplishing less even than Ponce de Leon afterward did when he went to New Spain to take a *residencia* of Cortes. Gil Gonzalez, therefore, found himself with an enemy instead of a friend in the governor of Darien. He and Andres Niño, however, persevered in their enterprise, and in January, 1522, set sail from the gulf of San Miguel. Their notions of geography must have been somewhat limited and incorrect if they were still bent on discovering the Spice Islands, for they pursued their way to the northwest instead of the southwest. The result, however, was, that they discovered the whole coast of Nicaragua as far as the bay of Fonseca, which Gil Gonzalez must have named after his patron, the bishop of Burgos. They did not content themselves with merely discovering the coast, but made considerable excursions into the interior. There Gil Gonzalez found a great cacique called Nicaragua, whose *pueblo* was situated three leagues from the seashore, close to the lake which now bears his name.

The cacique was a man of much intelligence. He put to the strangers many questions of childish simplicity, but yet with childish daringness of thought. He inquired if they had heard of any great deluge, and asked whether there would be another. He wished to know when the sun and the moon would lose their brightness and forsake their appointed courses. He desired to be informed as to the causes of darkness and of cold, and was inclined to blame the nature of things because it was not always bright and warm.

He further wished to know what became of the souls of men who lived so short a time in the body, and yet were immortal. Descending from these great questions to discuss the information which the Spaniards brought him about their affairs, he inquired whether the pope was subject to death, and whether the cacique of Castile, of whom they spoke so much, was mortal. He concluded by asking the pertinent question why it was that so few men, as they were, sought so much gold. Gil Gonzalez and his companions were astonished to hear a semi-naked "barbarian" interrogate them in this fashion and never, it was said, had an Indian been found who talked in this way with the Spaniards. It will be needless to recount in detail the rest of Gil Gonzalez's discoveries. Suffice it to say that they were sufficient to entitle him fairly to the claim of being the discoverer of Nicaragua.

ORIGIN OF THE NICARAGUANS

The Nicaraguans, it appears, were of Mexican origin. They had been driven southward by a great drought; and if so, they had certainly fled to a country pre-eminently abounding in the element they then needed. But this tradition is not the only ground for ascribing to them, or at least to one tribe among them, an affinity with the Mexicans. The language and the mode of writing were in this case similar; and, though the religions of the two nations were not wholly alike, there was sufficient similarity to render far from improbable, if not to establish, the notion of a common origin.

The Nicaraguans were in that state of civilisation which gives great promise of the gradual formation of an important empire. The edifices were not so grand as those of the Mexicans, but there was no want of skill in their buildings or of polity in their laws. Still, they were in that state of comparatively

[1523-1536 A.D.]

low intelligence when men and women think they can improve the work of God, their own countenances, by piercing and otherwise maltreating their noses, lips, and ears.

Gil Gonzalez returned to Panama on the 25th of June, 1523, with a large quantity of gold, and with the conviction that he had made a great discovery. He had also baptised no less than thirty thousand of the natives. What knowledge, however, of Christianity he had left among them may be imagined from the strange kind of soldierly theology which most of these captains displayed when they took upon them to commence the conversion of the natives. He proceeded, not without molestation from Pedrarias, to Hispaniola, whence, after communicating with the emperor, and begging for the government of the lands he had discovered, he returned to Honduras.

The object of Gil Gonzalez in going to Honduras was to find a way to Nicaragua which he might take without any hinderance from Pedrarias at Panama. With the vessels he had brought from Hispaniola, Gil Gonzalez endeavoured to make the Puerto Caballos, which received its name from an accident that happened to him on this occasion. A storm came on when he was near that port; he was obliged to throw overboard some of his horses; and was driven back to the Golfo Dulce, where he landed, and founded the town of San Gil de Buena Vista.^c

SPANIARDS IN NICARAGUA

The possession of Nicaragua proved a matter of much dispute; Pedrarias sent Hernandez de Cordova to occupy the country and he succeeded in driving out Gonzalez, but was accused of attempting to form an independent government and was court-martialed and killed by Pedrarias. The governor of Honduras also laid claim to the province and finally Spain interfered and appointed Pedrarias independent governor of Nicaragua, which position he held from 1527 until his death in 1536.^a

The foregoing narrative sufficiently describes the dire confusion which prevailed in Nicaragua among the Spanish authorities — a confusion that was sure to have its counterpart in burnings, massacres, and tortures among the conquered people. They paid the penalty for every error committed at the court of Spain, for every movement prompted by avarice, envy, or discord, which took place among the Spanish captains, each of whom had some show of authority from headquarters, and whose marchings, counter-marchings, and battles were marked upon the broad map of that fertile province, unhappily well suited for the movements of the cavalry, in huge streaks of blood and devastation.

It was in vain that the unhappy Indians of Nicaragua consulted their idols, and prayed for a response to the question how they were to get rid of these strangers. The discerning oracles replied that if they were to heap the sea upon these Spaniards they would certainly drown; but then, to do that, it would be necessary for the Nicaraguans to drown themselves; whereupon they did not question their oracles any further in this matter.

DISCOVERY OF GUATEMALA

In the decade of years that followed after the conquest of Mexico, the spot where some of the most important conquests were completed and the greatest expeditions prepared, where the strangest experiments were made for the conversion of the natives, where the discovery took place of the most remark-

able monuments of American civilisation, and the theatre wherein was acted that series of events which led to the greatest changes in Spanish legislation for the Indies, was the province of Guatemala. The wars in this province, though very considerable, were not of the first magnitude or interest; and as, in the early periods of historical writing, wars are the main staple of history, the other events in this part of the world, not being illustrated by great wars, have escaped due notice. Hence the majority even of studious men are probably not aware of the important circumstances in the history of America with which this narrow strip of territory, called Guatemala, is connected.

Cortes was a man of insatiable activity. It might have been thought that, after the conquest of Mexico, the rebuilding and repeopling of the city would have sufficiently exhausted the energies even of that active man. But it was not so. He is chiefly known to the world by that conquest of Mexico which, for its audacity, stands unrivalled in the annals of mankind; but he was subsequently employed in further conquests, which cost him far more labour and suffering, but have hardly added at all to his renown.

In his third letter to the emperor, after that in which he describes the siege and capture of Mexico, Cortes begins to inform his majesty what steps he has taken for the discovery of that which he calls "the other sea of the South." After the last discharge of the cannon of Cortes had been made upon the helpless but unyielding crowd of Mexico, the news of the city's fall was not slow in reaching the adjacent territories.

And how did the listeners receive the astonishing news? With joy, regret, and apprehension: joy, that a ruthless enemy, to whose fell gods their young men and their maidens had been sacrificed, was now no more; regret, that they the injured, had had no part in the misfortunes of the detested city; and apprehension, lest a worse thing should come upon them than even the power of the hateful Aztecs.

The Indian kings who were opposed to the Mexican dynasty, no less than those who were allied to it, shuddered at the success of these awful invaders from another sphere. The first potentate who sent ambassadors to Cortes was the king of Michoacan, a province about seventy leagues to the southwest of Mexico. From these ambassadors, Cortes, who had already heard something about this "sea of the South," made further inquiries. He found that it was to be reached through Michoacan; and, accordingly, after causing his cavalry to manœuvre before these Michoacan ambassadors, so as to impress them with a fitting sense of his powers, and after making them some presents, he sent two Spaniards back with them on a journey of discovery. Hearing still more about this sea from other quarters, he sent in different directions two other parties of Spaniards to explore the way to the sea, and to take "possession" of it. He seems to have been fully aware of the importance of this discovery, for he says, "I was very proud, for it appeared to me that, in discovering it, his majesty would receive a great and signal service; since," he adds, "it was the decided opinion of all men who had any knowledge or experience in the navigation of the Indies that when this sea was discovered many islands would be found in it abounding in gold, pearls, precious stones, and spices." Cortes thought, moreover, that many "secrets and wonderful things" were yet to be discovered there. From this faith in what was marvellous, the first explorers and conquerors derived an ardour in pursuit, and an untiring love of novelty, which reminds one of the same qualities as they exist in the untravelled souls of little children.

As the sea was at no great distance, it was soon discovered by one or other of the parties sent out to explore, and formal possession was taken of

[1522 A.D.]

it in the name of the emperor some time in the year 1522, nine years after the discovery of the same sea by Vasco Nuñez, about a thousand miles lower down.

Following the ambassage from Michoacan, there arrived at the camp of Cortes another set of envoys, from a people about a hundred leagues farther south than Michoacan, inhabiting a maritime country called Tehuantepec, which it appears was the territory where one of these parties of discovering Spaniards had come upon the sea of the South. These Indians, as was usually the case, were at war with their next neighbours, the inhabitants of a country called Tututepec. Immediately south of Tehuantepec lies the province of Soconusco, and south of that is Guatemala. Following the usual rule, these two last-named provinces were also at feud with one another. The great political doctrine of the balance of power was but beginning to be understood in Europe in those days, and was totally beyond the compass of Indian statesmanship. Accordingly, a similar series of events to those which had enabled Cortes to reach and to conquer Mexico was now to conduct his lieutenants into the southern provinces of Central America. These two provinces of Tututepec and Tehuantepec, which, from the similarity of their names, we may fairly conjecture to have been inhabited by tribes of the same race, were the first to give occasion to the stranger to enter armed into their territories; for Cortes, at the request of the envoys from Tehuantepec, dispatched Pedro de Alvarado with a body of troops to conquer the unfriendly province of Tututepec.

After a few skirmishes, Pedro de Alvarado made his way into the town of Tututepec, where he was well received, and was furnished with provisions and presented with gold. The hostile Indians, however, of the next province, Tehuantepec, suggested that all this friendly demonstration was but feigned, and that an offer which the cacique had made to the Spaniards, to lodge them in his own palace, was but a scheme to destroy them by setting their quarters on fire. Pedro de Alvarado believed this accusation, or affected to believe it, and seized upon the person of the cacique, who, after giving much money to his captor, died in prison. That this seizure of the cacique was thought unjust even by the Spaniards of that time is proved by the testimony of Bernal Diaz. There is no novelty in this proceeding of Alvarado. Indeed, the dealings of the Spaniards with the Indians seem, at this period of the conquest, to be arranged according to a certain routine, in which the capture of the principal chief is seldom omitted; and it is worth while to notice the imprisonment of the cacique of Tututepec merely because it is the first of a series of such proceedings on the part of Alvarado, who was the principal conqueror of Central America. His qualifications for command, as far as they appear in the page of history, were not of the highest order. He was brave, daring, restless, crafty, devout, but without any true policy. He was a great talker, but still a man of considerable force, if not skill, in action, as he was largely trusted by Cortes. He was nearly the same age as Cortes, for Bernal Diaz says he was about thirty-four years old when he came to New Spain. In his daring qualities he may be compared to Murat.

Alvarado founded a town in Tututepec which he called Segura, but, on account of the heat of the climate and the swarms of insects, it was soon deserted. This expedition of Alvarado's took place in the year 1522. From the seat of his new conquest Pedro de Alvarado despatched two messengers to Guatemala (called by the Indians Quauhtemallan, the place of wood, or of decayed wood), who were to offer on the part of Cortes "his friendship and his religion" to the chief of that province.

EARLY HISTORY OF GUATEMALA

The origin of the kingdom of Guatemala is very obscure. It was governed by a dominant race called the Tultecas. These Tultecas had come from Mexico. Their abode in that country had been Tula, twelve leagues from the city of Mexico. The derivation of their name is said to be from "Tulteca," the art of stone-work. The account of their migration from Tula to Guatemala is not unlike that of the exodus of the Israelites from among the Egyptians. Having been oppressed by certain kings for five hundred years, they held a great festival, in which they were warned by the devil (any supernatural being in Indian story is said to be the devil by Spanish narrators) to quit the country of Mexico. In other words, the Aztecs, or some other conquering race, were too strong for the Tultecas. The story of the apparition of this demon is highly picturesque, and somewhat awful. It is said that, while the nation were celebrating certain religious rites, there appeared a great giant among them, who began to mingle in their sacred dances, and that his embrace in the dance was death.

The flight to other countries was resolved upon. The king who led the Tultecas forth was Nimaquiché. He was accompanied by three brothers, and these four men became the heads of four ruling families in four independent provinces: one brother of the province of the Quelenes and Chapaneos; another of Tuzulutlan; a third of the Mam Indians and the Pocomanes; and Nimaquiché himself, in the person of his son, of the Quichés, Cakchiguels, and Zutugils. In the course of their pilgrimage southward, the Tultecas suffered great hardships and passed many years. The king Nimaquiché died on this journey — another resemblance to the Mosaic story — and was succeeded by his son Acxopil, who was the prince that finally conducted that branch of the Tultecas called Quichés into the neighbourhood of Lake Atitlan. Their great town, founded near this lake, was called Utatlan, and was situated where the present village of Santa Cruz de Quiché stands. A further division of the Tultecan states took place in the old age of Nimaquiché's son, Acxopil. The old king retained the kingdom of Quiché for himself; to his eldest, Jiutemal, he gave that of Kachiquel; and the third kingdom of Zutugil he gave to his second son Axeiquat. On the day of this division three suns were said to have been visible in the heavens.

It must not be supposed that the narrative of the Tultecan migration from Mexico and their occupation of Guatemala is wholly fabulous, and that there is no historic truth to be made out of it. It will account for a circumstance which otherwise would be very strange — namely, that though there were as many as twenty-four or twenty-six languages in Central America, yet throughout a considerable part of it communication was evidently possible by means of one language. Then, again, the mode of settling the succession to the sovereignties coincides with the Tultecan story. One principle in this succession uniformly prevailed: it was that a man of experience, and not a youth, should ascend the throne.

From sources that we can rely upon, we learn what were the manners, laws, customs, and resources of what was called the kingdom of Guatemala. The resources were abundant: it was a land with a fine climate and a most fertile soil, bearing maize, cotton, and very fine balsam, with irrigated plains, which were wont to give a return of three hundred measures for one measure of seed. It was found, too, that it would bear wheat and all the fruits of Spain. It also produced cocoa, which was used then, and for some time continued to be used, as money.

[—1524 A.D.]

From the possession of money we may at once conclude that these people were to a certain extent civilised, though this did not prevent them from adoring idols and occasionally eating human flesh. They had fairs which were generally held in close proximity to the temples and over which a judge presided, regulating the prices. Among their artisans were goldsmiths, painters, and workers in feathers. The plumage of birds formed one of the principal materials for ornament used by the most skilful nations in the Indies.

The laws of Guatemala appear to have been framed with considerable care. In some things they were very reasonable, in others not so. It appears that, though the government of the Guatemalans was a monarchy, they had a recognized power if the king behaved very tyrannically, of calling together the principal men and the judges of the kingdom, and deposing him. Their laws with regard to theft were curious, and in some respects commendable. They made much distinction between small and great thefts; and they graduated their punishments with care, beginning from a pecuniary fine, and continuing, if the culprit showed himself to be a resolute offender, up to execution by hanging. Before, however, taking the final step, they proceeded to the thief's relations, and asked them whether they would pay all the penalties for him, which, no doubt, in this latter state, were very considerable. If they would not do so; if — according to their expressive phrase — they had had enough of carrying their relative upon their shoulders, and would make no more satisfaction for him, the man was hanged.

In war, the main body of their captives, the common people, were made slaves, but the principal chiefs were killed and eaten, with a view of inspiring terror in the enemy. This practice, though horrible enough, is very different from a system of human sacrifices like that in force among the Mexicans. In matters of education, the Guatemalans showed themselves a civilised people; and, not being afflicted by much diversity of opinion upon small matters connected with religious questions, they had schools in all their chief towns both for boys and girls.

The Guatemalans, if subject at all to the Mexicans, had only recently become so — that is, within the last twenty years of the Mexican Empire. Their country, far different from what it is now, was exceedingly populous. The languages spoken were very numerous — no less than twenty-six are named — which shows how much the people of that district were broken up into mere tribes, a division tending greatly to facilitate the conquests of the Spaniards, but to embarrass them in all their dealings with the country when conquered.

CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA

Returning now to the camp of Cortes, at Mexico, we find him informing the emperor, in the year 1524, that from Utatlan and Guatemala an embassy of a hundred persons had come, offering themselves as vassals to the Spanish monarchy, whom he had received and dismissed with every mark of friendship. Meanwhile, however, this indefatigable commander had made friends with the Soconuscans, and had even begun ship-building on that part of the coast. The Guatemalans, when their embassy returned home, being assured of the friendship of Cortes, were only the more inclined on that account to carry war into the territories of their enemies the Soconuscans, and thus they did not fail to come into collision with the settlers sent out by Cortes. For this offence the Guatemalans apologised, but their excuses were not received.

An old chronicler has compared the advance of Alvarado to the darting of a flash of lightning. The first place the lightning fell upon was Soconusco, the territory in behalf of which the expedition had been sent out. A great battle, accompanied by much slaughter and great destruction (the traces of which were visible nearly a hundred years afterward), took place on the frontier of that province, in which battle the king of Zacapa was killed. Of the further advance of the army we possess an account written by the conqueror himself, who states that he pushed on from Soconusco to Zacapa, from thence to Quezaltenango, from thence to Utatlan, fighting, negotiating, and terrifying the Indians into submission.

From Utatlan he marched in two days to Guatemala, where he was very well received — according to his own account, as if he had been in his father's house. But not resting there, he proceeded, as he says, to conquer a people who dwelt upon Lake Atitan (probably Amatitlan), and who had made themselves so strong in those waters that they were able to harass all their neighbours without being liable to be attacked in their turn. Alvarado routed this people, but most of them were able to escape by swimming. From thence he again proceeded, conquering the Indian tribes he met with, or bringing them into subjection by means of messengers, who, sometimes by threats, sometimes by promises of favour, contrived to secure the allegiance of the natives. Occasionally Alvarado was defeated in his encounters with the Indians, in consequence of the roughness of the ground, or the density of the woods where they took shelter. Finding winter approach, he returned to his friendly Guatemalans, in whose country he founded the city of Santiago of Guatemala (July, 1524).^c

Alvarado now turned his attention to the various tribes who were not yet conquered, but whose submission was essential to the security of Spanish authority. By the end of December, the campaign had terminated. Alvarado returned to the capital of the Cakchiquels laden with wealth and glory. The rapidity of his movements had been no less surprising than the ease with which he had conquered the Indian armies. The greater part of the Pacific shore acknowledged the authority of Spain. At the same time, Alvarado's brother, Gonzalo, had defeated the Mams in several battles.

The fortress of Mixco, which was always considered impregnable by the Indians, was situated on a high perpendicular rock, the only access to which was so narrow as to permit but one man to pass at a time. A small force could defend it against an entire army, by merely throwing down rocks upon the assailants. The first detachment sent against this place was so disheartened by its strength and the apparent impossibility of making any impression upon the works, that they determined to abandon it. But the arrival of Pedro Alvarado in camp changed the appearance of affairs. That intrepid general immediately called a council of war, over which he presided in person, and which determined on a vigorous prosecution of the siege. The Spaniards now resorted to stratagem, but in this they were foiled with considerable loss. Their cause now appeared hopeless, and it is more than probable that they would finally have been compelled to relinquish the undertaking, had not the caciques of Chignanta appeared in camp, demanded a peace, and informed the Spanish general of a subterranean passage leading from the citadel to the bank of a neighbouring river, by which the garrison could escape should the fortress be captured. This infused new life into the besiegers. A general attack was made on the heights by the army, marching in single file, while a detachment posted itself at the mouth of the subterranean passage to intercept stragglers. The fortress was finally carried by storm, and the

[1524-1542 A.D.]

Indians, with their wives and little ones, either killed or captured. The works were then entirely destroyed.

The submission of the country being now complete, Alvarado determined on returning to Spain and announcing his conquests to Charles V. But, when on the eve of departing, he received notice that Cortes had arrived in the province of Honduras; and deeming it his duty to visit his superior, he set out (February, 1526) for that purpose. On reaching Choluteca, he met a detachment of Spanish troops coming from Honduras, and was informed that Cortes had returned to Mexico. Not being able to follow him so far, Alvarado seems to have abandoned, for a while, the idea of visiting Europe, and returned to Guatemala.

He found the country, which had been left so peaceful, in a state of the most violent excitement. His brother, Gonzalo, who had ruled in his absence, had, by his cruelty and tyranny, especially toward the Indians, alienated all parties from him. The king of Quiché, Sequechul, with King Sinacum, were gathering the different native tribes for a desperate effort to shake off the yoke of bondage.

SPANISH DOMINION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Alvarado immediately adopted the most energetic measures to suppress so formidable a rebellion. Confident of the support of all Spaniards, he marched against the Indians, and in a great battle (November 22nd, 1526) he completely routed them, taking the two kings prisoners. The unfortunate princes, by fifteen years of hard captivity, expiated the unpardonable crime of having wished to recover independence for themselves and their oppressed people.

This victory broke the spirits of the Indians inhabiting the conquered provinces, and from this time they seemed willing to acknowledge the authority of Spain. In proportion, however, as this danger decreased, a far more formidable evil began to display itself. This was dissension among the conquerors — the almost inseparable sequel to Spanish conquests. The difficulty of defining boundary lines between different provinces was one fruitful source of these disturbances. Either by accident or design, petty rulers encroached on the territory of others; and several rich provinces were claimed simultaneously by numerous competitors. These claims kept the whole country in a state of civil war, until December, 1527, when Alvarado received from the emperor the office of captain-general of Guatemala, an appointment which rendered him independent of Cortes. The energetic, and often oppressive rule of this officer restored in a great measure the general tranquillity. The influences of religion were added to his own efforts. In 1537, the execution of a most extensive plan for the conversion of the Indians was commenced by a number of missionaries, at the head of whom was the celebrated Las Casas. They visited nations hitherto unconquerable, and by inducing them to accept Christianity, opened an easy way to a cordial recognition of Spanish authority. These labours were continued through great difficulties, by themselves and successors, for upwards of a century: and to them, as much as to the mail-clad warriors, was owing the Spanish ascendancy in Central America.

The year 1541 was signalised by the death of Pedro Alvarado. After this event, the emperor established an audience (November 20th, 1542), or supreme tribunal, of which Alonzo de Maldonado was named president. The seat of this court was fixed at Valladolid de Comayagua, but subsequently

transferred to Gracias á Dios. In 1555, it was again removed to Guatemala, then to Panama, and finally to the capital. The tranquillity which the genius of Alvarado had secured to the province was buried with him. Faction, exasperated by the temporary obstruction, broke out fiercer than ever. Public morals were depreciated to the very lowest scale. Justice was but a name — crimes of the deepest and darkest dye were committed with impunity, and the criminals bought off from retribution by trifling sums. The Indians were treated as brutes — in short, all government was at an end — anarchy, crime, and reckless audacity rioted over the ruins of the Indian civilisation. Such was the condition of affairs for a great portion of the long period of the Spanish dominion in Guatemala, till at last the country was ripe for revolution.

The first symptoms of dissatisfaction exhibited by the Indians and others, was after the invasion of Spain by France, in 1808. The deepest anxiety was manifested throughout the whole of the Peninsular War, and the subsequent continental struggles. But after the fall of Napoleon, hardly had Spain adopted a constitution when Guatemala, anxious to extirpate the remnant of absolute tyranny, appropriated the same one to herself without any alteration. But the formation of a junta in the following year, with absolute power to settle "indispensable" measures, gave rise to two parties, one in favour of entire emancipation from both Spain and Mexico; the other advocating the installation of the Bourbon family on the throne of Central America. The old Spanish party, supported by Leon, the capital of Nicaragua and Comayagua, capital of Honduras, were in favour of the latter course; but the greater part of the cities and provinces adhered to the act of independence proclaimed by the junta.

REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Such was the situation of affairs when, on the 19th of October, 1821, Iturbide, emperor of Mexico, addressed to the inhabitants of Guatemala a manifesto, in which, after having complimented them on their independence, he announced that, to consolidate their growing liberties, he would direct a numerous body of troops to their frontiers. This strange proclamation was not received by the independents as favourably as the emperor had wished; but the influential members of the Spanish party solicited his protection, changing the appellation of his troops from that of "servants" to "imperialists." This faction chose as their chief, Filisola, president of the junta; and by him the proclamation of Iturbide was distributed throughout the different provinces. Not satisfied with this, he joined with it an invitation to the people to merge their nationality into that of Mexico; and he even took upon himself the responsibility, as president of the junta, to declare the union effected (January 11th, 1822).

The indignation of the people at this arbitrary stretch of power rose to the utmost pitch. The junta was dissolved. The president marched with some troops against San Salvador, but was completely beaten (July 3rd). Defeated a second time by the people of the same province (February 23rd, 1823), he recommenced his march to Guatemala, where he received news of the revolution which had precipitated Iturbide from the imperial throne. The blow was astounding — his last hope was gone; he immediately gave up all resistance and consented to the act of independence. A national convention, having immediately assembled, ordered the Mexican troops to leave the country. Filisola led them out in person, taking possession, during his

[1823-1827 A.D.]

march, of the province of Chiapas, which he claimed for Mexico. This act was afterwards made good by Mexico, and Chiapa has ever since remained a fruitful source of dissension between the two countries.

FORMATION OF A REPUBLIC

This obstacle being removed, the national assembly met again on the 24th of June, 1823. Complete independence was declared on the 21st of July, and on the 17th of December, the basis of a new constitution, modelled after that of the United States, was proclaimed to the nation. The republic was styled the "United Provinces of Central America." On the 6th of September, 1824, congress completed the basis of the confederation at Costa Rica; nine days after (15th) the federal congress was installed; and on the 22nd of November, the constitution was solemnly signed by the deputies.

Thus Guatemala had proclaimed her freedom and established a republican constitution; but very soon she was to learn by bitter experience that something more than these is necessary to secure the tranquillity and happiness of the people. Hardly had the instrument of independence been signed when fierce party spirit again sowed seeds of discord among the populace. The citizens were divided into aristocrats, or centralists, and federalists. The former wished to consolidate and centralise the powers of the general government. They were composed principally of influential families, who, pampered during the domination of the Spaniards with privileges and exorbitant monopolies, had gradually imbibed the state and feelings of the European nobility. The federalists, on the contrary, were led by men, young and energetic, many of whom were actuated by an ardent love of country, a desire to set her free, and a disgust at the former civil oppression. They advocated the supremacy of the states, and freedom of conscience in religious matters. At the third session of congress, the two parties came to an open rupture. Soon after, the vice-president, Flores, visited the city of Quezaltenango, where he had rendered himself odious by his republican principles, and by levying a contribution on its convent. Seeing him in their city, the religious orders now excited the common people against him, and soon an infuriated mob was before his house exclaiming, "Death to the heretic!" Flores ran to the church; but, when entering, he was seized by some women, his face and head severely beaten, and his life placed in the most imminent danger. By desperate exertions, he escaped into the church; but even here he was not secure. The bell rang, crowds collected from all quarters, and, although opposed by the soldiery, forced their way into the church. Fearful of the result, the priest came forward with a crucifix, and implored the people to spare the officer, promising to send him immediately from the city. The unhappy man confirmed these words on his knees. But all was of no avail. The populace rushed upon him, dragged him into the convent, and delivered him into the hands of its women. He soon expired under their dreadful treatment, and the body was submitted to the insults of the mob. Crowds then rushed through the streets, exclaiming, "*Viva la religion!*—death to the heretics of congress." Encouraged by this success, the centralists of the province of Guatemala rose in open rebellion, and extirpated the republicans.

These outrages roused the indignation of the inhabitants of San Salvador, who resolved to avenge the patriots of Guatemala. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1827, their army appeared before the gates of the capital, and threatened it with complete destruction. But religious fanaticism was too powerful to be easily intimidated. The priests ran, exhorting the people to

take arms; the nuns and other women assembled with knives in their hands, swearing that every enemy of their religion should perish by their hands. The army of San Salvador was in the issue entirely defeated.

REPUBLICANS AND CENTRALISTS

The other provinces of Guatemala were in a like condition. In Nicaragua, the streets were barricaded, the chief centralist and his soldiers massacred, part of the city burned to the ground, and the two parties so exasperated against each other that, for three months, even an ambassador could not be sent from one to the other. The war continued with but little intermission for two years, at which time (1829) the troops of San Salvador, under General Morazan, again marched against Guatemala. After three days' continual battle, the city was taken. A scene of stern retribution followed. The leaders of the centralists were exiled, the convents opened and sacked, monastic orders abolished, the nuns sent from the country, and the archbishop driven into exile.

In 1831, Morazan was elected president of the republic; and for eight years managed the public affairs with a degree of quiet long unknown to the country. But at the expiration of his second term, signs of faction began to reappear. Many of the banished centralists had maintained a correspondence with those at home, some even venturing to return. These attentively watched an opportunity to recover their lost ascendancy. They found a leader in the notorious Carrera, a mulatto who from an obscure station had raised himself to the command of numerous parties who infested the highroads. This individual kept the country in a state of continual ferment, and, though often defeated, he still managed to rally round him the priests, Indians, and most of the centralists. The capital and other cities were several times taken, and shocking excesses committed on the opposite faction. Morazan was finally driven into exile, and with him fell the republican party.^b

REPUBLIC DIVIDED INTO CONSTITUENT STATES

From that time on the "republic of Central America" was only a geographical conception. Every one of the five states had its own independent government and all attempts to restore the union failed on account of inner discord, or were defeated by force of arms. The defeat of the allies by Carrera at Arada (February 2nd, 1851) was a severe blow to the federalists. All that could be attained after that were treaties between the single states for the preservation of peace and for the promotion of commerce. A political union with a joint congress in the style of the North American Union appeared to be an impossibility. There were as many separate governments and presidents as there were states. Internal quarrels and party disputes, a supreme magistracy without authority and mutual rivalries weakened political power. Thus it came about that William Walker, a North American adventurer of courage and enterprise, was able to make himself commander-in-chief in Nicaragua and maintained a dictatorial power for some years, until finally in an attack upon Honduras he was seized by the English and delivered up to the magistrates who had him shot in Truxillo. A political execution took place shortly afterwards in Costa Rica also, and the former president, Rafael Mora, who had attempted to regain his earlier position by force of arms, was captured and shot in San José. The war in Mexico had an influence upon Central America, where aristocratic, democratic, and clerical elements were

[1851-1908 A.D.]

continually warring against one another. Here also liberals and conservatives were ranged against each other and fought for the supremacy. Under these circumstances the able General Carrera of Guatemala attained to dictatorial authority. Unlike the Mexican General Juarez he leaned for support on the clerical and conservative party, so that he was accused of conspiring with Emperor Maximilian and of seeking after monarchical power. But before the sanguinary tragedy of Queretaro was ended Carrera died suddenly. A few months later Barrios of San Salvador, who for years had been his opponent and rival, upon his attempt to regain the presidency was shot in his former capital by the command of his victorious successor Dueñas. After that the five states of Central America continued in the old way without central authority and without influence on the political conditions of the two hemispheres.^d

In 1884 and 1885 another attempt was made under the influence of President Barrios of Guatemala to unite the Central American states in federation, but this attempt failed like the others before it. In 1895 Honduras, Salvador and Nicaragua united in the Greater Republic of Central America but before the new system had gone into operation, a revolution in Salvador (1898) prevented the execution of the plan although a diet had been convened and administrative officials appointed. The Greater Republic was dissolved into its separate states.

The individual histories of the Central American states deal mainly with internal disturbances or quarrels with one another and have little interest for the rest of the world or influence on its history. Nicaragua made treaties with Spain (1850), Belgium (1858), France (1859), and the United States (1867) concerning the neutrality of a Nicaraguan Canal; and in 1884 the United States negotiated the Frelinghuysen-Zarala Treaty with Nicaragua according to which the United States was to build the canal, but the treaty was not ratified. The Nicaragua Canal Association and its efforts were mentioned in connection with the Panama Canal. The Nicaragua route appears now to be definitely abandoned.

In May, 1906, a revolt broke out in Guatemala. Alleging that San Salvador had rendered assistance to the rebels, Guatemala declared war. Honduras also became involved in the conflict on the side of San Salvador, but after several battles had been fought the war was brought to a close through the mediation of the United States and Mexico. But the peace proved of short duration. Early in 1907 war broke out between Honduras and San Salvador on the one hand and Nicaragua on the other. Honduras was overrun, the president overthrown, and a provisional government set up. In April Nicaragua and San Salvador signed a treaty at Amalpa, but the conflict between them was soon renewed. In September, however, representatives of the five republics of Central America signed a protocol accepting an invitation of the United States to meet at Washington at an early date to negotiate, in unison with representatives of the United States and Mexico, an agreement for the permanent peace of Central America.^a



CHAPTER VIII

BRAZIL

THE first person who discovered the coast of Brazil was Vicente Yañez Pinzon, who had sailed with Columbus on his first voyage as commander and master of the *Niña*. Seven years afterwards he and his nephew Arias obtained a commission to go in search of new countries and trade in any which Columbus had not previously appropriated. The Pinzons set sail from Palos in December, 1499, made the Cape Verds, then steered to the southwest, and were the first Spaniards who crossed the line and lost sight of the north star. They saw land on January 26th, 1500, to which Vicente gave the name of Cape Consolation, but which is now called Cape St. Augustine. From hence they coasted along toward the north. Vicente continued his course till he came to the Orinoco, then made for the islands, and sailed homeward, losing two of his three ships by the way. The coast which Pinzon had discovered lay within the Portuguese limits of demarcation, and before he reached Europe it had been taken possession of by the nation to whom it was allotted.^b

The Portuguese king Emmanuel determined to send a fleet to establish friendship and a treaty of commerce with the king of Calcutta. For the command of this fleet, which consisted of ten caravels, and three larger vessels, a hidalgo was chosen. It was determined that the fleet should sail on the 9th of March, 1500. On the 14th of March the fleet passed the Canaries and to profit by the prevailing northeast trade wind they stood so much to the westward that, on the 21st of April they met with signals of land, and late the following day they saw a large round mountain with small hills which were the highest portions of the Sierra, now called Aimorés. Cabral gave the mountain the name of Mount Pascal [because it was Easter time], and the land he called Vera Cruz. Emmanuel was so delighted with the discovery of Vera Cruz that he resolved to send out another squadron to explore minutely its extent; and it appears that three caravels were ordered to sail upon this project from the Tagus on the 1st of May, 1501, but there is a considerable doubt who was the commander of them; some say it was Amerigo Vespucci, others that it was Gonzalo Collho.^c

NATIVES OF BRAZIL

At the time when the Portuguese invaded Brazil more than a hundred peoples of different religions, customs, and institutions occupied and disputed with one another the space comprised between the two great rivers—the La Plata and the Amazon. The most ancient of these tribes, that of the Tapuyas, had dominated all the coast between the mouths of the two rivers. Shortly before the arrival of the Europeans this tribe had been violently dispossessed and driven out by the Tupis, who were the absolute masters of the shores at the time when Alvares Cabral planted the Portuguese flag on the soil of astonished Brazil. The name Tupis would be enough to reveal the power and the pride of those who bore it for its etymological signification is that of thunder and divinity; their god was called Tupan. The great family of Tupis was divided into sixteen tribes, forming as many separate and distinct republics which a common danger could reunite into a powerful confederation.

The Tupis were absolutely no clothing; they dyed their bodies red, all except the face. The men wore a ring in the lower lip, and the women had long earrings reaching to their shoulders. Their life, which approached nature very closely, freed them from the most of the diseases caused by civilisation. They had, moreover, found a way of getting along without physicians. When they thought their relatives and friends had suffered too long they administered to them a well-aimed blow of a hammer on the head, in guise of a remedy, telling them it was better to die quickly than to suffer first only to die afterwards. Human flesh they considered a great delicacy, and they ate not only their enemies, but also their sick relatives, and even their sick children. Of the little ones, the father and mother made only a mouthful, but if they were adults they profited by the occasion to give a little family feast. The Tupis recognised neither kings nor princes. The only supremacy they admitted was that of their old men who met in counsel to decide on the affairs of the tribe.

Another people not less remarkable than the Tupis were the Tapudias, who after having owned a part of Brazil were now relegated to its extreme northern part. They were a warlike and vagabond tribe, leading a nomadic life in free space. The Tapudias were tall, and very strong, with long black hair and brown skin. This people was divided into about twenty-four tribes of different names who spread over the banks of the Sahara, of the Rio Grande, and of the northern Parahyba. Other races of less importance covered the immense stretch of land newly conquered by the Portuguese, some of them docile and ready to submit to the yoke of the conqueror; others impatient of foreign domination and disposed to resist to the uttermost.

METHOD OF COLONISATION

John III, the son and successor of Emmanuel, adopted for Brazil the system of colonisation which had first been thought of for the Azores and for Madeira. He divided the country into hereditary captaincies, and granted them to the Portuguese nobles whom he found disposed to risk the adventure and to found settlements which might have to be defended by force. In reality these concessions were nothing else than the right of conquest which the sovereign granted to his vassals. With the exception of inflicting capital punishment and of coining money, the authority of those obtaining the concessions was almost as unlimited as it was uncontrolled. It was only neces-

sary to subdue or dispossess the old proprietors. That was not always an easy task.

The first holder of a Portuguese captaincy was Martim Affonso de Sousa, who explored the coast in the vicinity of the Rio Janeiro or River of January, so called because he reached it the first day of that month. Martim Affonso, who discovered the island of the Magi, the island of San Sebastian, and Cape Saint Vincent, understood how to win the friendship of the natives of the country, and established himself among them without striking a blow.

Pedro de Goes, to whom the king gave a concession of thirty leagues of coast between Saint Vincent and Espiritu Santo, was obliged to leave the land after five years of disastrous struggles with the savages. The beautiful bay, known by the name of bay of San Salvador, was conceded to Francisco Pereira Coutinho on the one condition — that he should found there a city and permanent settlements, either by subduing the natives or by civilising them.

The individual concessions made by the court of Lisbon with such extensive powers might at a desired moment excite the spirit of enterprise and thus facilitate Portuguese emigration to Brazil; but it would not have been good policy to let things go on for long in that way. The ties between the colony and the mother country were becoming looser every day; the captains-general abused their authority: the property, the honour, and the lives of the colonists were in their hands; complaints, alternately energetic and pathetic, mounted even to the throne. João III understood the necessity of re-establishing the supreme authority over all these petty tyrannies. The powers of the concessioners were taken away, and a governor-general was clothed with the plenitude of civil and military authority over all Portuguese Brazil.

The first representative of the royal authority was Thomé de Sousa. The governor-general left in April, 1549, and after two months of sailing arrived in the bay of San Salvador. Thomé, without wasting any time, laid the foundations of a city which he named San Salvador. After four years of labour and success, when he had subdued and pacified the coast and started the colony on a road of prosperity where it seemed it had nothing to do but go forward, Thomé de Sousa, thinking he had done enough both for the good of others and for his own glory, asked for his recall. He was succeeded by Edward da Costa, under whose government the Jesuits distinguished themselves by a redoubling of apostolic zeal, which did more than arms for the definitive triumph of the Portuguese. In the midst of inevitable struggles, which broke out more often perhaps than was at first thought probable, Portugal ended by establishing its authority over the immense colony.

The death of João III placed on the throne his grandson Dom Sebastian, who at that time was only three years old and was the grandson, on his mother's side, of the emperor Charles V. The regency followed in regard to Brazil the policy which had been adopted in the preceding reign. The governor-general Mem de Sa, who succeeded Dom Edward, was appointed for an indefinite period and was, more than his predecessors, subject to the influence of the Jesuits. The administration of Louis de Brito, who succeeded Mem de Sa, saw the division of Brazil into two independent and separate provinces. Bahia was the residence of one of the governors; the other established himself at San Sebastian, on the gulf of Rio Janeiro. But the court of Lisbon soon gave up the idea of dividing Brazil into two provinces, and the government of San Sebastian was again united to that of Bahia under the direction of Brito. He was succeeded by Lorenzo de Veiga in the fatal year in which Dom Sebastian and the flower of the Portuguese nobility perished on

[1549-1786 A.D.]

the battlefields of Morocco (1578). The consequences are well known of this death of the king of Portugal, who left no children, and whose kingdom fell into the greedy and ambitious hands of Philip II.

BRAZIL BECOMES SPANISH

All the Portuguese colonies passed to the power of the Spaniards and Brazil shared the common lot. The change of mother-country was disastrous for the colony. The hatred which Philip II and Queen Elizabeth had for each other brought their two countries into a war whose counteraction was felt even on the shores of the New World. Robert Witherington, Thomas Cavendish, and James Lancaster came in turn to devastate these coasts and brought thither destruction by fire and sword. Philip II died without having done Brazil anything but harm. Philip III, his successor, sent Dom Pedro Botelho as a governor to the colony, and he developed a certain zeal in the exploration of the interior of the country. The Jesuits seconded his efforts and extended their influence to the most remote parts of the vast colony. Diego de Menezes, who succeeded Botelho, conceived the project of conquering and colonising the mouth of the Amazon River. It was time to think of it. This part of the coast was already very much frequented by the armed vessels of France and of Holland. The French had already established themselves on the large and beautiful island of Maranhão, a hundred leagues south-east of the mouth of the Amazon. It was at this moment that a Portuguese expedition destined to conquer the north of Brazil was placed under the orders of Jerome de Albuquerque, who attacked the French in their new possessions, defeating them and forcing them to evacuate the island. Almost at the same time Castillo Branco drove out the Dutch who were trafficking on the northern bank; but he irritated profoundly the natives of the country by his cruelty, and obliged the central government to depose him. What he had attempted was soon accomplished by Maciel and Vasconcellos.

However, the Portuguese were soon to find themselves in the presence of new enemies come from Europe. On March 7th, 1624, a Dutch fleet appeared at the bar of San Salvador. The defenders of the city, seized by an inexplicable panic, abandoned it, and the Dutch were soon masters of San Salvador. The Portuguese, however, were not slow in avenging the shame of this defeat, and the capital of Brazil soon fell into the hands of its former masters.

TRANSFER OF PORTUGUESE EMPIRE TO BRAZIL

Dom Pedro, the husband and uncle of the queen of Portugal, had had the title of king without the authority. At his death, in 1786, his wife Maria, the first of that name, continued to govern. She soon witnessed the death of her eldest son, the heir presumptive, a young prince who carried to the tomb the love and the hope of Portugal. His brother Dom João de Braganza became prince of Brazil and at the same time crown prince. Dom João was animated with loyal intentions. He was of a religious spirit, a man of amiable and gentle manners; but the revolutionary convulsions which were overturning Europe demanded other qualities of princes jealous of maintaining their power. Portugal would have liked to remain neutral during the great struggle which was dividing France and England. Old treaties and intimate relations made it incline towards the cabinet of St.

James. In 1806 an English fleet appeared in the waters of the Tagus. Portugal received in its ports vessels of the enemies of France from Europe and America; the neutrality was openly violated in a thousand cases. Napoleon threatened. Promises were made to him and were not kept. Soon a French army of invasion appeared on the frontiers of Portugal at the same time that Commodore Sidney Smith blocked the mouth of the royal river. The English ambassador gave the regent the alternative of sending the fleet back to England or of using it to transport the family of Braganza to its Brazilian possessions, in order to protect it from the influence and perhaps from the arms of France. Portugal was invaded; Brazil was intact. The choice of Dom João could not long be doubtful. He decided in favour of a brilliant exile, and on November 29th, in the morning, the Portuguese fleet left the shores of the home land carrying towards the New World the hope and the fortunes of the monarchy.

On the 19th of the following January it reached Bahia, where the royal family was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of devotion. However, Bahia was only a stage in the flight of the princes; it was Rio Janeiro which they had chosen for the provisional capital of their government. Their resolution was determined by the admirable situation of the bay, perhaps the most magnificent in the world, and by the facility of its relations with Europe, America, Africa, India, and the islands of the southern sea. It was in a sense the centre of the commercial world. Dom João was received there in the same way as at Bahia. One of the first cares of the regent was to open the ports of Brazil to the commerce of countries at peace with Portugal—that is, England and the allies of England.

On April 1st, 1808, the prince-regent abolished by another decree all the limitations which had been put on Brazilian industry. Everyone was free to establish factories and manufactures; in a word, instead of trying as formerly to make Brazil subservient to the mother country, every effort was made to free it and to make it independent of the rest of the world. Almost at the same time the regent established a printing press at Rio Janeiro. That was a definite triumph over the old spirit which had till then animated the masters of Brazil. They had seen a danger in the diffusion of light which it was now desired to spread abroad. It was time; the country was plunged in an ignorance of which nothing can give a just idea. But, if there was much to do, it must at least be admitted that much was done. The first press served to print a gazette. Brazil thus possessed the most powerful instrument of modern civilisation.

REACTION

The Brazilians emerged promptly from the sort of moral lethargy in which they had been kept intentionally. It was the commencement of a new era. But the influence of the court of Lisbon was not as great perhaps as had at first been thought. There was an undercurrent of opposition to it, and disagreements arose between the colonists and the guests who had just arrived from the mother-country. However, a decree of December 15th., 1815, raising Brazil from its secondary position of a province and colony to the dignity of a kingdom, reanimated the benevolent dispositions of the nationalists. They warmly applauded this move of a wise policy which united under a common appellation the united states of Portugal, of the Algarves, and of Brazil. Almost at the same time Queen Maria died; her intelligence had already been dead for a long time. The prince-regent took

[1815-1830 A.D.]

the title of king under the name of João VI. However, the causes of friction which existed between the Brazilians and the Portuguese had increased rather than diminished. Events in Europe recalled the king to Lisbon (1821), and from that time a revolution was certain. Brazil, understanding the necessity of a political change, decided to form a representative chamber. The preparatory assembly of electors was dispersed by force, and there were scenes of deplorable violence.

Soon João VI more or less voluntarily renounced his rights over Brazil, and his son Dom Pedro was solemnly proclaimed constitutional emperor. The constitution, being once promised, had to be given to Brazil. Deputies from the provinces assembled at Rio Janeiro. The emperor thought he could discover republican tendencies among them and dissolved the chamber. Dom Pedro himself then offered a plan of a constitution to which the authorities swore allegiance on March 25th, 1824.

As a result of this constitution, which contained wise and liberal principles enough, Brazil enjoyed a few months of tranquillity and the government appeared to gain power. Unfortunate wars with the governments of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, internal difficulties, which instead of diminishing went on increasing, soon moved the emperor to decide to give up the crown to his son and to leave the country. This great event took place on April 7th, 1831. The next day a provisional council of regency was formed and the day after that the imperial prince was borne in triumph into the cathedral and proclaimed emperor under the name of Pedro II. On the 13th of the same month an English vessel and a French vessel left the shores of Brazil carrying to Cherbourg him who had been Pedro I and the young princess Doña Maria, his daughter.^d

MISTAKES OF PEDRO I

Dom Pedro was not a tyrant; none but his calumniators have ever designated him as such; yet his errors were great and manifold. Endowed with natural talent yet devoid of prudence, an admirer of the representative form of government in perspective yet ever shrinking from its practical enforcement, energetic and yet inconstant—he was better qualified to achieve the liberation of Brazil than to direct the subsequent march of her government. Under the existing circumstances when Dom Pedro ascended the throne, it was an administrator rather than a hero that was required. Neither the ancient colonial institutions nor the circumstances of the people had been favourable to the promotion of the martial spirit. In case of war the employment of foreign military became a matter of urgency, and hence that odious and inextinguishable rivalry which was attended with fatal results. His frequent and extensive creations of nobility were also the result of an error equally glaring. Nobility could in Brazil be regarded in no other light than as the honorary recompense of merit, and the profuse and injudicious manner in which it was misapplied instead of elevating those on whom it was bestowed, tended rather on the other hand to sink and to vilify the institution.

These were, however, minor errors. His greatest, and the one which caused his overthrow was his never having known how to constitute himself truly and entirely a Brazilian. This circumstance, by irritating the jealousy and self-love of his subjects, gradually deprived him of all that *éclat* with which the independence and his illustrious origin had invested him; the French Revolution of 1830 gave an increased impulse to the public mind; the

foreign troops were disbanded, the native military extended their sympathies to the exaltado party without experiencing any interposition on the part of the authorities, and revolution thus became inevitable.^e

BRAZIL UNDER PEDRO II

The new emperor, Pedro II, was not yet six years old; accordingly, he was placed under the guardianship of José Bonifácio de Andrada, and the regency bestowed by the Cortes on the three senators, Francisco de Lima e Silva, Vergueira, and Caravellas. On June 17th a new board of regency was appointed. Padre Feijo was named minister of justice in July and succeeded in restoring order in Rio. But in the provinces there was almost continual revolution, either by the federalists (exaltados) or by the reactionary (restauradores) adherents of Dom Pedro I. A law was passed on November 7th, 1831, practically prohibiting the slave trade, but it was never enforced. Two years later the board of regency removed Andrada and put in his place the marquis d'Itanhaem, and the bishop of Chrysopolis took charge of the young prince's education. Dom Pedro refused the invitation to return to Brazil made him by the reactionary party. In the same year the chamber of deputies refused to consider a bill introduced by Ferreira Franza declaring all children of slave parents free at birth. On September 24th of the year following Pedro I died in Lisbon, and so cut short the opposition movement, led by the Andradas, in favour of his restoration.

On October 12th, 1835, as the result of long discussion of constitutional reforms, and the passage of an Acts Adicional, the board of regency was abolished and a single regent, Padre Feijo, appointed. At the same time the policy of universal suffrage gained largely and the provinces acquired local self-government. The regent was elected by the people in the same way that they chose legislators, instead of being chosen by the legislators. But Feijo's regency lost ground before the increasing conservative sentiment in the chamber, as well as because of the fresh revolts in Para and Rio Grande, the former suppressed in January only with the assistance of a British fleet. The conservatives accused him of conniving at the revolts, if not actually promoting them.

In September, 1837, Padre Feijo resigned and the two constitutional parties of liberals and conservatives were definitely formed, the conservative leader Pedro d'Araujo Lima succeeding Feijo. This conservative regency was as bitterly attacked by the liberal opposition as the liberal Feijo's was by the conservatives when they were in opposition, and the next years were filled with continued quarrels between the regent and the legislature. A revolution in Bahia in 1837 and 1838, aiming to set up a republic of Bahia to last until Pedro attained his majority, was finally suppressed. The regency of Doña Januaria, an older sister of Pedro II was also suggested. In 1838 there was a dangerous revolution in Maranhão, and the insurgents in Rio Grande do Sul invaded Santa Catharina. Congress, with its liberal majority, stood ready to vote the immediate majority of Dom Pedro, but was blocked by the cabinet. In 1840 Araujo Lima suspended congress, which was on the point of carrying through the liberal programme and doing away with the regency, and recalled Vasconcellos to the cabinet. With the consent of the prince he was declared emperor and of age on July 23rd. The chamber of deputies was then dissolved, and a new election held in the autumn resulting in a great liberal victory.

In 1841 the liberal ministry with Hollanda Cavalcanti at its head was

[1841-1861 A.D.]

forced out by the independence of the young and scholarly emperor, and a conservative cabinet entered office on March 23rd, the marquis of Faranagua being premier. The revolt in Maranhão was put down by General Lima, who was made baron of Caxias. Dom Pedro was crowned on July 17th. The Paranagua ministry was succeeded by another conservative cabinet on February 20th, 1843, the marquis of Parana being premier. On May 30th Dom Pedro married Theresa Christina, princess of Bourbon and the Two Sicilies. In 1844 the liberals again came into power, the viscount de Macahé forming a ministry on February 2nd.

After ten years' fighting in Rio Grande do Sul, in which Garibaldi first distinguished himself, the revolt there was suppressed by De Caxias on March 1st, 1845. The British parliament on August 8th passed the Aberdeen Bill, giving English vessels the right to pursue slavers into Brazilian waters, because of the failure on the part of the Brazilian government to live up to its convention with the British government secretly and unauthorisedly signed on November 13th, 1826. On May 2nd, 1846, Torres formed a liberal ministry to succeed De Macahé's.

A cabinet led by Caravellas was formed on May 22d, 1847. De Macahé succeeded Caravellas as premier on March 8th, 1848, but held office only until the 31st of May, when Paula de Sousa formed another short-lived liberal cabinet, displaced on September 29th by the marquis de Olinda and the first conservative ministry for four years. The liberals revolted in Pernambuco, but were suppressed in May, 1849, by the president of the province and General Coelho. Complete amnesty followed this the last revolt in the early years of Dom Pedro's reign. In 1849 yellow fever first appeared in Brazil, and created a strong sentiment against the slave-trade. In this year the marquis of Olinda disagreed with his cabinet on the policy to be carried out in the La Plata, and was replaced on October 8th by the marquis of Monte Alegre. In July, 1850, an agreement was arrived at between Brazil and Great Britain as to the pursuit of slavers by British vessels. Dom Pedro encouraged the growth of an abolitionist party, and on September 4th a bill was passed facilitating the repression of the slave trade. The province of Amazonas, the first since the independence of the empire, was formed from the old captaincy of Rio Negro, which since 1822 had been a part of Para.

To preserve the independence of Paraguay and Uruguay, which Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, was attempting to force back into the Argentine Confederation, Brazil, in 1851, joined Entre Rios and Corrientes and relieved Montevideo, whence Rosas was driven back to Buenos Ayres and defeated at Monte-Caseros, on February 3rd, 1852. Dom Pedro forced the conservative ministry out and replaced it, September 3rd, 1853, by a "conciliation cabinet," which included some liberal members and left neither party in the opposition. There were no disembarkations from slave-ships in this year. Immigration, from Germany especially, began; the Bank of Brazil, with a capital of 30,000,000 milreis, was established; the first railroads were built; and there was general prosperity. The province of Parana was created during this year. Towards the end of the year 1854 valuable gold mines were discovered in northern Brazil.

Upon the death of the marquis de Parana in 1858 the "conciliation party," now led by Olinda, was speedily overthrown by the reorganised conservatives, and Abaeti formed a cabinet on December 12th. The Abaeti ministry, however, was unable to meet the financial crisis, which had followed the previous period of prosperity, and was succeeded on August 10th by a cabinet led by Ferraz. On May 2nd, 1861, a third conservative cabinet

was formed by De Caxias. Several of the more prominent leaders of the party joined the opposition, and in 1862 Zacarias de Vasconcellos, one of the conservatives who had joined the liberal opposition, was intrusted with the formation of a new ministry on May 24th, but the financial situation was too much for him. Olinda was summoned to form a new cabinet on the 30th of the same month. Renewed difficulty with Great Britain resulted from the arrest on the charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct of three British naval officers; the British claims for damages were not satisfactorily answered and several Brazilian ships were seized in retaliation during the last week of December and early in the following January.

In 1863 the conservative party was crushingly defeated in the elections, and at about the same time the finances of the country began to mend. There were rapid ministerial changes in 1864, due to the quarrels between the liberals and the conservatives who allied themselves with them, and nearly held the balance of power. Zacarias again became president of the council on January 15th, only to be succeeded on August 31st by Furtado.

WAR WITH PARAGUAY

The difficulty with Great Britain was satisfactorily arranged; but in Uruguay Brazil secretly sided with the insurgents under General Flores, made heavy demands on the Uruguayan government, and, after the refusal of these, threatened to blockade the country. As a result of this policy, President Lopez of Paraguay declared war on Brazil, having previously and without warning captured a Brazilian ship in the Paraguay. In November the Brazilian army invaded Uruguay, and in December, with Flores, Brazil's insurgent ally, captured Paysandu. Simultaneously Brazil was entered by Paraguayan forces. Flores became president of Uruguay in February, Montevideo being taken on the 20th, and on the 22nd joined Brazil against Lopez's policy. Argentina became a member of this alliance on May 8th, 1865. Brazil bore the brunt of this war, largely increased both army and navy, borrowed £5,000,000 in London, and issued many paper notes. The Brazilian fleet won the sanguinary battle of Riachuelo on June 11th, and on September 17th the Paraguayan army which invaded Brazil was surrounded and forced to surrender. The marquis Olinda again became ministerial president on May 12th.

In 1866 Zacarias de Vasconcellos formed a new liberal ministry. The allies advanced a little, crossed the Parana, won the battles of Confluencia, Estero Bellaco, and Tuynty, were unsuccessful in the assault of Curupaity, on September 22nd, and soon afterwards were put under the command of De Caxias. In November all national slaves were emancipated by the emperor, and throughout the country many others were manumitted so that they might enter the army. A decree was published on December 6th, opening, after September 7th, 1867, to foreign navigation the Amazon, Tocantins, Tapajos, Madeira, and São Francisco. In 1867 the Uruguayan forces left the field, as did many of the Argentinian troops, and the Brazilians thus left facing the Paraguayans were attacked by cholera. Toward the end of the year Caxias began operations against Humaita.

The Zacarias ministry resigned on July 14th, 1868, because of the emperor's appointment of a conservative senator. A conservative cabinet was formed on July 16th, led by the viscount de Itaborahy. The liberal chamber of deputies voted no confidence in this government, and on the 20th the chamber was dissolved, the conservatives carrying the September elections. At the front the allies passed the fortifications of Curupaity and Humaita on

[1868-1879 A.D.]

February 17th and 19th. Lopez then fortified Tebicuary, and as he retreated the Brazilians took possession of the deserted fortifications. Two unsuccessful attacks of the allies on Humaita on July 16th and 18th were followed by the capture of that fortress on the 25th. Lopez retired from Tebicuary to Villeta, where Caxias was repulsed on November 15th. But after a month's fighting he took the town on December 17th. On the 27th Lomas Valentinas was sharply attacked by the allies, to whom it was surrendered on the 30th. Lopez, however, escaped. Asuncion was occupied on January 2nd, 1869, by the Brazilians. Caxias left the front, without authorisation, and threw the army into great disorder. Dom Pedro's son-in-law, the count d'Eu, took the command and reorganised the allies, which gradually drove Lopez back. At the end of the year only a few Brazilian troops were left in Paraguay.

END OF THE WAR

On March 1st, 1870, the Brazilians on the Aquidaban defeated Lopez, who was killed in battle. A provisional peace was made on June 2nd, and a provisional government established at Asuncion on August 15th. At home the conservative ministry with Itaborahy at its head blocked the emperor's measure for the abolition of slavery. The cabinet was therefore dismissed, and a new ministry, conservative but abolitionist, created by De São Vicente in August; a second ministry with the same premier was formed in October. In February, 1871, a negro insurrection in Minas Geraes was discovered and suppressed. The viscount de Rio Branco formed a new ministry on March 7th. During the absence of the emperor and empress on a tour to Europe, in the regency of the princess imperial, Izabel, the senate passed an elaborate and complex emancipation bill on September 27th. The adoption of this measure was a personal triumph for the minister Rio Branco. In 1872 Brazil received from Paraguay the disputed territory north of the Apa and Icatim and between the Paraguay and Parana rivers. A peace treaty was ratified between Paraguay and Brazil alone, *i.e.*, not with Argentina and Uruguay, the other members of the alliance, on March 26th. The other members of the alliance made peace separately.

In 1875 Rio Branco's cabinet retired. De Caxias united the conservative party, which split on the question of emancipation, and on June 25th formed a new ministry. The government borrowed £5,000,000, but was unable to meet its deficits. Boundary commissions were appointed by the Bolivian and Brazilian governments, but their work was hardly begun when it stopped because of the dishonesty of the head of the Bolivian committee. Late in the year 1877 the prime minister quarrelled with the emperor over electoral reform, insisting on direct statutory provisions for the necessary change, whereas Dom Pedro held constitutional amendment the only lawful method. The conservative cabinet thereupon resigned, and on January 5th, 1878, Consansão de Sinimbu formed a liberal cabinet, the first for ten years. The Amazon and Madeira rivers were thoroughly explored and charted by an officer of the United States Navy. In 1879 a ministerial crisis in the beginning of the year resulted from the ruling that no provincial governors should be members of the cabinet.^a

CHANGE IN SENTIMENT TOWARDS PEDRO II

Under the long reign of Dom Pedro II progress and material prosperity made steady advancement in Brazil. Occasional political outbreaks occurred,

but none of very serious nature except in Rio Grande do Sul, where a long guerilla warfare was carried on against the imperial authority. The emperor occupied himself to a far greater extent with economic development of his people and country than with active political life. Unostentatious in his habits, Dom Pedro always had at heart the true interests of the Brazilians. Himself a highly-educated man, he sincerely desired to further the cause of education, and devoted a large portion of his time to the study of this question. His extreme liberalism prevented his opposing the spread of the socialist doctrines preached far and wide by Benjamin Constant. Begun about 1880, this propaganda took deep root in the educated classes, creating a desire for change and culminating in the military conspiracy of November, 1889, by which monarchy was replaced by a republican form of government.

At first the revolutionary propaganda produced no personal animosity against the emperor, who continued to be treated by his people with every mark of respect and affection, but this state of things gradually changed. In 1864 the princess Izabel, the eldest daughter of the emperor and empress, had married the count d'Eu, a member of the Orleans family. The marriage was never popular in the country, owing partly to the fact that the count d'Eu was a reserved man who made few intimate friends and never attempted to become a favourite. Princess Izabel was charitable in many ways, always ready to take her full share of the duties falling upon her as the future empress, and thoroughly realising the responsibilities of her position; but she was greatly influenced by the clerical party and the priesthood, and she thereby incurred the hostility of the progressives. When Dom Pedro left Brazil for the purpose of making a tour through Europe and the United States he appointed Princess Izabel to act as regent, and she showed herself so swayed in political questions by church influence that liberal feeling became more and more anti-dynastic. Another incident which gave strength to the opposition was the sudden abolition of slavery without any compensation to slave-owners. The planters, the principal possessors of wealth, regarded the measure as unnecessary in view of the act which had been passed in 1885 providing for the gradual freeing of all slaves. The arguments used were, however, of no avail with the regent, and the decree was promulgated on May 13th, 1888. No active opposition was offered to this measure, but the feelings of unrest and discontent spread rapidly.

Towards the close of 1888 the emperor returned and was received by the populace with every demonstration of affection and esteem. Even among the advocates of republicanism there was no intention of dethroning Dom Pedro, excepting a few extreme members of the party, who now gained the upper hand. They argued that it would be much more difficult to carry out a successful *coup d'état* when the good-natured, confiding emperor had been succeeded by his more suspicious and energetic daughter. Discontented officers in the army and navy rallied to this idea, and a conspiracy was organised to depose the emperor and declare a republic.^f

DEPOSITION OF EMPEROR

The real intellectual head of the conspiracy was Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães, teacher of mathematics and natural sciences at the national institute for the blind, who had formerly been a popular teacher at the military academy, and hence had a great influence on many officers, former pupils of his; with him was Quintino Bocayrena, editor of the *Paiz*. Army and navy intended at first only to overthrow the ministry, but

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when the ball got rolling they could not or would not stop it. Early in the morning of November 15th, 1889, various regiments, divisions of marine, the military pupils, the police and firemen's brigades assembled on Santa Anna Place, under the leadership of Deodoro da Fonseca, in front of the large barracks with the ministry of war, in which the cabinet had met for consultation. The main entrance to the barracks was treacherously opened from inside, Deodoro entered, the troops fraternised together, and the marshal, in a violent scene, declared the ministry deposed, and as a satisfaction for the army demanded the expatriation of Ouro Preto and of the war minister Candido de Oliveira. As yet there was no word of a republic. Ouro telegraphed to the emperor, who was in the summer residence Petropolis, offering the resignation of the cabinet and asking for instructions. This so important dispatch was not at once delivered by the emperor's body physician, because he wanted first to finish his daily system of douches, etc., and during the loss of this valuable time things in the capital took a wholly new turn. If the emperor had appeared quickly on the scene in person he might have changed matters, for the respect for his person had remained, although in consequence of his illness in latter times the respect for government and throne had been much diminished.

When the emperor in Petropolis finally got news of the events in Rio he at once hastened to the city, where he arrived at three in the afternoon; at the same time the republic was declared in the town hall by José de Patrocinio in the "name of the people," and the army was asked for its assent. In vain did the emperor summon Deodoro to him for consultation; the marshal was not disinclined, but his civil colleagues held him back saying that it was now a question of their heads. The imperial family in the palace was cut off from all communication, and Ouro Preto, who tried to form a new ministry, was arrested in the evening.

The "provisional government" was constituted on November 15th under the presidency of Deodoro, with Benjamin Constant as minister of war. Brazil was declared to be a republican federation, and on November 16th the emperor was ordered to leave the country with his family within twenty-four hours. In the dark of night the imperial family was taken on board the cruiser *Paranahyba*, and on Sunday, the 17th of November, the ship left the harbour, this time actually carrying the catafalque of the empire. The passenger steamer *Alagoas*, chartered by the government, which was waiting at the Ilha Grande, took the royal family on board and, accompanied by the armed cruiser *Riachuelo* as far as the equator, proceeded to Lisbon, where the royal family was welcomed with hearty sympathy by its relatives; the poor empress, the ever-faithful companion of her husband, died shortly afterwards of a broken heart, at Oporto. The emperor followed her on December 5th, 1891, and the two are now buried at Lisbon, far from the fatherland which they truly and warmly loved.⁹

REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL

Though the overthrow of the imperial dynasty was totally unexpected throughout, the new régime was accepted without any disturbances. Under the leadership of General Deodoro da Fonseca a prætorian system of government, in which the military element was all-powerful, came into existence, and continued till February, 1891, when a national congress assembled and formulated the constitution for the United States of Brazil. The former provinces were converted into states, the only right of the federal government

to interfere in their administration being for the purposes of national defence, the maintenance of public order, or the enforcement of the federal laws. Under the terms of the constitution the legislative authority is exercised by the national congress, with the assent of the president of the republic.

General da Fonseca and General Floriano Peixoto were elected to fill the offices of president and vice-president until the 15th of November, 1894. This implied the continuance of prætorian methods of administration. The older class of more conservative Brazilians, who had formerly taken part in the administration under the emperor, withdrew altogether from public life. Many left Brazil and went into voluntary exile, while others retired to their estates. In the absence of these more respectable elements, the government fell into the hands of a gang of military adventurers and unscrupulous politicians, whose only object was to exploit the national resources for their own benefit. As a consequence, deep-rooted discontent rapidly arose. A conspiracy, of which Admiral Wandenkolk was the prime instigator, was discovered, and those who had taken part in it were banished to the distant state of Amazonas. Disturbances then broke out in Rio Grande do Sul, in consequence of disputes between the official party and the people living in the country districts. Under the leadership of Gumerindo Saravia the country people broke into open revolt in September, 1891. This outbreak was partially suppressed, but afterwards it again burst into flame with great vigour. In view of the discontent, conspiracies, and revolutionary movements, President da Fonseca declared himself dictator. This act, however, met with such strong opposition that he resigned office on 23rd of November, 1891, and Vice-President Floriano Peixoto assumed the presidency.

Floriano Peixoto had been accustomed all his life to use harsh measures. For the first year of his term of office he kept seditious attempts in check, but discontent grew apace. Nor was this surprising to those who knew the corruption in the administration. Concessions and subsidies were given broadcast for worthless undertakings in order to benefit the friends of the president. Brazilian credit gave way under the strain, and evidences were not wanting at the beginning of 1893 that an outburst of public opinion was not far distant. Nevertheless President Peixoto made no effort to reform the methods of administration. Meanwhile, the revolution in Rio Grande do Sul had revived; and in July, 1893, the federal government was forced to send most of the available regular troops to that state to hold the insurgents in check.

REVOLT OF 1893

On September 6th prevailing discontent took definite shape in the form of a naval revolt in the bay of Rio de Janeiro. Admiral Custodio de Mello took command of the naval forces, and demanded the resignation of the president. General Peixoto replied by organising a defence against any attack from the squadron. Admiral Mello, finding that his demands were not complied with, began a bombardment of the city, but did not effect his purpose of compelling Peixoto to resign. The foreign ministers then arranged a compromise between the contending parties, to the effect that President Peixoto should place no artillery in the city, on condition that Admiral Mello should refrain from bombarding the town, provided the president did not place in it heavy artillery. Shortly afterwards the cruiser *Republica* and a transport ran the gauntlet of the government forts at the entrance of the bay, and proceeded south to the province of Santa Catharina, taking possession of

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Desterro, its capital. A provisional government was proclaimed by the insurgents, with headquarters at Desterro, and communication was opened with Gumerindo Saraiva, the leader of the insurrection in Rio Grande do Sul. It was proposed that the army of some ten thousand men under his command should advance northwards towards Rio de Janeiro, while the insurgent squadron threatened the city of Rio. In November Admiral Mello left Rio de Janeiro in the armoured cruiser *Aquidaban* and went to Desterro, the naval forces in Rio Bay being left in charge of Admiral Saldanha da Gama, an ardent monarchist, who had thrown in his lot with the insurgent cause. All was, apparently, going well with the revolt, Saraiva having invaded the states of Santa Catharina and Paraná, and defeated the government troops in several encounters. Meanwhile, President Peixoto had fortified the approaches to the city of Rio de Janeiro, bought vessels of war in Europe and the United States, and organised the national guard.

Early in 1894 dissensions occurred between Saraiva and Mello, which prevented any advance of the insurgent forces, and allowed Peixoto to perfect his plans. Admiral da Gama, unable to leave the bay of Rio de Janeiro on account of lack of transport for the sick and wounded and the civilians claiming his protection, could do no more than wait for Admiral Mello to return from Desterro. In the mean time the ships bought by President Peixoto arrived off Rio de Janeiro and prevented Da Gama from escaping. On March 15th, 1894, the rebel forces evacuated their positions on the islands of Villegaignon, Cobrás, and Enxadas, abandoned their vessels, and were received on board two Portuguese warships then in the harbour, whence they were conveyed to Montevideo. The action of the Portuguese commander was prompted by a desire to save life, for, had the rebels fallen into the hands of Peixoto, they would assuredly have been executed.

When the news of the surrender of Saldanha da Gama reached Gumerindo Saraiva, then at Curitiba in Paraná, he proceeded to retire to Rio Grande do Sul. Government troops were despatched to intercept his retreat, and in one of the skirmishes which followed Saraiva was killed. The rebel army then dispersed. Admiral Mello made an unsuccessful attack on the town of Rio Grande, and then sailed to Buenos Ayres, there surrendering the rebel squadron to the Argentine authorities, by whom it was immediately delivered to the Brazilian government. After six months of civil war peace was once more established, but there still remained some small rebel groups in Rio Grande do Sul. These were joined by Admiral da Gama and a number of the naval officers, who had escaped from Rio de Janeiro; but in June, 1895, the admiral was killed in a fight with the government troops. After the cessation of hostilities, the greatest barbarities were practised upon those who, although they had taken no part in the insurrection, were known to have desired the overthrow of President Peixoto. The baron Cerro Azul was shot down without trial; Marshal de Gama Eza, an old imperial soldier of eighty years of age, was murdered in cold blood, and numerous executions of men of lesser note took place, among these being two Frenchmen for whose death the Brazilian government was subsequently called upon to pay heavy compensation.

General Peixoto was succeeded as president on November 15th, 1894, by Doctor Prudente de Moraes Barros. It was a moot question whether Peixoto, after the revolt was crushed, would not declare himself dictator; certainly many of his friends were anxious that he should follow this course, but he was broken down by the strain which had been imposed upon him, and was glad to surrender his duties. He did not recover his health, and died shortly afterwards.

PRESIDENCY OF MORAES

From the first day that he assumed office President Moraes showed that he intended to suppress praetorian systems and reduce militarism to a minimum. This policy received the approval and sympathy of the majority of Brazilians, but naturally met with bitter opposition from the military element. The president gradually drew to him some members of the better conservative class to assist in his administration, and felt confident that he had the support of public opinion. Early in 1895 murmurings and disorderly conduct against the authorities began to take place in the military school at Rio de Janeiro, which had always been a hotbed of intrigue. Some of the officers and students were promptly expelled, and the president closed the school for several months. This salutary lesson had due effect, and no more discontent was fomented from that quarter. Two great difficulties stood in the way of steering the country to prosperity. The first was the chaotic confusion of the finances resulting from the maladministration of the national resources since the deposition of Dom Pedro II, and the corruption that had crept into every branch of the public service. Much was done by President Moraes to correct abuses, but the task was of too herculean a nature to allow of accomplishment within the four years during which he was at the head of affairs. The second difficulty was the war waged by religious fanatics under the leadership of Antonio Maciel, known as "Conselheiro," against the constituted authorities of Brazil.

The story of Conselheiro is a remarkable one. A native of Pernambuco, when a young man he married against the wishes of his mother, who took a violent dislike to the bride. Shortly after the marriage the mother assured her son that his wife held clandestine meetings with a lover, and stated that if he would go to a certain spot not far from the house that evening he would himself see that her assertion was true. The mother invented some plea to send the wife to the trysting-place, and then, dressing herself in male clothing, prepared to come suddenly on the scene as the lover, trusting to be able to make her escape before she was recognised. The three met almost simultaneously. Conselheiro, deeming his worst suspicions confirmed, shot and killed his wife and his mother before explanations could be offered. He was tried and allowed to go at liberty after some detention in prison. From that time Conselheiro was a victim of remorse, and to expiate his sin became a missionary in the *sertao* or interior of Brazil, among the wild Jagunço people. He built places of worship in many different districts, and at length became the recognised chief of the people among whom he had thus strangely cast his lot.

Some few years ago Conselheiro formed a settlement near Canudos, situated about four hundred miles inland from Bahia. Difficulty arose between the governor of Bahia and this fanatical missionary, with the result that Conselheiro was ordered to leave the settlement and take away his people. This order was met with a sturdy refusal to move. Early in 1897 a police force was sent to eject the settlers, but encountered strong resistance, and suffered heavy loss without being able to effect the purpose intended. In March, 1897, a body of fifteen hundred troops, with four guns, was despatched to bring the Jagunços to reason, but was totally defeated. An army comprising some five thousand officers and men was then sent to crush Conselheiro and his people at all costs. Little progress was made, the country being difficult of access, and the Jagunços laying ambushes at every available place. Finally strong reinforcements were sent forward, the minister of war himself

[1897-1901 A.D.]

proceeding to take command of the army, now numbering nearly thirteen thousand men. Canudos was besieged and captured in September, 1897, Conselheiro being killed in the final assault. The expense of these expeditions was very heavy, and prevented President Moraes from carrying out many of the retrenchments he had planned.

RECENT HISTORY

Soon after the Canudos affair a conspiracy was hatched to assassinate the president. He was watching the disembarkation of some troops when a shot was fired which narrowly missed him and killed General Bitencourt, the minister of war. The actual perpetrator of the deed, a soldier, was tried and executed, but he was apparently ignorant of the persons who procured his services. Three other men implicated in the conspiracy were subsequently sentenced to imprisonment for a term of thirty years. The remainder of the presidency of Doctor Moraes was uneventful; and on November 15th, 1898, he was succeeded by Doctor Campos Salles, who had previously been governor of the state of São Paulo. President Salles publicly promised political reform, economy in the administration, and absolute respect for civil rights, and speedily made efforts to fulfil these pledges.

Brazil lacks to-day the first principles of republican government. The people have no real voice in the election of congress or president. Political representation is governed by groups forming miniature oligarchies in the different states, and these autocratically determine how the elections shall result. Only a small proportion of the population entitled to vote can be induced to attend the ballot, those who do so only coming forward because of influence brought to bear upon them, and not of their own free will; the great mass of the population is not at present capable of understanding the meaning of political freedom, and of the responsibility which such a state of affairs entails upon the inhabitants of any country where universal suffrage is granted.^f

GERMANS IN BRAZIL

In late years the question of the German colonisation of Brazil has been much discussed. The American press has talked of the "German danger," and of the advisability of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine against Germany's imperialistic schemes. It will be interesting in this connection to notice a Brazilian view of the matter as quoted by H. Schüller^h from the *Jornal de Comercio* of December 5th, 1901:

"We have been told that Germany is like an over-full bee-hive which must find room every year for its swarms of bees; for all of them there are in all the world no more suitable, richer, or more healthful regions, with room enough for all, than with us, on the condition that the settlers spread themselves over all the states of the union, and do not gather together in one zone, forming a state within a state, and preventing a quick fusion of the two races, which can take place without the Germans forgetting their old home. They should take part in the national unity, they should help to found a new race, strong through its intelligence and its labour; they should, in a not too distant future, help to produce a people full of energy and love of progress, like the North American nation which was largely founded by Germans.

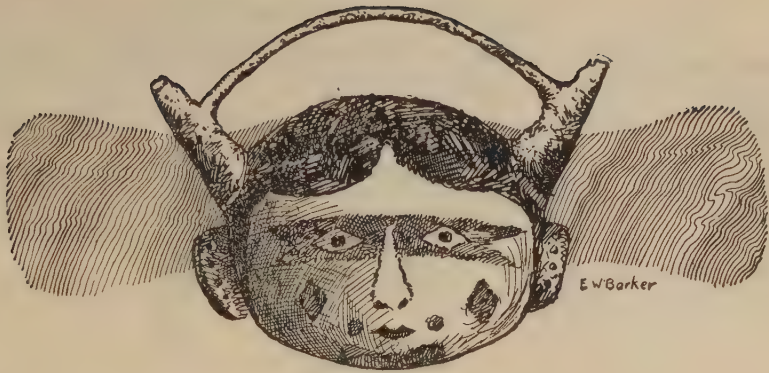
"But in order to attain this end it is indispensable that the German gov-

ernment repeal the law which allows the emigration of its sons only to the three southern states. As long as this law stands we have a right to doubt the sincerity of the German government, and the North American press will continue with justice to accuse Germany of imperialistic purposes and we, standing continually under the influence of these warnings, shall take our precautions."

There are 140,000 Germans settled in Brazil; Alfred Funkeⁱ in his preface to *Aus Deutsch-Brasilien* says of the interest taken by Germany in these settlements: "The interest in our German colonists in southern Brazil has very much increased since the abolishing of the rescript of the Heydt. It is not possible to claim a like increase of the literature concerning German Brazil, as the zone of settlement in the southern states of Brazil may justly be called." Schüler says of the country: "Brazil is an eminently important land for German commerce and for German navigation; it offers, especially in its southern states, a field of settlement which deserves the greatest consideration for the superfluous German population, and the rich mines, the building of railroads, etc., provide fruitful fields for the investment of German capital."

In 1902 Campos Salles was succeeded in the president's office by Doctor Rodrigues Alves, and he in turn, in 1906, by Doctor A. M. Penna, the vice-president. Later in the year revolts broke out in the states of Matto Grasso and Sergipe, but were soon put down. A third Pan-American Conference was held at Rio Janeiro in the summer of 1907. In May, 1907, the imperial pretender endeavoured to visit Brazil, but was not allowed to land.^a





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[The letter ^a is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

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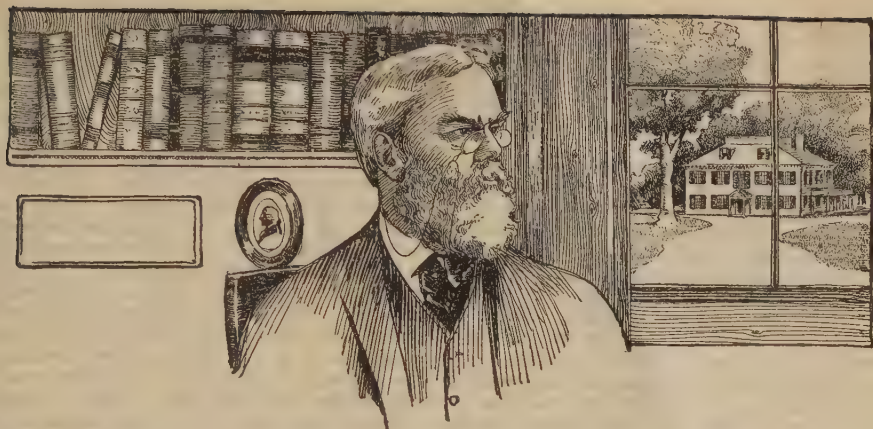
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Henry Adams was born at Boston, February 16th, 1838, educated at Harvard, in which university he became professor of history in 1870. His professorial duties interfering with his desire for independent research, he removed to Washington about 1880, where he made special study in the national archives of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The fruit of this labour appeared in his *History of the United States from 1801 to 1817*, one of the foremost historical works of the country.

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George Bancroft, American diplomat and historian, was born at Worcester, Mass., October 3rd, 1800, and was educated at Harvard, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. He was a pupil of Heeren, becoming imbued with the new ideas of that great teacher. During an extended tour of Europe he became the friend of many of its most distinguished scholars. Upon his return in 1832 he was for a time a tutor at Harvard, but soon became engrossed in his *History of the United States*, which was based exclusively on the sources. The first volume appeared in 1834 and the tenth in 1874. Two volumes were added in 1882 which covered the period of the formation of the government. This great work, whose preparation occupied the major portion of Bancroft's active life, did not interfere with an honourable political and diplomatic career. He was secretary of the Navy under Polk, and organised the Naval Academy at Annapolis besides greatly increasing the effectiveness of the Washington Naval Observatory. The prompt seizure of California at the outbreak of the Mexican War was due to his foresight. From 1846 to 1849 he was minister to England, and from 1867 to 1874 represented the United States at Berlin. He received numerous literary honours at home and abroad, and passed his last years in well-earned ease at Washington, where he died January 17th, 1891. As a historian Bancroft possessed incontestable ability. His style is at times turgid and rhetorical, but normally is full of dignity, even of nobility. He was full of enthusiasm for his subject, and thoroughly imbued with the democratic spirit necessary for the proper portrayal of American history. He was indefatigable in research, just and accurate in judgment, and his work will always hold high rank in the historic literature of the United States.

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Hubert Howe Bancroft was born at Granville, Ohio, May 5th, 1832. He is not related to George Bancroft. He entered the book business at Buffalo, and in 1852 was sent to California to establish a branch office for his firm. He soon became interested in the early history of the Pacific Coast, and began the collection of ancient documents. Having gained a fortune, he has since 1868 devoted himself to the compilation and publication of these records, employing a large force of assistants to classify and arrange his vast collection of forty-five thousand volumes. With the aid of his collaborators he has issued a series of works covering the history of the Pacific States as well as that of the native races of that region. These works are valuable as preserving in compact form the records of an interesting period and throwing much light upon the dim past of North America.

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John Romeyn Brodhead (1814-1873) was born in Pennsylvania, but removed to New York at an early age and devoted his life to the study of the early history of that state. While connected with the legation at the Hague he made most searching investigation of the Dutch archives, and collected copies of more than five thousand documents relating to New Amsterdam, which were arranged and published at the expense of the state. His *History of the State of New York* is the authority for the period covered (1609-1691).

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John William Burgess, (1844), born at Cornersville, Tenn., and educated at Amherst, Göttingen, and Leipsic, has been for many years connected with Columbia College as lecturer and professor of constitutional and international law. His writings upon the constitutional history of the United States are of much value.

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George Chalmers, Scottish antiquarian and historian, was born at Fochabers, Elginshire, in 1742. After completing his law studies at Edinburgh, he went to America in 1763 and practised in Baltimore until the Revolution. Not favouring the cause of the colonies he returned to England, and in 1786 became chief clerk of the Board of Trade, a position which he retained until his death, May 31st, 1825. During his residence in Maryland he was diligent in the collection of historical documents and records, and after his return to England his studies were continued in the English archives, leading to the pub-

lication of his *Political Annals* in 1780. This work was prepared with care, and is in the main accurate though tinged with his strong royalist sentiments. The portion relating to Maryland has been of especial value to later historians. Chalmers' reputation is mainly based upon his *Caledonia*, which is a work of vast erudition and research.

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Edward Channing was born at Dorchester, Mass., June 15th, 1856. Soon after his graduation from Harvard University he became instructor in history in that institution, and in 1897 was appointed professor. He has published valuable text-books besides two important works on American history. He contributed scholarly articles to Winsor's *History of America*, and with A. B. Hart prepared the *Guide to the Study of American History*.

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Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix was born in St. Quentin, France, October 29th, 1682, became a member of the Jesuit order in 1698, and from 1705 to 1709 taught in the college at Quebec. Returning to France he was employed in teaching until 1720, when he was again sent to America to explore the Mississippi valley, and, if possible, discover the "Western Ocean." His travels extended through the great lakes and down the Mississippi to its mouth. Upon his return to France he was employed in various missions for his order and in the preparation of the journals of his travels. His *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* contains much valuable material, and has been of great service to later writers. Charlevoix died at La Flèche, February 1st, 1761.

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Claude Joseph Désiré Charnay (1828), French traveller and antiquarian, has made notable researches in the ancient cities of Mexico and Yucatan.

Clarendon, Lord, *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, Oxford, 1702, 3 vols., 1888, 6 vols. — **Clark**, J. H. V., *Onondaga*, Syracuse, 1849. — **Classon**, A. W., *Seven Conventions*, New York, 1888. — **Clay**, H., *Works*, New York, 1855, 6 vols. — **Clemente**, C., *Tablas cronologicas*, Valencia, 1689. — **Clinton**, De Witt, *Life and Writings*, New York, 1849. — **Codex Flatoyensis**, Christiania, 1860, edited by Vigfusson and Unger, Christiania, 1868. — **Colden**, C., *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, London, 1747. — **Collins**, L., *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, Cincinnati, 1847. — **Colon**, Fernando (Ferdinand Columbus), *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo*, nelle quali s' ha particolare e vera relatione della vita e de' fatti dell' ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suo padre, Venice, 1571.

Fernando Colon (Ferdinand Columbus), a natural son of Christopher Columbus, was born at Cordova, Spain, August 15th, 1488. He accompanied his father on his last voyage, and in 1509 went to Hispaniola with his brother Diego. After his return to Spain he became a writer upon geography and navigation, and travelled extensively in Europe, visiting England in 1522. He was active in political life, and held important official positions. In the course of his career as a cosmographer he accumulated a large library, which he left to the cathedral chapter of Seville, where he died July 12th, 1539. Colon's reputation is largely based upon a life of his father, which now exists only in an Italian version and has formed the foundation of all subsequent biographies. The question of its authorship has been warmly discussed and is still undetermined.

Colton, C., *The Life and Times of Henry Clay*, New York, 1846, 2 vols.; *The Last Seven Years of the Life of Henry Clay*, New York, 1856. — **Comte de Paris** (Louis Philippe d'Orléans), *Histoire de la guerre civile en Amérique*, Paris, 1874-1875, 2 vols., translation by L. F. Tasistro, *History of the Civil War in America*, Philadelphia, 1875-1876, 2 vols., 1876-1888, 4 vols.

Louis Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris (1838-1894), became interested in the Civil War and offered his services to the Federal government, serving on the staff of General McClellan during his campaigns in Virginia. His history is an able résumé from the military standpoint, and is interesting to the general reader.

Conway, M. D., *Omitted Chapters of History Discovered in the Life of Edmund Randolph*, New York, 1887. — **Cooke**, J. E., *Virginia, a History of the People* (American Commonwealth Series), New York, 1883. — **Cooper**, J. F., *History of the United States Navy*, New York, 1839, continued to 1860, New York, 1861. — **Cooper**, T. V., and H. T. **Fenton**, *American Politics from the Beginning to Date*, Philadelphia, 1882. — **Coronado**, F. V. de, *Relacion del Don Mendoca*, in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. III., London, 1850, translation by

Winship, "The Colorado Expedition," in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1896. — **Cotton**, J., Controversy with Roger Williams, in Publications of the Narragansett Club, Providence. — **Cox**, S. S., Three Decades of Federal Legislation, Providence, 1885. — **Crawford**, W., and **G. Washington**, Correspondence Concerning Western Lands, 1767-1781, Cincinnati, 1877. — **Cronau**, R., Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung von der ältesten bis auf die neuesten zeit, Leipsic, 1892, 2 vols. — **Cullum**, G. W., Campaigns of the War of 1812-1815, New York, 1879. — **Curtis**, G. T., History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, New York, 1854, 2 vols.; Life of Daniel Webster, New York, 1869, 2 vols.; Life of James Buchanan, New York, 1883; Constitutional History of the United States from the Declaration of Independence to the Close of the Civil War, New York, 1889-1896, 2 vols.

George Ticknor Curtis (1812-1894), American jurist and constitutional historian, noted for his authoritative works upon the origin and development of American institutions and his valuable biographies of Buchanan and Webster.

Cusick, D., Ancient History of the Six Nations, 1825, reprinted in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Philadelphia, 1851-1857, 6 vols.

Davis, J., The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, New York, 1881, 2 vols. [A full and able presentation of the Southern view of that important epoch of United States history.] — **Davis**, W. H. H., El Gringo, or New Mexico and Her People, Doylestown, Pa., 1856; The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, Doylestown, 1869. — **Dawes**, A. L., Charles Sumner, New York, 1895. — **Dawson**, H. B., Battles of the United States by Sea and Land; Embracing those of the Revolutionary and Indian Wars, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War, New York, 1858, 2 vols. — **Dawson**, T. C., South American Republics, London and New York, 1903, 2 vols. — **Deberle**, A., Histoire de l'Amérique de Sud depuis la Conquête jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1876. — **Decosta**, B. F., Verrazano the Explorer, New York, 1881. — **De Guignes**, Recherches sur le navigation des Chinois du côté de l'Amérique et sur quelques peuples situés à l'extrémité orientale de l'Asie, Paris, 1761, translated in E. P. Vining's An Inglorious Columbus, New York, 1885. — **De Vries**, D. P., Korte Historial ende Journaels Aentveckeninge van verscheyden Voyagien in der vier Teelen des Wereldts Ronde, Alkmaar, 1655. — **Dexter**, H. M., Roger Williams and His Banishment from the Massachusetts Colony, Boston, 1876; article on "Plymouth Rock" in the Congregationalist, November 9th, 1881. — **Doniol**, J. H. A., Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique, Paris, 1886-1900, 5 vols. — **Doyle**, J. A., The American Colonies Previous to the Declaration of Independence, London, 1869; A History of the United States, London, 1875; The English in America, London, 1882-1887, 3 vols.

John Andrew Doyle, an English historian of the United States, was born May 14th, 1844. During his course at Oxford he became interested in the early history of America and won the Arnold prize by his essay on *The American Colonies*, which aroused great interest as an English defence of the Revolution. He has since published several works upon colonial history which display great accuracy and assiduity in research.

Drake, S. A., A Book of New England Legends and Folklore in Prose and Poetry, Boston, 1888. — **Drake**, S. G., Biography and History of the Indians of North America, Boston, 1832-1833, 2 vols. — **Draper**, J. W., History of the American Civil War, New York, 1867-1870, 3 vols.

John William Draper, who was born at St. Helens, Lancashire, May 5th, 1811, was educated at London University, and in 1831 removed to the United States. After taking his degree as doctor of medicine at Philadelphia in 1836, he passed most of his life as an instructor, and was one of the founders of the New York University Medical School. Dr. Draper was distinguished for his researches in photochemistry, and for the many improvements which he suggested in photography. He was a voluminous writer on scientific subjects, but his reputation as an author will rest most securely on his philosophical histories. *The History of the Civil War*, while accurate in its record of events, is more notable for its discussion of the causes which rendered the war inevitable. Dr. Draper died at Hastings, N. Y., January 4th, 1882.

Duyckinck, G. L., and A. E., A Cyclopædia of American Literature, New York, 1855, 2 vols.

Ebeling, C. D., Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika, Hamburg, 1796-1816, 7 vols. — **Eden**, R., The Decades of the Newe Worlde, London, 1576.

Richard Eden (ca. 1577) was the first Englishman to collect and publish the narratives of the voyages following the discovery of America. His works are largely translations, and by some he has been considered superior to Hakluyt.

Edwards, W., History of Illinois from 1798-1833, Springfield, Ill. 1870. — **Eggleston**, E., A Household History of the United States, New York, 1888; The Beginners of a Nation, New York, 1896; The Transit of Civilisation, New York, 1900.

Edward Eggleston was born at Vevay, Indiana, December 10th, 1837. He was largely self-educated, and began life as a Methodist circuit-rider. In 1866 he engaged in editorial

work in Chicago, but removed to New York in 1870, becoming connected with the *Independent* as literary editor. After a short pastorate in Brooklyn he retired to private life in 1879. His first writings were novels, in which he used with great success the materials afforded by his early life in the middle west. He afterwards wrote a number of biographies of prominent Indian chiefs, and became so interested in historical research that he prepared to devote his life to a history of the American people. The last two works mentioned above were published as parts of this scheme, but he died before carrying it further.

Egle, W. H., *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1882. — **Eliot, S.**, *Manual of United States History from 1492 to 1850*, Boston, 1856, 2 vols. [A work whose brevity has not robbed it of importance. It is based on the sources and aims to express the great principles rather than to detail the minute events. In this it succeeds admirably.] — **Eliot, J.**, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, Philadelphia, 1861, 5 vols. — **Elliott, C. W.**, *The New England History 986-1776*, New York, 1857, 2 vols. — **Ellis, G. E.**, *The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of Massachusetts and their Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients*, Boston, 1869; *The Red Man and the White Man*, Boston, 1882; articles in *J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1881-1889, 8 vols.

George Edward Ellis, (1814-1894), clergyman, editor and historian, has made valuable contributions to the early history of Massachusetts, and has published excellent memoirs of Anne Hutchinson, William Penn, Jared Sparks and John Mason.

Elson, H. W., *Side Lights on American History*, New York, 1899-1900, 2 vols.; *History of the United States of America*, New York and London, 1904. — **Enault, L.**, *L'Amérique centrale et méridionale*, Paris, 1866. — **Everett, E.**, *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions*, Boston, 1850-1892, 4 vols.

Fergus, H., *The United States*, in *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*, London, 1830, 2 vols. — **Fisher, G. P.**, *The Colonial Era*, New York, 1892. — **Fiske, J.**, *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789*, Boston, 1888; *The Beginnings of New England*, Boston, 1889; *Civil Government of the United States*, Boston, 1890; *The American Revolution*, Boston, 1891, 2 vols.; *The Discovery of America*, Boston, 1892, 2 vols.; *Old Virginia and Her Neighbours*, Boston, 1897, 2 vols.; *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America*, Boston, 1899, 2 vols.

John Fiske was born at Hartford, Conn., March 20th, 1842, and was educated at Harvard. He studied law, but never engaged in its practice, as his literary and philosophical bent was too strongly defined. At the age of nineteen he published in the *International Review* a criticism of Buckle which aroused much interest, and in 1869 he became lecturer on philosophy at Harvard. His reputation became international, and he delivered lectures on American history at Cambridge and before the Royal Society. In 1885 he began a series of investigations into American history which were continued for fifteen years, and resulted in the publication of a number of volumes constituting, as a whole, a connected history from the period of discovery to the federal union. These works are among the most important contributions to the subject that have been written, and display marked ability for clear and entertaining narrative. Mr. Fiske accomplished an immense amount of literary labour, achieving an enviable reputation, but died in the full noon of his career and at the highest development of his powers, July 4th, 1901.

Flanders, H., *Lives and Times of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court*, New York, 1855-1858, 2 vols., last edition, 1881. — **Force, P.**, *Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to 1776*, Washington, 1836-1847, 4 vols.; *American Archives*, Washington, 1847-1853, 9 vols.

Peter Force (1790-1868), editor and historian, distinguished for his unique collection of documents and records which now forms part of the library of Congress.

Ford, P. L., *Pamphlets on the Constitution*, Brooklyn, 1888; *Franklin Bibliography*, Brooklyn, 1889; *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, New York, 1892-1899, 10 vols. — **Ford, T.**, *A History of Illinois from its Commencement as a State 1818-1847*, Chicago, 1854. — **Foster, J. W.**, *Prehistoric Races of the United States*, Chicago, 1873. — **Franklin, B.**, *Works*, Boston, Philadelphia, and London, 1836-1840, 10 vols. — **French, B. F.**, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, New York and Philadelphia, 1846-1853, 5 vols.; *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, New York, 1869-1875, 2 vols. — **Frost, J.**, *Pictorial History of the United States*, Boston, 1844, 2 vols.; *The Presidents of the United States*, Boston, 1889.

John Frost, who was born at Kennebunk, Maine, January 26th, 1800, was educated at Harvard, and taught for many years in Boston and Philadelphia. He compiled many historical and biographical works which attained large circulation and popularity. He died at Philadelphia, December 28th, 1859.

Frothingham, R., *The Rise of the Republic of the United States*, Boston, 1872.

Richard Frothingham (1812-1880), editor and proprietor of the *Boston Post* for many years, was prominent in public life, and made some valuable contributions to American history.

Fuller, T., *The Worthies of England*, London, 1661. — **Funke**, A., *Aus Deutsch-Bra-silien*, Leipsic, 1902.

Gales, J., and **W. W. Seaton**, *Register of Debates in Congress*, Washington, 1827-1837, 29 vols.; *Annals of Congress* 1798-1824, Washington, 1834-1856, 42 vols. — **Gallatin**, A., *Writings*, edited by H. Adams, Philadelphia, 1879, 3 vols. — **Garland**, H. H., *The Life of John Randolph, of Roanoke*, New York, 1860, 2 vols. — **Gay**, S. H., *James Madison*, Boston, 1884; article on "Plymouth Rock" in *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XLVIII. — **Gay**, S. H., and **W. C. Bryant**, *A Popular History of the United States*, New York, 1876-1882, 4 vols. — **Gayarré**, C. E. A., *Louisiana, its Colonial History and Romance*, New York, 1851; *History of Louisiana*, New York, 1851-1854, 5 vols.; 1866, 4 vols. — **Getchell**, G. H., *Our Nation's Executives, and their Administrations*, New York, 1885. — **Gibson**, T. W., *Chart History of the Civil War, 1861-65*, Chicago, 1894. — **Gilman**, A., *History of the American People*, Boston, 1884; *The Discovery and Exploration of America*, Boston, 1887. — **Gilman**, D. C., *James Monroe*, Boston, 1883. — **Goodell**, W., *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, New York, 1855. — **Goodrich**, S. G., *Pictorial History of America*, Philadelphia, 1877. — **Gordon**, W., *The History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*, London, 1788, 4 vols. — **Gordy**, W. F., and **W. I. Twitchell**, *A Pathfinder in American History*, Boston, 1893. — **Gorges**, F. A., *Briefe Narration of the Original Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, Especially Showing the Beginning, Progress, and Continuance of that of New England, 1658*, in *Maine Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II., Portland, 1831, in progress. — **Gorges Society**, *Reprints*, Portland, 1884-1893, 5 vols. — **Grahame**, J., *The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of America*, London, 1836, 4 vols., Philadelphia, 1845, 4 vols.

James Graham was born at Glasgow, Scotland, in the year 1790. He was educated at Cambridge, and practised law for a time, but soon devoted himself entirely to the composition of his *History of the United States*, a work which aroused much attention and was pronounced by Prescott the best history before Bancroft's. He also wrote a bitter denunciation of American slavery, which was published just before his death at Glasgow in 1842.

Grant, U. S., *Memoirs*, New York, 1885, 2 vols. — **Gravier**, G., *Text explicatif pour accompagner la première planche historique relative à la Louisiane*, Paris, 1668. — **Greeley**, H., *The American Conflict*, Hartford, 1864-1867, 2 vols.

Horace Greeley (1811-1872) one of the most unique and forceful characters of the last century. A man of intense feeling, strong and vivid expression, who as editor of the *New York Tribune* was a power in the nation for many years. He was nominated for the presidency.

Greene, G. W., *Historical View of the American Revolution*, New York, 1865; *Life of Nathaniel Greene*, New York, 1867-1871, 3 vols. — **Greg**, P., *History of the United States from the Founding of Virginia*, London, 1886, 2 vols.

Hakluyt, R., *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc., London, 1589, 1599-1600, 3 vols., 1809-1812, Hakluyt Society Reprint, London, 1851, edited by E. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1885-1890, 16 vols.

Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552-1610). An English compiler of the voyages and discoveries of the sixteenth century, and one of the principal authorities for that adventurous period.

Hale, E. E., *Hawkins and Drake, and The Naval History of the American Revolution*, in *J. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1881-1889, 8 vols.

Edward Everett Hale (1822), for many years prominent as clergyman and author; a voluminous writer upon social and historical topics, whose influence has been widespread and always for good.

Haliburton, R. G., *The Past and the Future of Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 1862. — **Hamilton**, J. C., *Memoirs of the Life of Alexander Hamilton*, Philadelphia, 1834-1840, 2 vols.; *History of the Republic of the United States as Traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and His Contemporaries*, Philadelphia, 1850-1858, 8 vols. — **Hammond**, J. D., *The History of the Political Parties in the State of New York*, Buffalo, 1850, 2 vols. — **Hamor**, R., *A True Discourse on the Present Estate of Virginia*, etc., London, 1615, reprint Albany, 1860. — **Hannay**, J., *History of Acadia*, St. John, N. B., 1879. — **Harriot**, T., *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, London, 1588, reprinted in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (q.v.). — **Harrison**, W. H., *Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio*, Cincinnati, 1838. — **Harris**, H., *Bibliotheca Americana vetustissima*, New York, 1866; *Christophe Colombe, son origine, sa vie, ses voyages*, etc., Paris, 1884-1885, 2 vols.; *Excerpta Colum-biana*, Paris, 1887; *Découverte de l'Amérique du Nord*, Paris, 1892.

Henry Harris, a French bibliographer and historian, was born at Paris in 1830. He came to the United States in early life, and for some years practised law in the United States. His interest in the history of American discovery caused him to make it his life work, and he has explored the archives of Europe for material which has been used in the

preparation of many important works. Harris is an ardent controversialist, and has attacked many long-accepted views of Columbus' life and deeds with vigour and at least partial success. His biography of Columbus is, perhaps, the best yet published, and he has written entertaining and authoritative biographies of other early discoverers, besides compiling the most extensive bibliography of Columbian literature extant.

Hart, A. B., *Epoch Maps, Illustrating American History*, Boston, 1891; *The Formation of the Union 1750-1829*, in *Epoch Series*, New York and London, 1892; *American History Told by Contemporaries*, New York, 1898-1901, 4 vols.

Albert Bushnell Hart was born at Clarksville, Pa., July 1st, 1854. After his graduation from Harvard in 1880 he continued historical study in Paris, Berlin, and Freiburg. Since 1883 he has been connected with Harvard University as instructor, assistant and full professor of history, and his influence in the promotion of scientific study has been widespread. His writings have been wholly confined to American history, and are invaluable guides to original sources of information. He is an editor of the *American Historical Review* and a frequent contributor to magazines and reviews.

Hart, A. B., and **E. Channing**, *Guide to the Study of American History*, Boston, 1897. — **Hassard**, J. R. G., *History of the United States*, eighth edition, New York, 1887. — **Hawkes**, F. L., *History of North Carolina*, Fayetteville, 1857-1858, 2 vols. — **Hay**, J., and **J. G. Nicolay**, *Life of A. Lincoln*, New York, 1890, 10 vols.; *Complete Works of A. Lincoln*, New York, 1894. — **Haynes**, H. W., *What is the True Site of the Seven Cities of Cibola?* in *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, 1881. — **Hazard**, E., *Historical Collections; Consisting of State Papers and Other Documents*, Philadelphia, 1792-1794, 2 vols. — **Heckenwelder**, J. G. E., *Account of the History, etc., of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania, and the Neighbouring States*, Philadelphia, 1819, reprinted as Vol. XII of the *Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society*, Philadelphia, 1876. — **Helps**, A., *The Spanish Conquest in America*, London, 1856-1861, 4 vols. — **Hellwald**, F. A. II. von, *Maximilian I. Kaiser von Mexico*, Vienna, 1869, 2 vols. — **Henderson**, J., *A History of Brazil*, London, 1821. — **Hening**, W. W., *The Statutes-at-Large, Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia (1619-1723)*, Philadelphia and New York, 1809-1823, 13 vols. — **Hennepin**, Father L., *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1683, English translation, *A Description of Louisiana*, New York, 1880; *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays située dans l'Amérique*, Paris, 1697. — **Herndon**, W. H., and **J. W. Weik**, *History and Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, Chicago, 1889, 3 vols. — **Hewath**, A., *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, London, 1779. — **Hewes**, F. W., and **H. Gannett**, *Scribner's Statistical Atlas of the United States*, New York, 1883. — **Higginson**, T. W., *A Larger History of the United States to the Close of Jackson's Administration*, New York, 1885. — **Hildreth**, R., *History of the United States from the Discovery of America*, New York, 1849-1856, 6 vols.

Richard Hildreth, who was born at Deerfield, Mass., June 28th, 1807, was educated at Harvard and began the practice of law, but in 1832 became editor of the *Boston Atlas*. He did much to mould public sentiment in opposition to slavery and to the annexation of Texas, besides publishing several works on social, financial, and political topics, but is best known for his *History of the United States*. This work was projected while he was a student, and occupied his attention for many years. His aim was to present the founders of the republic in their true characters. He was in his later life on the editorial staff of the *New York Tribune*, and while acting as consul at Trieste died at Florence, Italy, July 11th, 1865.

Hock, C. F. von, *Die Finanzen und die Finanzgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1867. — **Holmes**, A., *The Annals of America from the Discovery of Columbus*, 1492-1826, Cambridge, 1829, 2 vols.

Abiel Holmes, an American clergyman and annalist, was born at Woodstock, Conn., December 24th, 1763. He was educated at Yale, entered the ministry, and after a short pastorate in Georgia removed to Cambridge, Mass., where he remained for forty years. He made diligent and accurate study of the early records of America, and his *Annals* constitute a mine of valuable information. The work was republished in England in 1813. His contributions to the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society were very numerous. He died at Cambridge, June 4th, 1837.

Holst, H. E. von, *Verfassung und Demokratie die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Düsseldorf and Berlin, 1873-1891, 5 vols., English translation, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Chicago, 1876-1892, 5 vols.

Hermann Eduard von Holst was born at Fillin in Livonia, June 19th, 1841. He was educated at Dorpat and Heidelberg, and became a tutor in St. Petersburg, but was banished from Russia in 1867 and emigrated to America. In 1872 he returned to Germany, was professor of history at Strasburg for two years, and afterwards at the University of Freiburg for eight years. In 1892 he became the head of the department of history in Chicago University, retaining the position until 1900, when ill health compelled his return to Germany. Von Holst's writings are wholly upon American subjects, and his *Constitutional History* furnishes an able presentation of the federalist and anti-slavery view of

American history. He is accused of anti-Americanism in his attitude, and his criticism of motives is ruthless, but he is admittedly accurate and learned to an unusual degree. He has also published interesting biographies of John C. Calhoun and John Brown.

Hopp, E. O., *Brüderstaat und Bruderkriege in Nord Amerika*, Berlin, 1886. — **Howard**, G. E., *Local Constitutional History of the United States*, Baltimore, 1889, 2 vols. — **Howitt**, M., *Popular History of the United States*, London, 1859. — **Howorth**, H. H., *The Mammoth and the Flood*, London, 1887. — **Hubbard**, W., *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*, Boston, 1667, revised edition by S. G. Drake, Boston, 1865. — **Humphreys**, A. A., *The Virginia Campaigns of 1864 and 1865*, New York, 1883. — **Hunter**, J., *Collections Concerning the Founders of New Plymouth*, London, 1849, reprinted in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, vol. XXIII, Boston, 1852. — **Hutchinson**, P. O., *The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thos. Hutchinson*, Boston, 1884. — **Hutchinson**, T., *The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1774*, vols. I and II, London, 1764-1767, vol. III, London, 1828.

Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780), the last royal governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay. His history is of great value, calm and judicious in tone, but wholly lacking in style.

Ingersoll, C. J., *Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America and Great Britain 1812-1815*, Philadelphia, 1845-1852, 4 vols. — **Ingle**, E., *Local Institutions of Virginia*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Baltimore, 1885. — **Irving**, W., *History of New York* by Diedrich Knickerbocker, New York, 1809; *History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, New York, 1828, 4 vols.; *Life of George Washington*, New York, 1856-1860, 5 vols.

Washington Irving was born in New York City, April 3rd, 1783. His literary career began at an early age, the *Knickerbocker History*, being published in 1809. This satirical production, a fitting vehicle for Irving's quiet humour, brought him deserved reputation and determined his career. A residence of several years in England furnished material for some of his most finished sketches, and introduced him to the most intellectual society of the kingdom. His *Sketch Book* appeared in 1819, and greatly enhanced his reputation. From 1826 to 1829 he resided in Spain, where he collected material for his life of Columbus and other works connected with Spanish history. From 1843 to 1846 he resided in Madrid as United States minister. The rest of his life was passed in the quiet seclusion of his beautiful country-seat at Irvington on the Hudson, and was filled with biographical and historical labour. The *Life of Washington* was completed just before his death on November 28th, 1859. As an historical biographer he did not attempt philosophic investigation, but confined himself to depicting the picturesque features of the age.

Jay, J., *Correspondence and Public Papers*, New York, 1890-1893, 4 vols. — **Jay**, W., *Life of John Jay*, New York, 1833, 2 vols.; *A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War*, Boston, 1849. — **Jefferson**, Thomas, *Works*, Washington, 1853-1855, 9 vols.; edited by P. L. Ford, New York, 1892-1899, 10 vols. — **Jogues**, I., *Novum Belgium*, edited by J. G. Shea, New York, 1862. — **Johnson**, E., *History of New England*, etc., London, 1654. — **Johnson**, O., *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, Boston, 1880. — **Johnson**, R., *History of the War of 1812-1815 Between United States and Great Britain*, New York, 1882; *History of the War of Secession*, New York, 1887. — **Johnson**, R. U., and C. C. **Buel**, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, New York, 1887-1888, 4 vols. — **Johnston**, A., *History of American Politics*, New York, 1879; *Representative American Orations to Illustrate American Political History, 1775-1881*, New York, 1884, 3 vols.; *History of Connecticut*, New York, 1887.

Alexander Johnston was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 29th, 1849. He was educated at Rutgers College, and from 1883 until his death, July 21st, 1889, he was professor of political economy at Princeton. His works upon the political history of the United States are of value, and are distinguished for clearness and careful research.

Johnston, J. E., *Narrative of Military Operations During the Late War*, New York, 1874. — **Jones**, C. C., *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, New York, 1877; *History of Georgia*, Augusta, 1883; *Siege and Evacuation of Savannah*, Augusta, 1890. — **Jones**, T., *History of New York During the Revolutionary War*, edited by F. Delancey, New York, 1879, 2 vols. — **Joutel**, H., *Journal historique du dernier voyage que feu M. de la Salle fit dans le Golfe du Mexique pour trouver l'embouchure du Mississippi*, Paris, 1713, English translation, Paris, 1714, reprinted in *French's Historical Collections of Louisiana* (q.v.).

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Friedrich Kapp (1824-1884), German-American publicist and historian, a native of

Westphalia, but for more than twenty years a resident of the United States, a strong opponent of slavery and one of the founders of the Republican party.

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Edouard René Lefebvre de Laboulaye (1811-1883), French jurist and publicist, devoted much attention to American institutions and history, and was greatly instrumental in breaking down Napoleonic power in France.

Lactantius Firmianus, Divinarum institutionum libri septem, edited by Dufresnoy, Paris, 1748, 2 vols. — **Ladd**, H. O., History of the War with Mexico, New York, 1883. — **La Hontan**, Baron, Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale, Le Haye, 1703, 2 vols., English edition, New Voyages to North America, London, 1703, 2 vols. — **Lalor**, J. J., Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy and Political History of the United States, Chicago, 1881-1884, 3 vols. — **Lamb**, M. J., History of the City of New York, New York, 1877, 2 vols. — **Lamphere**, G. N., The United States Government, Its Organisation and Practical Workings, Philadelphia, 1880. — **Landon**, J. S., The Constitutional History and Government of the United States, Boston, 1889.

Judson Stuart Landon was born in Connecticut in 1832, studied law and practised in Schenectady, N. Y., until his election to the supreme court in 1887. He has been for many years a lecturer on constitutional law at the Albany law school.

Lane, R., Letters and Narrative, in Hakluyt's Voyages (q.v.), also in Archæologia Americana, vol. IV., 1860. — **Langman**, C., Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, 1776-1886, Washington, 1886. — **Langman**, J. H., History of Michigan, Civil and Topographical, New York, 1839. — **Las Casas**, B. de, Brevissima relacion de la destruccion de los Indios, Seville, 1552-1553, English translation by J. Phillips, The Tears of the Indians, London, 1656; Historia de las Indias, Madrid, 1875-1876, 5 vols. [For his biography see our chapter on "The First Colonies" in vol. XXII.] — **Laudonnière**, R., L'histoire notable de la Floride, in Hakluyt's Notable History, London, 1587, reprinted in French's Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, New York, 1869-1875, 2 vols. — **Leboucher**, O. J., Histoire de la guerre de l'indépendance, Paris, 1787, 1830. — **Lecky**, W. E. H., History of England in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1878-1890, 8 vols. (vols. III and IV). — **Le Clercq**, C., Etablissement de la foi, Paris, 1691, 2 vols., English translation by J. G. Shea, Establishment of the Faith, New York, 1881, 2 vols. — **Le Jeune**, P., Relations des Jésuites en la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1634-1640, 7 vols. — **Leland**, C. G., Fu Sang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century, Philadelphia, 1875. — **Lemoyne de Morgues**, J., Brevis narratio, in T. De Bry's Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam, Orientalem et Occidentalem, Frankfurt, 1590-1634, 39 vols., English translation by F. B. Perkins, Narrative of Lemoyne, Boston, 1875. — **Lester**, E. E., History of the United States, New York, 1883. — **Lieber**, F., Life and Letters, Boston, 1882. — **Lincoln**, A., Life of, by J. G. Holland, Springfield, Mass., 1865; by W. Lamon, Boston, 1872; by C. G. Leland, New York, 1879; by W. H. Herndon and J. G. Weik, Chicago, 1889, 3 vols.; by J. G. Nicolay and J. Hay, New York, 1890, 10 vols.; by I. M. Tarnell, New York, 1900; Reminiscences of, by Distinguished Men of His Time, New York, 1885; Complete Works, New York, 1894; Political Debates Between A. Lincoln and S. A. Douglas in 1858, Cleveland, 1894; Political Speeches, New York, 1895. — **Livermore**, A. A., The War with Mexico Reviewed, Boston, 1850. — **Lodge**, H. C., Life and Letters of George Cabot, Boston, 1877; Short History of the English Colonies in America, New York, 1881; Alexander Hamilton, Boston, 1882; The Story of the American Revolution, Boston, 1898; The War with Spain, Boston, 1900.

Henry Cabot Lodge, American statesman and historian, was born in Boston, May 12th, 1850. He was educated at Harvard, and from 1873 to 1876 edited the *North American Review*. After three years as lecturer on history at Harvard he assumed, in 1879, the editorship of the *International Review*. In 1881 he entered political life, serving two terms in the Massachusetts legislature and five years in Congress. He succeeded Henry L. Dawes as senator in 1893, and was reelected in 1899. His public life has been marked by strong support of legislation for the protection of the franchise and the restriction of immigration. Senator Lodge has published several interesting and instructive works upon special periods of United States history, and valuable biographies of American statesmen.

Long, A. A., Memoir of Robert E. Lee, His Military and Personal History, London, 1886. — **Loskiel**, G. H., Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern von Nordamerika, 1789, English translation by La Trobe, Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians, London, 1794. — **Lossing**, B. J., Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, New York, 1850-1852, 2 vols.; Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War, New York, 1860-1869, 3 vols.; Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, New York, 1868; The Ameri-

can Centenary, Philadelphia, 1876; *Cyclopædia of United States History*, New York, 1881, 2 vols.; *History of New York City*, New York, 1884.

Benson John Lossing, who was born at Beekman, N. Y., February 12th, 1813, was by profession an engraver, and began his historical work by collecting materials for his profusely illustrated *Field Books*. The interest thus aroused was supplemented by much study and research for later works of a more purely historical character, which have attained wide circulation. He did much to popularise the study of American history, and ended his busy life June 3rd, 1891.

Lowell, E. J., *The Hessians and Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War*, New York, 1886. — **Lucas, F. W.**, *Appendiculæ Historiæ*, London, 1891. — **Ludlow, J. M.**, *War of American Independence 1775-1783* (Epochs of Modern History), London, 1876.

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John Bach McMaster was born at Brooklyn, N. Y., June 29th, 1852. He graduated from the College of the City of New York, studied civil engineering, and in 1877 became instructor in that subject at Princeton. In 1883 he was chosen professor of American history at the University of Pennsylvania. His *History of the People of the United States*, only recently completed, is already a standard work. It covers the period from 1783 to 1860, is written in lively, narrative form, displays great research, and is especially strong in its description of the formative period of the nation. He aims to picture the social life and development of the people rather than the constitutional and political history of the country, and tells the story of national evolution in a remarkably clear and simple style.

McPherson, E., *Political History of the United States During the Great Rebellion*, Washington, 1864, 1882; *Political History of the United States During the Period of Reconstruction 1865-1870*, Washington, 1871, 1880. — **McSherry, J.**, *History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1849, edited and continued by B. B. James, Baltimore, 1904. — **Madison, J.**, *Letters and Other Writings*, Philadelphia, 1865, 4 vols. — **Maguire, J. M.**, *The Campaign in Virginia*, London, 1891. — **Mahan, A. T.**, *Gulf and Inland Waters*, New York, 1883; *Life of Admiral Farragut*, New York, 1892; *The Interest of the United States in Sea Power*, New York, 1897; *Lessons of the Spanish War*, New York, 1899. — **Maine Historical Society**, *Collections*, Portland, 1831, in progress. — **Major, R. H.**, *Select Letters of Columbus*, London, 1847. — **Malte-Brun, C.**, and **J. B. B. Eyries**, *Annales des Voyages de la Géographie et de l'Histoire*, Paris, 1808. — **Marest, J. J.**, in *R. G. Thwaites's Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 vols. — **Margry, P.**, *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines française de pays d'outre mer*, Paris, 1879-1886, 6 vols. — **Marquette, J.**, *Recueil de voyages*, Paris, 1681, English translation in *J. G. Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, New York, 1852. — **Marshall, H.**, *The History of Kentucky*, Frankfort, Ky., 1824, 2 vols. — **Marshall, J.**, *The Life of George Washington*, London and Philadelphia, 1804-1807, 5 vols. — **Martyr, Peter de Anghiera**, *De rebus oceanicis et orbe novo* decades, Alcalá, 1530; *Opus epistolarum*, Alcalá, 1530. — **Massachusetts Historical Society**, Boston, 1791-1896, 30 vols.; *Collections*, Boston, 1792-1896, 60 vols. — **Mather, C.**, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*, Boston, 1689; *Wonders of the Invisible World*, Boston, 1693, reprinted in *Library of Old Authors*, Boston, 1862; *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702, Hartford, 1820, 1855, 2 vols.

Cotton Mather, who was born in Boston, February 12th, 1663, graduated from Harvard at the age of fifteen. At seventeen he preached his first sermon, and at twenty-five succeeded his father in the pastorate of the North Church of Boston. He at once became most influential in the colony, and was the conservative leader of his day. He was prominent in the witchcraft trials, and strongly upheld his theories upon the subject. In 1693 he began his ecclesiastical history, which was completed in 1702. His life was embittered by domestic trials as well as by the growth of more liberal opinions in the state, but he was always a strong force in the community. Against his activity in persecuting witches may be placed his advocacy of inoculation at a time when it was considered sacrilegious, and was opposed by mob violence. His writings are very numerous, and testify to his learning and extreme conservatism. He died February 13th, 1728.

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L. H., *The League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, 1854. — **Morse, J. T.**, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, Boston, 1876; *Life of John Quincy Adams*, Boston, 1883; *Life of John Adams*, Boston, 1884; *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, Boston, 1889; *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, Boston, 1893.

John Torrey Morse (1840), an American biographer, born at Boston, graduated at Harvard, and active in literary work since 1870. He has edited, and largely contributed to, the "American Statesmen" Series, besides making numerous contributions to magazines and reviews.

Morton, N., *New England's Memorial*, Cambridge, Mass., 1869. — **Mourt's Relation**, 1622, edited by H. M. Dexter, Boston, 1865. — **Mulford, I. S.**, *A Civil and Political History of New Jersey*, Philadelphia, 1851. — **Murphy, H. C.**, *The Voyage of Verrazano*, New York, 1875.

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Edward Duffield Neill (1823-1893), American educator, whose works are drawn entirely from original sources and contain much valuable matter.

Neumann, K. F., *Ost Asien und West Amerika nach Chinesischen Quellen*, in *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* (new series, vol. XVI.), Berlin, 1856-1865, 19 vols.; *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin, 1863-1866, 3 vols. — **New Jersey Historical Society**, *Collections*, New York, 1811-1890, 30 vols. — **Niles, H.**, *Weekly Register*, Baltimore and Washington, 1811-1849, 75 vols. — **Niles, J. M.**, *A History of the Revolution in Mexico and South America, with a View of Texas*, Hartford, 1829. — **Noite, F.**, *Histoire des États-Unis de l'Amérique depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1879, 2 vols. — **North Carolina**, *The Colonial Records of*, edited by W. L. Saunders, Raleigh, 1886-1890, 10 vols.

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Palfrey, J. G., *A Compendious History of New England from the Discovery by Europeans to the First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies*, Boston, 1873, 4 vols.; *History of New England from the Revolution of the Seventeenth Century to the Revolution of the Eighteenth Century*, edited by F. W. Palfrey, Boston, 1890.

John Gorham Palfrey (1796-1881), theologian and historian, distinguished for his opposition to slavery and for his researches in the colonial history of New England.

Paravey, C. H. de, *Nouvelles preuves que le pays de Fousang est l'Amérique*, Paris, 1847. — **Paris, Comte de**, see *Comte de Paris*. — **Parkman, F.**, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Boston, 1851, 2 vols.; *The Jesuits in North America*, Boston, 1867; *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Boston, 1868; *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, Boston, 1869; *The Old Régime in Canada under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1875; *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1877; *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Boston, 1884, 2 vols.; *Collected Works*, London and New York, 1885-1886, 10 vols.

Francis Parkman was born at Boston, September 16th, 1823. He was educated at Harvard, and becoming interested in American history, chose as his life work the period of French power. He personally visited all the localities important at that epoch, and spent much time among the Indian tribes of Canada and the West. Although broken in health, he prosecuted his design with unabated ardour, visiting Europe seven times in search of material, and subjecting every authority to rigid examination. As a result he has produced works which place him in the highest rank of American historians, and will always retain their interest. Parkman was a master of literary style, and the charm of his animated narrative is reinforced by the accuracy of his statements and the breadth and proportion of his view. For nearly thirty years he worked against the odds of failing eyesight and weakened health, but his mental vigour and enthusiasm sustained him to

the end, and a few months after the completion of his great work he died at Jamaica Plain, Mass., November 8th, 1893.

Parton, J., Life and Times of Aaron Burr, New York, 1857; Life of Andrew Jackson, New York, 1859-1860, 3 vols.; Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin, New York, 1864, 2 vols.; Life of Thomas Jefferson, Boston, 1874.

James Parton (1822-1891), American biographer, whose writings gained great popularity and are valuable for style and matter.

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David Ramsay (1749-1815), physician and author, prominent in the Continental Congress, and a gifted and accurate writer.

Ramsay, J. G. M., The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century, Philadelphia, 1860. — **Ramusio, G. B.**, Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice, 1550-1559, 3 vols., English version in Hakluyt's Voyages (q.v.). — **Randall, H. S.**, The Life of Thomas Jefferson, New York, 1858, 3 vols. — **Rasle, S.**, in R. G. Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 vols. — **Ratzel, F.**, Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, Munich, 1878-1880, 2 vols. — **Raynal, G. T.**, Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes, Amsterdam, 1771, 6 vols., Geneva, 1780, 10 vols., Paris, 1798, 22 vols. — **Redpath, J.**, Life of John Brown, New York, 1860. — **Reed, W. B.**, The Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Philadelphia, 1842, 2 vols. — **Rhode Island Historical Society**, Collections, Providence, 1827-1897, 9 vols.; Rhode Island Historical Tracts, first series, Providence, 1877-1884, 20 vols. — **Rhodes, J. F.**, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850, London and New York, 1892-1901, 4 vols.

James Ford Rhodes was born at Cleveland, Ohio, May 1st, 1848. He was for some years foreign correspondent of the Chicago Times, and investigated social and industrial conditions in Europe. In 1885 he began the preparation of his history, which is a political analysis of the results of the Civil War and reconstruction period, giving special prominence to speeches and debates and to extensive characterisations of the public men of the time. While written from the northern standpoint it is eminently impartial, and ranks as the best view of the period yet written.

Richard, E., Acadia; Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History, New York, 1897. — **Riddle, A. G.**, Recollections of War Times 1860-1865, London, 1895. — **Ripley, R. S.**, The War with Mexico, New York, 1849, 2 vols. — **Rives, W. C.**, History of the Life and

Times of James Madison, Boston, 1859, 1868, 3 vols. — **Robertson**, W., *History of America*, London, 1777, 2 vols., Basel, 1790, 3 vols. — **Roosevelt**, T., *The Naval War of 1812*, New York, 1882; *Life of Thomas Hart Benton*, New York, 1887; *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, New York, 1888; *History of New York City*, New York, 1891; *The Winning of the West*, New York, 1889-1896, 4 vols.; *The Rough Riders*, New York, 1899.

Theodore Roosevelt, who was born at New York City, October 27th, 1858, was educated at Harvard and at the Columbia law school. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the incidents of his career crowded with political, civic, and military achievements, which in twenty years from his entrance into public life placed him in the presidential chair. The qualities which have made him prominent in the nation are noticeable in his literary work. Vigour, fearlessness, independence of thought and action characterise his mental and material life. His historical and biographical writings are sustained in interest, abundant in incident, and scholarly in the apt and accurate use of material.

Ropes, J. C., *The Army under Pope* (Campaigns of the Civil War Series), New York, 1881; *The Story of the Civil War*, New York, 1894-1898, 2 vols.

John Codman Ropes (1836-1899), lawyer and military historian, has produced the best account of the early campaigns of the Civil War to the end of 1862. His monograph on *The Battle of Waterloo* is the most complete ever produced.

Sabine, L., *The American Loyalists*, Boston, 1847. — **Sargent**, N., *Public Men and Events from 1817 to 1853*, Philadelphia, 1875, 2 vols. — **Sargent**, W., *History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755*, New York, 1856. — **Schanz**, M., *Das Heutige Brasilien*, Hamburg, 1893. — **Scharf**, J. T., *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to Present Day*, Baltimore, 1879-1880, 3 vols.; *History of Western Maryland*, Baltimore, 1882, 2 vols.; *History of Philadelphia*, Baltimore, 1884, 3 vols.; *History of the Confederate States Navy*, Baltimore, 1887; *History of Delaware*, Baltimore, 1888. — **Schoolcraft**, H. R., *Algic Relations*, New York, 1839; *Oneota, or the Red Race of America*, New York, 1844; *Notes on the Iroquois*, Albany, 1846; *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1851-1857, 6 vols. — **Schouler**, J., *History of the United States under the Constitution*, Washington, 1880-1889, 4 vols., New York, 1895, 5 vols.

James Schouler (1839), an eminent lawyer and constitutional historian, has produced one of the best histories of the United States as a nation; while mainly political, it does not neglect social conditions, and is thorough in treatment, temperate and judicial in tone.

Schüler, H., *Brasilien von heute*, Berlin, 1904. — **Schurz**, C., *Henry Clay*, Boston, 1886, 2 vols.; *Abraham Lincoln*, Boston, 1891. — **Scott**, G. G., *Reconstruction During the Civil War*, Boston, 1895. — **Settle**, D., *True Report of the late Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions*, London, 1577. — **Sewall**, S., *Diary*, Boston, 1878-1882, 3 vols. — **Seward**, W. H., *Works*, New York, 1853-1883, 5 vols. — **Seybert**, A., *Statistical Annals of the United States from 1798 to 1815*, Philadelphia, 1818. — **Shaler**, N. S., *The United States of America; A Study of the American Commonwealth*, New York, 1894; *Nature and Man in America*, New York, 1895. — **Shea**, J. D. G., *The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, New York, 1853; *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, New York, 1862; *Novum Belgium; An Account of the New Netherlands in 1643-44*, New York, 1862; *The Bursting of the La Salle Bubble*, New York, 1879; *The Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton*, Boston, 1880.

John Dawson Gilmary Shea (1824-1892) devoted his life to the history of French colonisation and Jesuit missions. His writings are scholarly, and while his criticisms are often radical, they are the result of diligent research.

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THE HISTORIANS'
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From the painting by Adolf Schreyer

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative
of the Rise and Development
of Nations from the Earliest
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BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

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PART XXV

THE
HISTORY OF POLAND, THE BALKANS
TURKEY, THE MINOR EASTERN
STATES, CHINA, AND JAPAN

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

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TOGETHER WITH A CHAPTER ON

TURKEY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

A. VAMBÉRY

AND

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY

BY

CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

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I. YAMAGATA

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a generalization of the results of [1] and [2] to the case of a general group G .

2. In the second part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

3. In the third part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

4. In the fourth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

5. In the fifth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

6. In the sixth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

7. In the seventh part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

8. In the eighth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

9. In the ninth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

10. In the tenth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

11. In the eleventh part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

12. In the twelfth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.

13. In the thirteenth part, we consider the case of a general group G and show that the results of [1] and [2] are valid for this case.



BOOK I

THE HISTORY OF POLAND

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST YEARS OF POLAND

[TILL 1382 A. D.]

AMIDST the incessant influx of the Asiatic nations into Europe, during the slow decline of the Roman Empire and the migrations occasioned by their arrival, we should vainly attempt to trace the descent of the Poles. Whether they are derived from the Sarmatians, who, though likewise of Asiatic origin, were located on both sides of the Vistula long before the irruptions of the kindred barbarians, or from some horde of the latter, or, a still more probable hypothesis, from an amalgamation of the natives and newcomers, must forever remain doubtful. All that we can know with certainty is that they formed part of the great Slavonic family which stretched from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and from the Elbe to the mouth of the Dnieper (ancient Borysthènes). As vainly should we endeavour, from historic testimony alone, to ascertain the origin of this generic term "slav," and the universality of its application. Conjecture may tell us that, as some of the more powerful tribes adopted it to denote their success in arms (its signification is glorious), other tribes, conceiving that their bravery entitled them to the same enviable appellation, assumed it likewise. It might thus become the common denomination of the old and new inhabitants, of the victors and the vanquished; the more readily as most of the tribes comprehended under it well knew that the same cradle had once contained them.

Other people, indeed, as the Huns or the Avars, subsequently arrived from more remote regions of Asia, and in the places where they forcibly settled introduced a considerable modification of customs and of language; hence the diversity in both among the Slavonic nations—a diversity which has induced some writers to deny the identity of their common origin. But as, in the silence of history, affinity of language will best explain the kindred of nations, and will best assist us to trace their migrations, no fact can be more indis-

putable than that most of the tribes included in the generic term "slavi" were derived from the same common source, however various the respective periods of their arrival, and whatever changes were in consequence produced by struggles with the nations, by intestine wars, and by the irruption of other hordes dissimilar in manners and in speech. Between the Pole and the Russian is this kindred relation striking; and though it is fainter among the Hungarians from their incorporation with the followers of Attila, and among the Bohemians from their long intercourse with the Teutonic nations, it is yet easily discernible.¹

Of these Slavonic tribes, those which occupied the country bounded by Prussia and the Carpathian Mountains, by the Bug and the Oder—those especially who were located on both banks of the Vistula—were the progenitors of the present Poles. The word Pole is not older than the tenth century, and seems to have been originally applied not so much to the people as to the region they inhabited; *polska* in the Slavonic tongue signifying a level field or plain.

EARLY RULERS

The Poles as a nation are not of ancient date. Prior to the ninth century they were split into a multitude of tribes independent of each other, and governed by their respective chiefs; no general head was known except in case of invasion, when combination alone could save the country from the yoke. Like all other people, however, they lay claim to an antiquity sufficiently respectable; their old writers assure us that one of the immediate descendants of Noah colonised this part of ancient Sarmatia. But the absurdity of the claim was too apparent to be long supported, and less extravagant historians were satisfied with assigning the period of their incorporation as a people to Leszek or Lech I, who reigned, say they, about the middle of the sixth century. As the laws of evidence became better understood, even this era was modestly abandoned, and the authentic opening of Polish history was brought down three centuries—namely, to the accession of Semowit, 860 A.D. Finally, it was reserved for the Polish writers of our own day to abstract another century from the national existence, and hail Mieczyslaw I as the true founder of the monarchy.²

But though the severity of historical criticism has rejected as fabulous, or at least doubtful, the period antecedent to Mieczyslaw I, many transactions of that period are admitted as credible. Tradition, indeed, is the only authority for the existence of preceding rulers, but it cannot be wholly disregarded: its first beams are visible through the darkness of time, and enable us to perceive that some of those rulers existed, whatever we may think of the events recorded concerning them. For this reason they may properly occupy

¹ The Lithuanians, though their history is so closely connected with that of the Muscovites and Poles, are not originally Slavonic, a fact sufficiently clear from their language. By some they have been deemed of Gothic, by others of Alanic descent. Many Gothic words, indeed, are to be found in their language, but more Latin and Greek; the basis, however, is none of the three, but something perhaps resembling the Finnish.

² During the reign of the Jagellos the kings were elected, but the election was always confined to one family, which was indisputably hereditary: the eldest son was elected if at a suitable age; if too young, one of the uncles was chosen. The laws of succession seem not very clearly defined in any country during the Middle Ages. What confirms still more strongly the propriety of the division of rulers into those who held the crown by heredity and those who held by election is the fact that, previous to the time of Henri de Valois, the Polish monarchs styled themselves *heredes regni Poloniae*, and that, from the accession of the French prince, the nobles in the *pacta conventa* insisted on the disuse of the hereditary title.

[600-750 A.D.]

a place in the present introduction. According to ancient chroniclers, one of the most famous dukes of the Poles was Leszek I, who lived about the middle of the sixth century. One day as he was clearing away the ground which he had marked out for the site of a residence, he found an eagle's nest; hence he called the place Gnesen, from the Slavonic word *gniazda*, a nest; hence, too, the representation of that bird on the banners of the nation. A multitude of huts soon surrounded the ducal abode; a city arose, destined for some centuries to be the capital of the country, and eventually the archiepiscopal see of the primate. From this prince Poland was sometimes called *Lechia*.

Of the immediate descendants of Leszek nothing is known. We are told only that their sceptre was one of iron, and that the indignant natives at length abolished the ducal authority, and established that of voivodes, or palatines, whose functions appear to have been chiefly, if not wholly, military. Experience, however, taught that one tyrant was preferable to twelve; they accordingly invested with the supreme power one of the palatines and deposed the rest—one whose virtues and genius rendered him worthy of the choice. Cracus repressed the licentious, encouraged the peaceable, established tribunals for the administration of justice, and triumphed over all his enemies, domestic and foreign. He founded Cracow, whither he transferred the seat of his government. His son, Leszek II, ascended the ducal throne by a fratricide: he assassinated his elder brother in a wood, but he had the address to conceal for a time his share in that dark deed. But divine justice slumbered not—his crime was discovered, and he was deposed and banished by his indignant subjects. The tender affection, however, which they bore to the memory of Cracus induced them to elevate his daughter Wanda to the throne.

This princess was of surprising beauty, of great talents, and of still greater ambition. Power she deemed too sweet to be divided with another, and she therefore resolutely refused all offers of marriage. Incensed at her haughtiness, or in the hope of accomplishing by force what persuasion had attempted in vain, Rüdiger, one of her lovers, who was a German prince, adopted a novel mode of courtship. At the head of an army he invaded her dominions. She marched against him. When the two armies met, Rüdiger again besought her to listen to his suit, and thereby spare the effusion of blood. The maiden was inexorable; she declared that no man should ever share her throne; that she would never become the slave of a husband, since, whoever he might be, he would assuredly love her person much less than her power.

Her answer, being spread among the officers of Rüdiger, produced an effect which he little foresaw. Filled with admiration at the courage of the princess, whom they perceived hurrying from rank to rank in the act of stimulating her followers to the combat, and convinced that all opposition to her will would be worse than useless, they surrounded their chief, and asked him what advantage he hoped to gain from such an expedition. "If thou shouldst defeat the princess, will she pardon thee the loss of her troops? If thou art subdued, will she be more disposed to love thee?" The passion of Rüdiger blinded him to the rational remonstrances of his followers; he persisted in his resolution of fighting; they refused to advance; in utter despair he laid hands on himself, and turned his dying looks towards the camp of the Poles. Wanda, we are told, showed no sign of sympathy at the tragical news, but returned triumphant to Cracow. Her own end was not less violent. Whether, as is asserted, to escape similar persecution, or, as is equally probable, from

remorse at her own cruelty, having one day sacrificed to the gods, she threw herself into the waters of the Vistula and there perished.

With this princess expired the race of Cracus. Again, it is said, the fickle multitude divided the sovereign power, and subjected themselves to the yoke of twelve palatines. The two periods have evidently been confounded; either the power never existed, or—an hypothesis, however, not very probable—as this form of government was common to the Slavonic tribes, it may have been the only one admitted in Poland prior to the domination of the Piasts. Anarchy, we are told, was the immediate effect of this partition of power. The new chiefs were weak, indolent, and wicked, the tyrants of their subjects and enemies of each other. In vain did the people groan; their groans were disregarded, and their efforts to shake off the bondage they had imposed on themselves were rendered abortive by the power of their rulers, who always exhibited considerable energy when their privileges were threatened.

The general wretchedness was increased by an invasion of the Hungarians, who had sprung from the same origin as the Poles, and who were inclined to profit by the dissensions between the chiefs and people. The palatines, whose duty it was to defend the country which they oppressed, were too conscious of their own weakness, and still more of their unpopularity, to risk an action with the enemy. Nothing but subjugation and ruin appeared to the dismayed natives, when both were averted by the genius of one man.

Though but a simple soldier, Przemyslaw aspired to the glory of liberating his country. One dark night he adopted an expedient which had the merit of novelty at least to recommend it, and which has never since been imitated by any other general. With the branches and barks of trees he formed images of men with lances, swords, and bucklers; these he smeared with certain substances proper to reflect the rays of the sun and render the illusion more striking. He placed these on a hill on the border of a forest directly opposite to the Hungarian camp. The stratagem succeeded; the following morning some troops of the enemy were despatched to dislodge the audacious few who appeared to confide in the excellence of their position. As the assailants approached the plain, the reflection ceased, and they were surprised to find nothing but fantastic forms of trees. The same appearance, however, of armed soldiers was discovered at a distance; and it was universally believed that the Poles had fallen back to occupy a more tenable post. The Hungarians pursued until, artfully drawn into an ambuscade, they were enveloped and massacred.

How to insure the destruction of the rest was now the object of Przemyslaw; it was attained by another stratagem scarcely less extraordinary. He clothed some of his followers in the garb and armour of the slain Hungarians, and marched them boldly towards the enemy's camp, while another body of Poles, by circuitous paths, hastened towards the same destination. Having thus reached the outposts, the former suddenly fell on the astonished Panonians; while the latter, rushing forwards from another direction, added to the bloody horrors of the scene. In vain did the invaders attempt a combined defence; before they could be formed into anything like systematic order they were cut off almost to a man, notwithstanding individual acts of bravery which called forth the admiration of the assailants.¹

The victor was rewarded with a sceptre; the twelve palatines were deposed, and he was thus confirmed in an authority undivided and absolute.

¹ Of this expedition no mention is made by the Hungarian writers; it is probably fabulous.

[800-815 A.D.]

Under the name of Leszek I, which he assumed from reverence to the celebrated founder of Gnesen, he reigned with equal glory and happiness. Unfortunately, however, for the natives, he left no children; the palatines armed, some to enforce the restitution of their alleged rights, others to seize on the supreme power. But the voice of the country, to which experience had at length taught a good lesson, declared so loudly against a partition of sovereignty that the chiefs ceased to pursue a common interest; each laboured for himself. According to ancient usage, the people were assembled to fill the vacant throne by their suffrages. But to choose, where the pretensions of the candidates were, to outward appearance, nearly balanced, and yet where the consequences of an improper choice might be forever fatal to liberty, was difficult. Where the risk was so great, they piously concluded that it was safer to leave the event to the will of the gods than to human foresight.

A horse-race was decreed, in which the crown was to be the prize of victory. One of the candidates had recourse to artifice: the course, which lay along a vast plain on the banks of the Pradnik, he planted with sharp iron points, and covered them with sand. In the centre, however, he left a space over which he might pass without danger; but lest he should accidentally diverge from it, he caused his horse to be shod with iron plates, against which the points would be harmless. Everything seemed to promise success to his roguish ingenuity, when the secret was discovered by two young men, as they were one day amusing themselves on the destined course. One of them was silent through fear, the other through cunning. On the appointed day the candidates arrived, the race was opened, and the innumerable spectators waited the result with intense anxiety. The inventor of the stratagem left all the rest far behind him except the youth last mentioned, who kept close to his horse's heels; and who, just as the victor was about to claim the prize, exposed the unworthy trick to the multitude. The former was immediately sacrificed to their fury; and the latter, as the reward of his courageous conduct, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, was invested (804) with the ensigns of sovereignty [with the title of Leszek II].

The new duke was humble enough to remember and rational enough to acknowledge his low extraction. He preserved with religious care the garments which he had worn in his lowly fortunes, and on which he often gazed with greater satisfaction than on his regal vestments. His temperance, his love of justice, his zeal for the good of his people, are favourite themes of the old chroniclers. Leszek III (810) inherited the virtues no less than the name of his father; for though of his twenty-one sons one only was legitimate, incontinency would scarcely be considered a blemish in a pagan and a Slav. After a short but brilliant reign, ennobled by success in war and wisdom in peace, he divided his dominions among his sons, subjecting all, however, to the authority of his lawful successor, Popiel I (815). Of this prince little is known beyond his jealousy of his brothers and his addiction to debauchery. After a base and ignoble life he was succeeded by his son, Popiel II, while yet a child.

The fostering care of the uncles, whose fidelity appears to have been as rare as it was honourable, preserved the throne to the chief of their house. But the prince showed them no gratitude; he was, indeed, incapable of such a sentiment; every day he exhibited to his anxious guardians some new feature of depravity, which, with a commendable prudence, they endeavoured to conceal from the nation, in the hope that increasing years would bring reformation. Their pious exhortations were in vain; he proceeded from bad to worse;

he associated with none but the dissipated—"with drunkards, spendthrifts, and fornicators," or with mimics and jesters. To correct one of his vices at least, a wife was procured for him: the expedient failed; it had even a mischievous effect, since his consort was avaricious and malignant, and was but too successful in making him the instrument of her designs. On reaching his majority his passions burst forth with fury; no woman was safe from his lust, no man from his revenge. His extortions, his debaucheries, his cruelty at length exhausted the patience of his people, who resolved to set bounds to his excesses. The formidable confederacy was headed by his uncles, who sacrificed the ties of blood to their patriotism or their ambition. To dissolve it, and at the same time to gratify his revenge, he was stimulated alike by his own malignity and by the counsels of his wife. He feigned sickness, sent for his uncles, as if to make his peace with them, and poisoned them in the wine which was produced for their entertainment. He even carried his wickedness so far as to refuse the rites of sepulture to his victims.

But, say the chroniclers, divine justice prepared a fit punishment for this Sardanapalus and Jezebel. From the unburied corpses sprang a countless multitude of rats, of an enormous size, which immediately filled the palace and sought out the guilty pair and their two children. In vain were great numbers destroyed; greater swarms advanced. In vain did the ducal family enclose themselves within a circle of fire; the boundary was soon passed by the ferocious animals, which, with unrelenting persistency, aimed at them and them alone. They fled to another element, which availed them as little. The rats followed them to a neighbouring lake, plunged into the water, and fixed their teeth in the sides of the vessel, in which they would soon have gnawed holes sufficient to let in the water and sink it, had not Popiel commanded the sailors to land him on an island near at hand. In vain; his inveterate enemies were on shore as soon as he. His attendants now recognised the finger of heaven, and left him to his fate. Accompanied by his wife and children, he now fled to a neighbouring tower; he ascended the highest pinnacle: still they followed; neither doors nor bars could resist them. His two sons were first devoured, then the duchess, then himself, and so completely that not a bone remained of the four.

With Popiel was extinguished the legitimate race of royalty; but the sons of the murdered uncles remained, the eldest of whom, with the aid of his brother, aspired to the throne. Again the palatines stepped forth to vindicate the ancient form of government. The two parties disputed, quarrelled, and, lastly, armed their adherents to decide the question by force; but the more enlightened portion of the nation was not convinced that a problem affecting the happiness or misery of millions ought to be resolved in such a way. Two assemblies were successively convened at Kruswick, to discuss the respective claims of monarchy and oligarchy; but the forces, if not the arguments, of the two parties were so nearly equal that nothing was decided. Both were preparing to try the efficacy of arms, when heaven, in pity to the people, again interfered, and miraculously filled the vacant throne.

FOUNDATION OF THE HOUSE OF PIAST (842 A.D.)

There dwelt in Kruswick a poor but virtuous man, named Piast—so poor, indeed, that his wants were but scantily supplied by a small piece of ground which he cultivated with his own hands, and so virtuous that the blessings of thousands accompanied his steps. He had a wife and a son, both worthy

[842-892 A.D.]

of him. He lived contented in his poverty, which he had no wish to remove, since he had wisdom enough to perceive that the state most exempt from artificial wants is the most favourable to virtue, and consequently to happiness. When the time arrived that his son should be first shorn of his locks of hair and receive a name—a custom of great antiquity among the pagan Slavs¹—he invited, as was usual on such occasions, his neighbours to the ceremony. On the day appointed two strangers arrived with the rest, and were admitted with the hospitality so honourable to the people. Piast laid before his guests all he could furnish for their entertainment: that all, he observed, was little, but he hoped the spirit with which it was offered would compensate for the lack of good cheer. They began on the scanty stock of viands, when, lo—a miracle!—both were multiplied prodigiously; the more they ate and drank, the more the tables groaned under the weight of the viands. The portent was spread abroad with rapidity. Numbers daily flocked to the peasant's house to share his hospitality and to witness the miraculous increase of his provisions.

A scarcity of these good things at that time afflicted the place, through the influx of so many thousands who met for the choice of a government. All hastened to Piast, who entertained them with princely liberality during several successive weeks. "Who so fit to rule," was the universal cry, "as this holy man, this favourite of the gods?" Prince and palatine desisted from their respective pretensions, and joined their suffrages to that of the people. Piast was unanimously elected, in the year 842, to the vacant dignity; but so great was his reluctance to accept the glittering honour that he would have remained forever in his then humble condition, had not the two identical strangers, whom he found to be gods, and whom later Christian writers consider two angels, or at least two blessed martyrs, again favoured him with a visit, and prevailed on him to sacrifice his own ease to the good of the nation. The reign of Piast was the golden age of Poland. No foreign wars, no domestic commotions; but respect from without, abundance and contentment within, signalised his wise, firm, and paternal administration. The horror with which he regarded the scene of Popiel's guilt and punishment made him abandon the place of his birth and transfer his court to Gnesen, which thus became a second time the capital of the country.

Semowit's was no less glorious. He was the first chief who introduced regular discipline into the armies of Poland. Before his time they had fought without order or system; their onset had been impetuous, and their retreat as sudden. He marshalled them in due array; taught them to surrender their own will to that of their officers; to move as one vast machine obedient to the force which rules it; and whenever fortune was adverse, to consult their safety not in flight, but in a closer and more determined union, in a vigorous, concentrated resistance. The Hungarians, the Moravians, the Russians, who had insulted the country under the feeble sway of Popiel, and who had despised the inexperience of the son of Piast, were soon taught to fear him and to sue for peace. Semowit was satisfied with the terror produced by his arms; he thirsted not after conquest; he loved his subjects too well to waste their blood in gratification of a selfish ambition. Their welfare was his only

¹ The shaven crowns of the Polish nobles who visited Paris to offer Henry of Anjou the sceptre of Poland were an extraordinary spectacle to the Parisians. "*Ils admiraient surtout,*" says De Thou, "*les têtes rasées, n'offrant qu'une touffe de cheveux au-dessus.*" The origin of this custom might be connected with religion, but convenience perpetuated it. Long hair, which could be seized by the hands of an enemy in the heat of battle, often occasioned the destruction of the wearer.

care, their gratitude and affection his only reward. An able captain, an enlightened statesman, an affable, patriotic sovereign, his person was adored during life, and his memory long revered after death.

His son and successor, Leszek IV (892), successfully imitated all his virtues but one. This prince refrained from war, making all his glory to consist in promoting the internal happiness of the people. His moderation, his justice, his active zeal, his enlightened care, were qualities, however, not very acceptable to a martial and ferocious people, who longed for war, and who placed all greatness in conquest. Of the same pacific disposition, and of the same estimable virtues, was Semomyslaw (921), the son and successor of Leszek. For the same honourable reason, the reign of this prince furnishes no materials for history. The tranquil, unobtrusive virtues must be satisfied with self-approbation, and a consciousness of the divine favour; only the more splendid and mischievous qualities attain immortality. That men's evil deeds are written in brass, their good ones in water, is more than poetically just.¹ Semomyslaw, however, has one claim to remembrance which posterity has not failed to recognise: he was the father of Mieczyslaw, the first Christian duke of Poland, with whom opens the authentic history of the country.

MIECZYSLAW I, BOLESLAW I, AND MIECZYSLAW II

This fifth prince of the house of Piast is entitled to the remembrance of posterity, not merely from his being the first Christian ruler of Poland, but from the success with which he abolished paganism and enforced the observance of the new faith throughout his dominions. He who could effect so important a revolution without bloodshed must have been no common character.

When the duke assumed the reins of sovereignty both he and his subjects were strangers to Christianity, even by name. By the persuasion of his nobles, he demanded the hand of Dabrowka, daughter of Boleslaw, king of Hungary. Both father and daughter refused to favour so near a connection with a pagan; but both declared that if he would consent to embrace the faith of Christ his proposal would be accepted. After some deliberation he consented; he procured instructors, and was soon made acquainted with the doctrines which he was required to believe and the duties he was bound to practise. The royal maiden was accordingly conducted to his capital (965), and the day which witnessed his regeneration by the waters of baptism also beheld him receive another sacrament, that of marriage.

The zeal with which Mieczyslaw laboured for the conversion of his subjects, left no doubt of the sincerity of his own. Having dismissed his seven concubines, he issued an order for the destruction of the idols throughout the country. He appears to have been obeyed without much opposition.

While he was occupied in forwarding the conversion of the nation, he was not unfrequently called to defend it against the ambition or the jealousy of his neighbours. In 968 he was victorious over the Saxons, but desisted from hostilities at the imperial command of Otto I, whose feudatory he acknowledged

¹ Solignac (*Histoire de Pologne*) has totally misrepresented the character of these two princes. He represents them as weak and useless, as fallen and slothful. On the contrary, that their administration was vigorous, active, and beneficial in a very high degree, is confirmed by every ancient chronicler of the country. I am at a loss to account for this perversion of truth, perhaps I might say carelessness, in a writer justly held in esteem.

[973-999 A.D.]

himself. Against the son of that emperor, Otto II, he leagued himself with other princes who espoused the interests of Henry of Bavaria; but, like them, he was compelled to submit, and own not only the title but the supremacy of Otto, in 973. He encountered a more formidable competitor in the Russian grand duke, Vladimir the Great, who after triumphing over the Greeks invaded Poland in 986, and reduced several towns. The Bug now bounded the western conquests of the descendants of Rurik, whose object henceforth was to push them to the very confines of Germany. But Mieczyslaw arrested, though he could not destroy, the torrent of invasion; if he procured no advantage over the Russian, he opposed a barrier which induced Vladimir to turn aside to enterprises which promised greater facility of success. His last expedition (989-991) was against Boleslaw, duke of Bohemia. In this contest he was assisted with auxiliaries furnished by the emperor Otto III, whose favour he had won, and by other princes of the empire. After a short but destructive war the Bohemian, unable to oppose the genius of Mieczyslaw, sued for peace; but this triumph was fatal to the peace of the two countries. Hence the origin of lasting strife between two nations whose descent, manners, and language were the same, and between whom, consequently, less animosity might have been expected.

But contiguity of situation is seldom, perhaps never, favourable to the harmony of nations. Silesia, which was the frontier province of Poland, was thenceforth exposed to the incursions of the Bohemians, and doomed to experience the curse of its limitrophic position. Mieczyslaw died in 999, universally regretted by his subjects.

BOLESLAW (999-1025 A.D.)

Boleslaw I, surnamed Chrobry, or the "lion-hearted," son of Mieczyslaw and Dabrowka, ascended the ducal throne in 999, in his thirty-second year, amidst the acclamations of his people.

From his infancy this prince had exhibited qualities of a high order—great capacity of mind, undaunted courage, and an ardent zeal for his country's glory. Humane, affable, generous, he was early the favourite of the Poles, whose affection he still further gained by innumerable acts of kindness to individuals. Unfortunately, however, his most splendid qualities were neutralised by his immoderate ambition, which, in the pursuit of its own gratification, too often disregarded the miseries it occasioned.

The fame of Boleslaw having reached the ears of Otto III, that emperor, who was then in Italy, resolved on his return to Germany to take a route somewhat circuitous, and pay the prince a visit. He had before vowed a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Adalbert, whose hallowed remains had just been transported from Prussia to Gnesen. He was received by Boleslaw with a magnificence which surprised him, and a respect which won his esteem. No sooner were his devotions performed than he testified his gratitude, or perhaps consulted his policy, by elevating the duchy into a kingdom, which he doubtless intended should forever remain a fief of the empire. Boleslaw was solemnly anointed by the archbishop of Gnesen; but the royal crown, it is said, was placed on his head by imperial hands. To bind still closer the alliance between the two princes, Rixa, a niece of Otto, was affianced to the son of the new king. The emperor returned home with an arm of St. Adalbert, which he probably considered as cheaply procured in exchange for a woman and a title.

The king was not long allowed to wear his new honours unmolested; he soon proved that they could not have been placed on a worthier brow. His first and most inveterate enemies were the Bohemians, who longed to grasp Silesia. Two easy triumphs disconcerted the duke of that country, who began to look around him for allies. The same disaster still attended his arms; his fields were laid waste, his towns pillaged, his capital taken, with himself and his eldest son; the loss of sovereignty, of liberty, and soon of his eyes, convinced him, when too late, how terrific an enemy he had provoked. For a time his country remained the prey of the victor; but the generosity or policy of Boleslaw at length restored the ducal throne to Ulrich, the second son of the fallen chief. All Germany was alarmed at the progress of the Polish arms. Even the emperor, Henry of Bavaria, joined the confederacy now formed to humble the pride of Boleslaw. Superior numbers chased him from Bohemia, dethroned Ulrich, and elevated the elder brother, the lawful heir, to the vacant dignity. The king returned to espouse the interests of Ulrich; but, though he was often successful, he was as often not indeed defeated, but constrained to elude the combined force of the empire. Ulrich did at length obtain the throne, not through Boleslaw but through Henry, whose cause he strengthened by his adhesion.

Peace was frequently made during these obscure contests, and the king was thereby enabled to repress the incursions of his enemies on other parts of his frontier; but none could be of long continuance, where, on both sides, the love of war was a passion scarcely equalled in intensity even by ambition. In one of his expeditions Boleslaw penetrated as far as Holstein, reducing the towns and fortresses in his way, and filling all Germany with the deepest consternation. His conquests, however, were but transiently held; if he found it easy to make them, to retain them in opposition to the united efforts of the princes of the empire required far more numerous armies than he could raise. He fell back on Silesia to repair the disasters sustained by the arms of his son Mieczyslaw, whose talents were inadequate to the command of a separate force.

To recount the endless alternations of victory and failure during these obscure contests would exhibit a dry record—dry as the most lifeless chronicle of the times. It must be sufficient to observe that what little advantage was gained fell to the lot of Boleslaw until the Peace of Bautzen, in 1018, restored peace to the lacerated empire.

But the most famous of the wars of Boleslaw were with the dukes of Russia. After the death of Vladimir the Great, who had imprudently divided his estates among his sons, the eldest, Sviatopolk, prince of Tver, endeavouring to unite the other principalities under his sceptre, was expelled the country by the combined forces of his enraged brothers. He took refuge in Poland, and implored the assistance of the king. Boleslaw immediately armed, not so much to avenge the cause of Sviatopolk as to regain possession of the provinces which Vladimir had wrested from Mieczyslaw. He marched against Yaroslav, who had seized on the dominions of the fugitive brother, and whom he encountered on the banks of the Bug.

For some time he hesitated to pass the river in the face of a powerful enemy; but a Russian soldier from the opposite bank one day deriding his corpulency, he plunged into the water with the most intrepid of his followers, and the action commenced. It was obstinately contested, but victory in the end declared for the king. He pursued the fugitives to the walls of Kiev, which he immediately invested and took. Sviatopolk was restored, but he made an unworthy return to his benefactor; he secretly instigated the Kievans to massacre the Poles, whose superiority he envied, and whose presence annihilated

[1018-1025 A.D.]

his authority. His treachery was discovered, and his capital nearly destroyed by his incensed allies, who returned home laden with immense plunder. The Russians pursued in a formidable body, and the Bug was again destined to behold the strife of the two armies. Again did victory shine on the banners of Boleslaw, who, on this occasion, almost annihilated the assailants. Thus ended this first expedition; the second was not less decisive. Jaroslav had reduced the Polish garrison left by the king in Kiev, had seized on that important city, and penetrated into the Polish provinces, which submitted at his approach.

A third time was the same river to witness the same sanguinary scenes. As usual, after a sharp contest, the Russians yielded the honour of the day to their able and brave antagonist, who hurried forward in the career of conquest; but his name now rendered further victories unnecessary; it struck terror in the hearts of the Russians, who hastened to acknowledge his supremacy. On this occasion he appears to have conducted himself with a moderation which does the highest honour to his heart: he restored the prisoners he had taken, and, after leaving garrisons in the more important places, returned to his capital to end his days in peace.

Towards the close of life Boleslaw is said to have looked back on his ambitious undertakings with sorrow; they had added nothing to his prosperity, but had exhausted his people. He now began to regret that he had not devoted his time and talents and means to objects which would have secured for them happiness, for himself a glory far more substantial than his brilliant deeds could bestow. Perhaps, too, he began to be apprehensive of the account which a greater potentate than himself might exact from him. Certain it is that the last six years of his reign were passed in the most laborious efforts to repair the evils he had occasioned—to improve alike the temporal and moral condition of his people. He administered justice with impartiality. Delinquents he punished with inflexible severity; the meritorious he honoured and enriched. Knowing the infirmity of his own judgments, he associated with him twelve of his wisest nobles. With their aid he redressed the wrongs of his subjects, not only in his capital but in various parts of his kingdom, which he traversed from time to time to inquire into the way justice was administered by the local magistrates. Nothing escaped his activity; it destroyed oppression and insured triumph to innocence.

Perhaps the severity of his labours, which allowed of no intermission by day, and which were often continued during the silence of night, hastened his end. Having convoked an assembly at Gnesen, in which his son was nominated his successor, he prepared for the approaching change. With his dying breath he exhorted that prince to favour the deserving, by conferring on them the distinction of wealth and honours; to love his God; to reverence the ministers of religion; to cherish virtue; to flee from pleasure; to reign by justice, and to inspire his subjects with love rather than fear. He died shortly afterwards, in 1025, leaving behind him the reputation of the greatest sovereign of his age; and, what is far more estimable, the universal lamentations of his subjects proved that he had nobly deserved their affectionate appellation, Father. Poland had never seen such a king as the last six years of his life exhibited: he was the true founder of his country's greatness.

Mieczyslaw II ascended the throne of his father in 1025, in his thirty-fifth year—an age when the judgment is reasonably expected to be ripened and the character formed. But this prince had neither; and he soon showed how incapable he was of governing so turbulent a people as the Poles, or of repressing his ambitious neighbours. Absorbed in sloth, or in pleasures still more shameful, he scarcely deigned to waste a glance on the serious duties of

royalty, and it was soon discovered that his temperament fitted him rather for the luxurious courts of southern Asia than for the iron region of Sarmatia.

Iaroslav, the restless duke of Kiev, was the first to prove to the world how Poland had suffered by a change of rulers. He rapidly reduced some fortresses, desolated the eastern provinces, and would doubtless have carried his ferocious arms to the capital, had not the Poles, without a signal from their king, who quietly watched the progress of the invasion, flocked to the national standard and compelled this second Sardanapalus to march against the enemy. The duke, however, had no wish to run the risk of an action; with immense spoil, and a multitude of prisoners, he returned to his dominions in the consciousness of perfect impunity. Mieczyslaw, thinking that by his appearance in the field he had done enough for glory, led back his murmuring troops to his capital; nor did the sacrifice of his father's conquests draw one sigh, even one serious thought, from the confirmed voluptuary, who esteemed every moment abstracted from his sensual enjoyments as a lamentable loss of time and life—a loss, however, that he was resolved to repair by more than usual devotion to the only deities he worshipped. For the mead of Odin, the purple juice of Bacchus, and the delights of the Cytherean goddess he deemed no praise too exalted, no incense too precious.

From this dream of sensuality he was at length rudely awakened, not by the revolt of the Bohemians or that of the Moravians, whose countries his father had rendered, for a short time, tributary to Poland; not by the reduction of his strongest fortresses, nor even by the escape of whole provinces from his feeble grasp, but by the menaces of his people, who displayed their martial lines in front of his palace, and insisted on his accompanying them to crush the widespread spirit of insurrection. He reluctantly marched, not to subdue, but to make an idle display of force which he knew not how to wield. The Bohemians were too formidable to be assailed; the Moravians easily escaped his unwilling pursuit, and suffered him to wreak his vengeance—if, indeed, he was capable of such a sentiment—on a few miserable villages, or on such straggling parties of their body as accident threw in his way. As the enemy no longer appeared openly, he naturally wished it to be believed that none existed, and his discontented troops were again led back from the inglorious scene. He now hoped to pass his days in unmolested enjoyment; but—vexation on vexation!—the Pomeranians revolted. His first impulse was to treat with his rebellious subjects, and grant them a part at least of their demands, as the price of the ease he courted; but this disgraceful expedient was furiously rejected by his nobles, who a third time forced him to the field. In this expedition he was accompanied by three Hungarian princes, who had sought a refuge in his dominions from the violence of an ambitious kinsman. Through their ability, and the valour of the Poles, victory declared for him. With all his faults he was not, it appears, incapable of gratitude, since he conferred both the hand of his daughter and the government of Pomerania on Béla, the most valiant of the three princes. Now he had surely done enough to satisfy the pugnacious clamours of his people. The Bohemians, the Moravians, and the Saxons, whom Boleslaw the Great had subjugated, were, indeed, in open and successful revolt; but he could safely ask the most martial of his nobles what chance existed of again reducing those fierce rebels. And though his cowardice might be apparent enough, no wise man would blame the prudence which declined to enter on a contest where success could scarcely be considered possible.

But Mieczyslaw was indifferent to popular opinion. To avoid the grim visages of his nobles, which he hated no less than he feared, he retreated wholly

[1034-1036 A.D.]

from society, and, surrounded by a few companions in debauchery, abandoned himself without restraint to his favourite excesses. The consequences were such as might be expected. Already enfeebled in the prime of life, this wretched voluptuary found his body incapable of sustaining the maladies produced by continued intemperance, his exhausted mind still less able to bear the heavy load of remorse which oppressed it. Madness ensued, which soon terminated in death.

Fortunately for humanity, there are few evils without some intermixture of good. If Mieczyslaw the Idle was cowardly, dissipated, and despicable, there were moments when he appeared sensible of the duties obligatory on his station. To him Poland was indebted for the distribution of the country into palatinates, each presided over by a local judge, and consequently for the more speedy and effectual administration of justice. He is also said to have founded a new bishopric.

THE INTERREGNUM; CASIMIR I

Poland was now doomed to experience the fatal truth, that any permanent government, no matter how tyrannical, weak, or contemptible, is beyond all measure superior to anarchy. Mieczyslaw the Idle left a son of an age too tender to be intrusted with the reins of the monarchy, and his widow Rixa was accordingly declared regent of the kingdom and guardian of the prince. But that queen was unable to control the haughtiness of chiefs who despised the sway of a woman, and who detested her as a German—of all Germans, too, the most hated, as belonging to the archducal house of Austria. She added to their discontent by the evident partiality she showed towards her own countrymen, of whom it is said numbers flocked to share in the spoils of Poland. Complaints followed on the one side, without redress on the other; these were succeeded by remonstrances, then by menaces, until a confederacy was formed by the discontented nobles, whose ostensible object was to procure the dismissal of foreigners, but whose real one was to seize on the supreme authority. They succeeded in both: all foreigners were expelled the kingdom, and with them the regent. Whether Casimir, her son, shared her flight or immediately followed her is uncertain, but Europe soon beheld both in Saxony, claiming the protection of their kinsman, the emperor Conrad II.

The picture, drawn even by native historians, of the miseries sustained by the country after the expulsion of the queen and prince, is in the highest degree revolting. There was, say they, no authority, no law, and consequently no obedience. Innumerable parties contended for the supreme power, and the strongest naturally triumphed, but not until numbers were exterminated. As there was no tribunal to which the disputants could appeal, no chief, no council, no house of legislature, the sword only could decide their pretensions. The triumph was brief: a combination still more powerful arose to hurl the successful party from its blood-stained pre-eminence; and this latter, in turn, became the victim of a new association, as guilty and as short-lived as itself. Then the palatines or governors of provinces asserted their independence of the self-constituted authority at Gnesen. The whole country, indeed, was cursed by the lawless rule of petty local sovereigns, who made an exterminating war on each other, and ravaged each other's territories with as much impunity as greater potentates. One Masos, who had been cup-bearer to the late king, seized by force on the country between the Vistula, the Narew, and the Bug, which he governed despotically, and which to this day is named from him, Masovia.

But a still greater evil was the general rising of the peasants, whose first object was to revenge themselves on the petty tyrants that oppressed them, but who, through the very success of the attempt, were, as must in all times and in all places be the case, only the more incited to greater undertakings. However beautiful the gradation of ranks which law and custom have established in society, the lowest class will not admire it, but will assuredly endeavour to rise higher in the scale, whenever opportunity holds out a prospect of success. Hence the necessity of laws backed by competent authority to curb this everlasting tendency of the multitude. Let the barrier which separates the mob from the more favoured orders be once weakened, and it will soon be thrown down to make way for the most tremendous of inundations, one that will sweep away the landmarks of society, level all that is noble or valuable, and leave nothing but a vast waste, where the evil passions of men may find a fit theatre for further conflict.

Such, we are told, was the state of Poland during the universal reign of anarchy. The peasants, from ministers of righteous justice, became plunderers and murderers, and were infected with all the vices of human nature. Armed bands scoured the country, seizing on all that was valuable, consuming all that could not be carried away, violating the women, massacring old and young; priests and bishops were slain at the altar, nuns ravished in the depths of the cloisters. To add to horrors which had never before, perhaps, been paralleled among Christian nations, came the scourge of foreign invasion, and that, too, in the most revolting forms. On one side Predislaw, duke of Bohemia, sacked Breslaw, Posnanian, and Gnesen, consuming everything with fire and sword; on another advanced the savage Iaroslav, who made a desert as he passed along. Had not the former been recalled by preparations of war against his own dominions, and had not the latter thought proper to return home when he had amassed as much plunder as could be carried away, and made as many captives (to be sold as slaves) as his followers could guard, Poland had no longer been a nation. Even now she was little better than a desert. Her cities exhibited smoking ruins, and her fields nothing but the furrows left by "the plough of desolation." Countless thousands had been massacred; thousands more had fled from the destroying scene. Those who remained had little hope that the present calm would continue; the evil power was rather exhausted than spent. But the terrific lesson had not been lost on them; they now looked forward to the restoration of the monarchy as the only means of averting foreign invasion, and the heavier curse of anarchy. An assembly was convoked by the archbishop at Gnesen. All, except a few lawless chiefs who hoped to perpetuate a state of things where force only was recognised, voted for a king; and, after some deliberation, an overwhelming majority decreed the recall of Prince Casimir.

But where was the prince to be found? No one knew the place of his retreat. A deputation waited on Queen Rixa, who was at length persuaded to reveal it. But here, too, an unexpected difficulty intervened: Casimir had actually taken the cowl in the abbey of Cluny.¹ The deputies were not dismayed; they proceeded to his cloister, threw themselves at his feet, and besought him with tears to have pity on his country: "We come unto thee, dearest prince, in the name of all the bishops, barons, and nobles of the Polish kingdom, since thou alone canst restore our country and thy rightful heritage." They prayed him to return them good for evil, and drew so pathetic a picture of the woes of his native land that he acceded to their wishes. He allowed an application to be

[¹ Röpell^d denies the authenticity of this legend.]

[1040-1058 A.D.]

made to Benedict IX to release him from his monastic engagements, who, after exacting some concessions from the Polish nobles and clergy, absolved him from his vows. He accordingly bade adieu to his cell, and set out to gratify the expectations of his subjects, by whom he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, and justly hailed as their saviour.

Casimir, surnamed the Restorer, proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by his people; no higher praise can be given him than that he was equal to the difficulties of his situation. His first care was to repair the evils which had so long afflicted the country. The great he reduced to obedience—some by persuasion, others by firm but mild acts of authority; and, what was more difficult, he reconciled them to each other. The affection borne towards his person and the need which all had of him rendered his task not indeed easy, but certainly practicable. The submission of the nobles occasioned that of the people, whose interests were no less involved in the restoration of tranquillity and happiness. Where there was so good a disposition for a basis, the superstructure could not fail to correspond. The towns were rebuilt and repopled, industry began to flourish, the laws to resume their empire over brute force, and hope to animate those whom despair had driven to recklessness.

Nor was this politic prince less successful in his foreign relations. To conciliate the power of Iaroslav, the fiercest and most formidable of his enemies, he proposed an alliance to be still more closely cemented by his marriage with a sister of the duke. His offer was accepted, and he was also promised a considerable body of Prussian auxiliaries to assist him in reconquering Silesia, Pomerania, and the province of Masovia, which still recognised the rebel Masos.

This adventurer gave him more trouble than could have been anticipated. Though signally defeated by the king, he had yet address enough to assemble another army, chiefly of pagan Prussians, much more numerous than any he had previously commanded. Casimir was for a moment discouraged; his forces had been weakened even by his successes, and he apprehended that, even should victory again declare for him, he would be left without troops to make head against his other enemies. At this time he is said to have looked back with sincere regret to the peaceful cloister he had abandoned. But this weakness soon gave way to thoughts more worthy of him: he met the enemy on the banks of the Vistula, when a sanguinary contest afforded him an occasion of displaying his valour no less than his ability. He fought like the meanest soldier, was severely wounded, and was saved from destruction by the devotion of a follower. But in the end his arms were victorious: fifteen thousand of the rebels lay on the field; Masos was glad to take refuge in Prussia, by the fierce inhabitants of which he was publicly executed as the author of their calamities.

The rest of the reign of Casimir exhibits little to strike the attention. Bohemia was restrained from disquieting him, rather through the interference of his ally the emperor Henry III than by his own valour. Silesia was surrendered to him; Prussia acknowledged his superiority, and paid him tribute; Pomerania was tranquillised, and Hungary sought his alliance. But signal as were these advantages, they were inferior to those which his personal character and influence procured for his country. Convinced that no state can be happy, however wise the laws that govern it, where morality is not still more powerful, he laboured indefatigably to purify the manners of his people, by teaching them their duties, by a more extended religious education, and by his own example as well as that of his friends and counsellors. For the twelve monks whom he persuaded to leave their retirements at Cluny, to assist him

in the moral reformation of his subjects, he founded two monasteries, one near Cracow, the other on the Oder, in Silesia. Both establishments zealously promoted his views; instruction was more widely diffused, and the decent splendour of the public worship made on the minds of the rude inhabitants, not yet fully reclaimed from paganism, an impression which could never have been produced by mere preaching. Before his death this excellent prince could congratulate himself that he had saved millions, and injured no one individual; that he had laid the foundation of a purer system of manners; that he was the regenerator no less than the restorer of his country. His memory is still dear to the Poles.

BOLESLAW II (1058-1082 A.D.)

Boleslaw II, surnamed the Bold, was only sixteen when he assumed the reins of government. But long before that period he had exhibited proofs of extraordinary capacity, and of that generosity of sentiment inseparable from elevation of mind. Unfortunately, however, he wanted the more useful qualities of his deceased father; those which he possessed were splendid indeed, but among them the sparks of an insatiable ambition lay concealed, which required only the breath of opportunity to burst forth in flames.

That opportunity was not long wanting. A few years after his accession, three fugitive princes arrived at his court, to implore his aid in recovering their lost honours. None indeed of the three had any well-grounded claim to sympathy, since all had forfeited the privileges of their birth by misconduct of their own; but the "protector of unfortunate princes" was a title which he most coveted, and all were favourably received.

The first of these, Jaromir, brother of Wratislaw, duke of Bohemia, had early entered the church, allured by the prospect of the Episcopal throne of Prague; but he soon became disgusted with a profession which set a restraint on his worst passions, and ambitious of temporal distinctions, he left his cloister, plunged into the dissipations of the world, but was soon compelled by his brother to return to it. He escaped a second time, and endeavoured to gain supporters in his wild attempts to subvert the authority of Wratislaw; but finding his freedom, if not his existence, perilled in Bohemia, he threw himself into the arms of Boleslaw. The result was a war between the two countries, which was disastrous to the Bohemians, but to which an end was at length brought by the interference of the Germanic princes. Jaromir was persuaded to resume his former vocation, and to bound his ambition within the limits of a mitre; the marriage of Wratislaw with the sister of the Polish king secured for a time the blessings of peace to these martial people.

The second expedition, in favour of Béla, prince of Hungary, who aspired to the throne of his brother Andrew, was no less successful. Andrew was defeated, and slain in a wood, probably by his own domestics, and Béla was crowned by the conquering Boleslaw. This was not all. Seven years afterwards he again invaded Hungary, to espouse the interests of Geisa, the son of Béla, who had been killed in a hut which the violence of a storm had tumbled on the royal guest. Solomon, the son of Andrew, had been crowned by the influence of the emperor Henry III. Again was he joined by numerous partisans of the exiled prince. Solomon fled into lower Hungary, but he there occupied a position so strong by nature as to defy the force of his enemies. In consternation at the evils which impended over the kingdom, some prelates undertook the appropriate task of effecting an accommodation between the

[1072-1076 A.D.]

contending princes. Through their influence an assembly was held at Mofa, which was attended by the rival claimants; and it was at length agreed that Solomon should retain the title of king; that Geisa and his brothers should be put into possession of one-third of the country, to be governed as a duchy; and that the Polish monarch should be indemnified by both for the expenses he had incurred in the expedition. The reigning king was to be crowned anew, and to receive the ensigns of his dignity from the hands of Geisa.¹

But the most splendid of the warlike undertakings of Boleslaw was his expeditions into Russia. His ostensible object was to espouse the cause of Iziaslav. "I am obliged to succour that prince," said he, "by the blood which unites us, and by the pity so justly due to his misfortunes. Unfortunate princes are more to be commiserated than ordinary mortals. If calamities must necessarily exist on earth, they should not be allowed to affect such as are exalted for the happiness of others." This show of generosity, however, though it had its due weight with him, was not the only cause of his arming. The recovery of the possessions which his predecessors had held in Russia and of the domains which he conceived he had a right to inherit through his mother and his queen (like his father, he had married a Russian princess) was the aim he avowed to his followers. He accordingly marched against Ucheslav, who had expelled Iziaslav from Kiev; both were sons of Iaroslav, who had committed the fatal but in that period common error of dividing his dominions among his children, and thereby opening the door to the most unnatural of contests.

The two armies met within a few leagues of Kiev. The martial appearance and undaunted mien of the Poles struck terror into Ucheslav, who secretly fled from his tent. He had not gone far before his pusillanimity made him despicable even in his own eyes; he blushed and returned. Again was he seized with the same panic fear; he fled with all haste towards Polotsk, and his army, deprived of its natural head, disbanded. Kiev was invested; it surrendered to the authority of Iziaslav; Polotsk followed the example, but Ucheslav first contrived to escape. Boleslaw remained some time at Kiev, plunged in the dissipation to which his temperament and the loose morals of the inhabitants alike inclined him. He was not, however, wholly unmindful of his military fame, since he forsook the luxurious vices of that city for the subjugation of Przemysslaw, an ancient dependency of Poland. Probably he would at the same time have amplified his territories by other conquests, had he not been summoned into Hungary to succour, as before related, the son of the deceased Béla.

On the pacification of that kingdom he returned to Russia, to inflict vengeance on the brothers of Iziaslav, whom they had again expelled from Kiev. Though he was resolved to restore that prince, he was no less so to make him tributary to Poland. He speedily subjugated the whole of Volhynia, with the design of having a retreat in case fortune proved inconstant. Such precautions, however, were useless; in a decisive battle fought in the duchy of Kiev, he almost annihilated the forces of the reigning duke Vsevolod. Kiev was again invested; but as it was well supplied with provisions, and still better defended by the inhabitants, it long set his power at defiance. Perhaps Boleslaw, who was impetuous in everything, and with whom patience was an unknown word, would soon have raised the siege, and proceeded to less tedious conquests, had not a contagious fever suddenly broken out among

¹ Bonfinius is unwilling to allow Boleslaw much honour in the Hungarian war; he scarcely, indeed, condescends to mention him. The Poles have perhaps here exaggerated the exploits and influence of their monarch,

the besieged, and driven the greater portion of them from the city. Those who remained were too few to dream of defending it any longer; they capitulated, and admitted the victor just as the fury of the plague had exhausted itself. Iziaslav was restored, and the other provinces of the dukes given to his children.

Boleslaw might have held them by the right of conquest, but he preferred leaving friends rather than enemies behind him; he preferred having these territories tributary to him, and dependent on him as sovereign paramount, rather than incorporating them at once with his dominions, and thereby subjecting himself and successors to the necessity of perpetually flying to their protection against the inevitable struggles of the Russians for freedom. Even this advantage he must either have perceived would be transient, or he must have had little sagacity. Ambition, however, seldom reasons; and Boleslaw, from his great success, might almost be justified in believing that for him was reserved a fortune peculiar to himself.

The generosity with which he behaved to the Kievans, the affability of his manner, and a mien truly royal soon rendered him a favourite with them. He plunged into dissipation with even more than his former ardour. Ere long his officers, then his meanest followers, so successfully imitated his example that, according to the statements of both Russian and Polish historians, all serious business seemed suspended, and pleasure was the only object of old and young, of Pole and Muscovite. Iziaslav, from gratitude no less than policy, endeavoured to make the residence of his benefactor as agreeable as he could. On one occasion, when desirous of a visit from Boleslaw, he offered to the king as many marks of gold as the royal horse should take steps from the palace of the king to that of the duke—a distance, we are told, considerable enough to enrich the monarch.

The cruelty of the king is said to have sunk deep into the hearts of his subjects. There is more reason for believing that the excesses to which he abandoned himself after his return to Poland produced that effect. His character—outwardly at least—had changed; his industry, his love of justice, his regal qualities, had fled. His virtuous counsellors were dismissed, and none were retained near his person but such as consented to share his orgies. To increase the general discontent, impositions, arbitrary and enormous, were laid on an already burdened people.

Had conduct such as this been practised by almost any other sovereign of Poland, the popular indignation would have been appeased only by his deposition. But the son of Casimir, independently of his former merit and of his splendid deeds in war, required to be treated with greater indulgence. His reformation, not his ruin, was the prayer of his subjects. Such was the impetuosity of his disposition, and such the cruelties he had practised since his fatal residence at Kiev, that Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, was the only man whom history mentions courageous enough to expostulate with him on his excesses and to urge the necessity of amendment. Mild and even affectionate as was the manner of this excellent prelate, the only effect which it had was to draw on him the persecution of the king. But persecution could not influence a man so conscious of his good purposes and so strong in his sense of duty. He returned to his exhortations; but finding that leniency had no good result, he excommunicated the royal delinquent. Rage took possession of the soul of Boleslaw.

Stanislaus had now recourse to one of the last bolts which the church held in the storehouse of her thunders: he placed an interdict on all the churches of Cracow—a measure at all times more violent than just, and in the present case not likely to have any other effect than to harden impenitence. Now

[1079-1082 A.D.]

no longer master of his fury, the king swore the destruction of the prelate, whose steps he caused to be watched by his creatures. Hearing one day that Stanislaus was to celebrate mass in a chapel situated on a hill beyond the Vistula, he took with him a few determined followers, and on reaching the extensive plain in the centre of which the hill lay he perceived from afar his destined victim ascending to the chapel. He was at the doors of the sacred edifice before the conclusion of the office; but, eager as was his thirst for instant vengeance, he forbore to interrupt the solemn act of worship in which Stanislaus and the attendant clergy were engaged. When all was over, he ordered some of his guards to enter and assassinate the prelate. They were restrained, say the chroniclers, by the hand of heaven; for in endeavouring to strike him with their swords, as he calmly stood before the altar, they were miraculously thrown backwards on the ground. They retreated from the place, but were again forced to return by Boleslaw. A second and a third time, we are told, was the miracle repeated, until the king, losing all patience, and fearless alike of divine and human punishment, entered the chapel himself, and with one blow of his ponderous weapon dashed out the brains of the churchman. If the miracle be fabulous, the tragedy at least was true.

Neither Boleslaw of Poland nor Henry of England could murder an ecclesiastic with impunity; and, enemies as we must all be to the extravagant pretensions of the church in these ages, we can scarcely censure the power which was formidable enough to avenge so dark a deed. Gregory VII, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, hurled his anathemas against the murderer, whom he deposed from the royal dignity, absolving his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and at the same time placing an interdict on the whole kingdom. The proud soul of Boleslaw disdained submission to the church; he endeavoured to resist the execution of its mandates; but he speedily found that, in an age when the haughtiest and most powerful monarchs were made to bend before the spiritual throne, such resistance could only seal the fate denounced against him. He was now regarded with horror by clergy and people. In daily fear of assassination by his own people, who universally avoided him, he fled into Hungary, accompanied by his son Mieczyslaw, in the hope of interesting in his behalf the reigning king of that country. But Wladislaw, the brother of Geisa, who had succeeded Solomon, though he pitied the fugitive, had no wish to bring down on his own head the thunders of Gregory; and Boleslaw, after a short stay, was compelled to seek another asylum. His end is wrapped in great obscurity. One account says that he retired to a monastery in Carinthia, to expiate his crime by penance; another, that his senses forsook him, and that in one of his deranged fits he destroyed himself; a third, that he was torn to pieces by his own dogs when hunting; and a fourth, that, being compelled to occupy a mean situation, he preserved his incognito until the hour of death, when he astonished his confessor by the disclosure of his birth and crimes. Of these versions of the story it need scarcely be added that the first is the only one probable.

Had Boleslaw known how to conquer his own passions with as much ease as he conquered his enemies,¹ he would have been one of the greatest princes that ever filled a throne. His character differed at different periods. Before his expedition to Russia he was the model of sovereigns; active, vigilant, just, prudent, liberal, the father of his subjects, the protector of the unfortunate, the conqueror and bestower of kingdoms. Afterwards his elevation of mind gave way to meanness, his valour to cowardice, his justice to tyranny, his

¹ In the intervals between the expeditions into Bohemia and Hungary, he reduced the Prussians who had revolted.

boundless generosity to a pitiful selfishness, which valued no person or thing except in so much as its own gratification was concerned. At one time he was the pride, at another the disgrace, of human nature.

WLADISLAW I, SURNAMED THE CARELESS (1082-1102 A.D.)

After the disappearance of Boleslaw and his son the state remained almost a year without a head; perhaps it would have remained so much longer but for the incursions of two neighbouring powers, the Russians and the Hungarians, the latter of whom reduced Cracow. In great consternation the nobles then raised to the throne Wladislaw, son of Casimir, and brother of the unfortunate Boleslaw.

The first act of Wladislaw was to despatch a deputation to Rome to procure a reversal of the interdict. The churches were in consequence opened, and permission given that Poland should again be ranked among Christian nations; but the royal dignity was withheld. Wladislaw was allowed to reign as duke, but no prelate in Poland dared to anoint him king. It cannot but surprise us, in these times, that the chief of a great people should have incurred the humiliation of submitting to the papal pretensions; but perhaps Wladislaw expected the return of his brother, over whose fate a deep mystery was believed to hang, and had no very strong wish to assume a title which he might hereafter be compelled to resign. The example, however, was disastrous for the country; during more than two hundred years the regal title was disused; nor could the rulers of Poland, as dukes, either repress anarchy at home or command respect abroad so vigorously as had been done by the kings their predecessors.

But whether Boleslaw should return or not, Wladislaw, sensible that he had a powerful party in his interests, resolved to marry, and perpetuate his authority in his offspring. Judith, daughter of Andrew, king of Hungary, was selected as the duchess of Poland. As, however, in two years from her arrival this princess exhibited no signs of pregnancy, both Wladislaw and his clergy were apprehensive that she was cursed with barrenness, and no less so of the consequences which such a misfortune might produce. Recourse was had to the interference of heaven; prayers, alms, pilgrimages, were employed in vain, until the bishop of Cracow advised her to implore the intercession of St. Giles, who had done wonderful things in this way. Pilgrims with rich presents were accordingly sent to a monastery in Lower Languedoc, where that saint had spent and ended his days. Her prayers were heard; for who could doubt that the son which she afterwards brought forth was miraculously vouchsafed to her? Her child was christened Boleslaw; but the mother did not long live to enjoy her happiness.

Soon after his marriage Wladislaw surprised his subjects by the recall of his nephew, Mieczyslaw. By some this step was imputed to magnanimity, by others to policy. Certain it is that the young prince was very popular in Hungary, and the duke might have reason to fear for the prospects of his infant son should the interests of the exile be espoused by that country. However this be, he received Mieczyslaw with much apparent cordiality, and, in four years from his arrival, procured him the hand of Eudoxia, a Russian princess; but the prince became a greater idol in Poland than he had ever been in Hungary, and the apprehensions of the duke naturally acquired threefold strength. Things were in this state when news of the sudden death of Mieczyslaw was spread over the country, and caused a sincerer national grief

[1089-1096 A.D.]

than had ever been felt since the loss of Casimir. That his death had been violent was the general impression, and suspicion pointed to the duke as the murderer, merely because no other man was supposed to be so deeply interested in his removal. Wladislaw, however, was not a man of blood; on the contrary, he was remarkable beyond any prince of his age for the milder virtues of humanity; and some better foundation than suspicion must be found before impartial history will allow his memory to be stained with so dark a crime.

It was the misfortune of Wladislaw that, during the greater part of his reign, his dominions were exposed to the incursions of his fierce neighbours; and a still heavier one that he had neither the vigour nor the talents to repress them. The Russians were the first to revolt; the conquests made by Boleslaw the Bold were lost with greater rapidity than they had been gained. Before the duke could think of recovering them (if such, indeed, was ever his intention), the Prussians, a people more savage, though much less stupid, perhaps, than the ancient Muscovites, prepared to invade his dominions. With great reluctance he marched against them. The steady valour of his followers enabled him, or rather his general, Sieciech, to triumph over the undisciplined bravery of these pagan barbarians. But no sooner did the victors retire from the forests of Prussia than the natives again rose, massacred the garrisons which had been left in their fortresses, and joined in pursuit of the Poles. An obstinate and bloody battle ensued on the banks of the Netze, which arrested the advance of the enemy, but so weakened the invaders that they were compelled to return in search of fresh reinforcements.

Having gained these (chiefly Bohemian mercenaries), they again directed their march to the Netze, and assailed the strong fort of Nackel on the bank of that river; but on this occasion, we are told, they were seized with an unaccountable dread: they stood so much in fear of an irruption into their tents by the wild defenders of the fort that they could scarcely be persuaded to snatch a few moments of repose. Every bush, every tree, every rocky height to their alarmed imaginations seemed peopled with the terrific enemy; and one night, when it had covered the plain before them with these visionary beings, they left their tents to run the risk of an action. The besieged, in the mean time, penetrated to their tents, which they plundered and set on fire, and massacred all whom the light attracted to the place. The loss of the Poles in this most inglorious scene was so severe that they were compelled to retreat. To veil their cowardice, they averred that they had been driven back by supernatural means; that armies of spectres had arisen to oppose them. Absurd as was their plea, it was generally believed; the pagans were thought to be in league with the powers of darkness; so that in the following year, when Wladislaw returned to vindicate the honour of his arms, not a few wondered at his temerity. This time he was more successful; Prussia and Pomerania submitted, but with the intention of revolting whenever fortune presented them with the opportunity.

The wars of the duke with Bohemia were less decisive. Bretislaw, duke of that country, resolved to claim the rights which the emperor Henry, in a fit of displeasure with Wladislaw, had a few years before pretended to bestow on his father—rights involving even the possession of the Polish crown, which Henry, as lord paramount, claimed the power of transferring—invaded Silesia, and wrapped everything in flames. By the duke's command reprisals were made in Moravia, a dependency of the Bohemian crown. The Pomeranians advanced to the assistance of Bretislaw and threw themselves into the strongest fortress in Silesia. They were reduced by Boleslaw, son of Wladislaw, who,

though only in his tenth year, began to give indications of his future greatness. The army indeed was commanded by Sieciech, the Polish general, but the glory of the exploit belonged only to the prince. It is certain that from this time jealousy took possession of the general's heart, and that he did all he could to injure the prince in the mind of Wladislaw, over whom his influence was without a rival—an influence which he exerted solely for his own advantage, and very often to the detriment of the people. Hence the dissensions which began to trouble the peace of the duke—dissensions, too, in which another individual was destined to act not the least prominent part.

Before his marriage with the princess Judith the duke had a natural son named Sbigniew, whose depravity is represented as in the highest degree revolting, and who became a dreadful scourge to the kingdom. The youth, indeed, owed little gratitude to a parent by whom he had been grossly neglected. From a peasant's hut, in a mean village, he had been sent to a monastery in Saxony, where it was intended he should assume the cowl. During his seclusion in the cloister the tyrannical conduct of Sieciech, to whom the duke abandoned the cares and the rewards of sovereignty, forced a considerable number of Poles to expatriate themselves and seek a more tranquil settlement in Bohemia. With the view of disquieting Poland, Bretislaw persuaded these emigrants to espouse the cause of Sbigniew, whom he drew from the monastery to procure for him the sovereignty of Silesia. The hope of crushing the haughty favourite, and of living in peace under the sway of one of their native princes, made them readily join the standard of the new chief.

At the head of these men, Sbigniew boldly advanced to the gates of Breslau, the governor of which he knew to be unfriendly to the favourite. As his avowed object was merely to effect the removal of an obnoxious minister, the city at length received him. Wladislaw advanced to support his authority: Sbigniew fled, collected an army of Prussians, and again took the field. The father conquered; the rebellious prince fell into the hands of Sieciech, his greatest enemy, by whom he was thrown into a dreary dungeon; but the advantage was counterbalanced by the incursions of the Bohemians, who ravaged Silesia, and whom the duke was too timid or too indolent to repress; and ere long the bishops procured the liberation of Sbigniew, whose influence they well saw would soon annihilate that of the detested favourite.

The youth, indeed, was more than pardoned; he was raised to the highest honours, and associated with his brother Boleslaw in the command of an army which was despatched against those inveterate rebels, the Pomeranians. The two brothers, however, disputed and effected nothing, when Wladislaw, alarmed at the prospect of the civil wars which might arise after his decease, took the fatal resolution of announcing the intended division of his states between his two sons: to Boleslaw he promised Silesia, the provinces of Cracow, Sendomir, and Sieradz, with the title of duke of Poland; to Sbigniew, Pomerania, with the palatinates of Leuszyssa, Cujavia, and Masovia. This expedient, which he adopted in the belief that it would prevent all further contention between the princes, became the source of the worst troubles; the example, as we shall hereafter perceive, proved fatal to the prosperity and even threatened the existence of Poland.

For a time, indeed, the two youths were united. Both burned for the destruction of Sieciech, and each had need of the other to secure the common object. With the troops which they had obtained to oppose a pretended invasion of the Bohemians, they forced the feeble and infirm Wladislaw to exile his favourite to a distant fortress. But even this did not satisfy them; they besieged the place. Wladislaw, by means of a disguise, threw himself

[1098-1105 A.D.]

into it, resolved to share the fate of his favourite. His unnatural sons had the army and, what was more, the hearts of the Poles in their favour; nor would they lay down their arms until the odious minister was banished the country; they then submitted to their parent.

During the few remaining months of this feeble duke's life Poland was governed by the two princes. Its frontiers were frequently a prey to the Pomeranians and Prussians; the valour of Boleslaw chastised their presumption. As for Sbigniew, his ambition indeed was boundless and his disposition restless; but his abilities were slender, and his weakness betrayed him into situations from which he found it hard to escape. There is reason to believe he was meditating the means of weakening, if not of supplanting, his brother, when the death of the aged duke suspended for a moment his criminal designs.

Wladislaw deserved a better fate. He appears to have been a Christian and a patriot, a mild and benevolent monarch. That his weakness of mind rendered him the instrument of others, and his infirmity of body prevented him from long enduring the iron labours of war, can scarcely be attributed to him as a fault, however disastrous both proved to his subjects. Even for the fatal division of his dominions between his children—fatal more as an example to others than for the positive evil it produced in this case, though that evil was great—he had precedents enough, not only in the early history of Poland but in the neighbouring country of Russia.

BOLESWAW III, SURNAMED THE WRY-MOUTHED (1102-1139 A.D.)

Scarcely were the last rites paid to the deceased duke than Sbigniew began to show what the nation had to expect from his perversity, and from the imprudence which had left him any means of mischief. He forcibly seized on the ducal treasures at Plock, which, however, the authority of the archbishop of Gnesen compelled him to divide with his brother Boleslaw. He hoped, too, to usurp the provinces and title of that prince, whose assassination he had probably planned; and his rage may be conceived on learning that Boleslaw was about to marry a Russian princess, to perpetuate the hereditary dignity in the legitimate branch of the family. Instead of attending the nuptials, he proceeded into Bohemia, and at the head of some troops, furnished him by the duke of that country, he invaded Silesia. But his followers, who neither respected nor feared him, soon abandoned him and returned to their homes, before Boleslaw could march to the defence of that province. The latter despatched one of his generals to make reprisals in Moravia, and after the conclusion of his marriage feasts he himself hastened to humble the presumption of the Bohemians. But they fled before him, and left him nothing but the satisfaction of laying everything waste with fire and sword.

Though Sbigniew had thus signally failed, his disposition was too restless to suffer him to remain long at peace either with his country or his brother. In the Pomeranians, whose spirit was in many respects kindred to his own, he found ready instruments. They armed with the intention of retreating to their forests whenever a large Polish force appeared on their frontiers, and of emerging from their recesses on its departure. Boleslaw, however, took a circuitous route, and fell by surprise on their town of Colberg. The place was valiantly defended, and the duke was obliged to raise the siege.

A second expedition was not more decisive: the barbarians fled before him. Soon he was constrained to make head a third time against not only

them and his rebellious brother, but the Bohemians, the cause of whose exiled duke he had espoused. The latter retreated; their cowardice ashamed him, since it rendered his success too easy. He now marched into Pomerania and furiously assailed Belgard. The place was defended with great obstinacy; even women and children appeared on the walls to roll stones or pour boiling pitch on the heads of the Poles. The duke was undaunted; with a buckler in one hand and a battle-axe in the other, he hastened to one of the gates, passed over the ditch by means of long planks, and assailed the ponderous barrier with the fury of a demon. Boiling water, pitch, stones, missiles, fell on him in vain: he forced the door, admitted his soldiers, and with them made a terrible slaughter of the people, sparing neither age nor sex, and desisting only from the carnage when their hands were tired with the murderous work. No people in Europe, not even excepting the Russians, have shown themselves so vindictive in war as the Poles. The fall of this town was followed by that of four others no less considerable, and by the submission of the whole country.

In this expedition Boleslaw exhibited another proof of his fearless intrepidity. He had been invited to pass a few days at the house of a noble in the country, to be present at the consecration of a new church. Whilst there he set out early one morning for the chase, accompanied by eighty horse. He was suddenly enveloped by three thousand Pomeranians. He tranquilly drew his sabre, and, followed by his heroic little band, speedily fought his way through the dense mass which encompassed him. This was not all: disdain-
ing to flee, he turned round on the enemy and again passed through them. His followers were now reduced to five; yet he was foolhardy enough to plunge a third time into the middle of the Pomeranians. This time, however, he was well-nigh paying dear for his temerity: his horse was killed; he fought on foot, and was on the point of falling, when one of his officers arrived with thirty horse, and extricated him from his desperate situation. Is this history, or romance?

Sbigniew, disconcerted at the success of his brother, now sued for pardon through the duke of Kiev, father-in-law of Boleslaw. He readily procured it on engaging to have no other interests, no other friends or enemies than those of his brother. Yet at this very moment he was in league with the Bohemians to harass the frontiers of Poland. He had scarcely reached his own territories when, on Boleslaw's requesting the aid of his troops, he refused it with expressions of insult and defiance; he knew that both Bohemia and Pomerania were arming in his cause. The patience of Boleslaw was worn out. With a considerable body of auxiliaries from Hungary and Kiev he invaded the territories of his brother, whose strongest places he reduced with rapidity; all were ready to forsake the iron yoke of a capricious, sanguinary, and cowardly tyrant. Sbigniew implored the protection of the bishop of Cracow, and by the influence of that prelate obtained peace, but with the sacrifice of all his possessions except Masovia. He was too restless, however, to remain long quiet; so that, in the following year, an assembly of nobles was convoked to deliberate on the best means of dealing with one who violated the most solemn oaths with impunity. It was resolved that he should be deprived of Masovia, and forever banished from Poland.

At this time Boleslaw was engaged in a serious war not only with the Bohemians but with Henry V, emperor of Germany, who espoused their interests. He was victorious; but, like the enemy, having occasion to recruit his forces, he abandoned the field. Hearing that the town of Wollin in Pomerania had revolted, he marched to reduce it. He had invested the place, when he was suddenly assailed in his rear by a troop of the natives, whom he

[1108-1114 A.D.]

soon put to flight, several prisoners remaining in his hands. One of these refused to raise the visor of his helmet; it was forcibly unlaced, and then was discovered Sbigmiew! A council of war was assembled, and the traitor was condemned to death; but he was merely driven from the country by Boleslaw, who warned him, however, that his next delinquency—nay, his next appearance in Poland—should be visited with the last punishment. But Gnievomir, one of the most powerful Pomeranian chiefs, who had some time before embraced Christianity, had sworn fealty to Boleslaw, and had now both abjured his new religion and joined the party of Sbigmiew, was not so fortunate as that outlaw; he was hewn to pieces in presence of the Polish army—a barbarous act, but one which had for a time a salutary effect on the fierce pagans.

In the war which followed with the imperialists, who were always ready to harass a power which refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire, which they hated and dreaded at the same time, nothing is more deserving of remembrance than the heroic defence made by the city of Glogau against the power of Henry. The women and children shared in the toils and the glory of the men. The emperor was often driven from the walls, his works demolished, the breaches repaired; but he as often returned, and vowed he would never leave the place until it fell into his power. At length both sides agreed to a suspension of hostilities, on the condition that if Boleslaw did not relieve the place within five days it should be surrendered to Henry, to whom hostages were delivered.

The Polish duke was not far distant; but he was waiting for the arrival of his reinforcements from Russia and Hungary, without whose aid he durst not attack the combined force of the empire; he exhorted the inhabitants to hold out at the expiration of the period limited, assuring them that he would hang them if they surrendered. The time expired; the citizens refused to fulfil their engagements. The indignant Henry moved his legions to the walls, placing in front the hostages he held. Not even the sentiments of nature affected them so powerfully as their hatred of the German yoke and their apprehensions of Boleslaw; they threw their missiles, beheld with indifference the deaths of their children transfixed by their own hands, and again forced the imperialists to retire from the walls. Boleslaw now approached; he enclosed the Germans between himself and the ramparts, and held them as much besieged in the plain as were his subjects in the city. For several succeeding days his cavalry harassed them in their intrenchments, but no general engagement took place.

Irritated at the delay, he had then recourse to a diabolical expedient: he procured the assassination of the Bohemian chief for whose cause Henry had armed, and in the very tent of that emperor. The Bohemians, as he had foreseen, now insisted on returning to their homes. Henry, weakened by their desertion, slowly retreated; the Poles pursued until both armies arrived on the vast plain before Breslau, where the emperor risked a battle. It was stoutly contested; but in the end the Germans gave way, and the Poles committed a horrible carnage on such as were unable to flee. Peace was soon after made between the emperor and duke; the latter, who was a widower, receiving the hand of Adelaide, and his son Wladislaw that of Christina (or Agnes), the one sister, the other daughter, of Henry.

During the following four years Boleslaw was perpetually engaged in war, either with the Bohemians or the Pomeranians, or, as was more frequently the case, with both at the same time. His own ambition was as often the cause of these wars as the restlessness of the enemy. He appears, indeed, to have been so far elated with his successes as to adopt a haughty, domineering tone

towards his neighbours—a tone to which they were never willing to submit. Yet he had many great traits of character; he often behaved nobly to the vanquished Bohemian duke; and he even so far mastered his aversion as to recall his exiled brother, who never ceased either to importune for his return or to plot against his peace.

Sbigniew made a triumphal entry into Poland—the very reverse of one that became a pardoned criminal. Every man who considered his ungrateful character, his insolence, his incorrigible depravity, and the irascible disposition of the duke, foresaw the fatal termination of his career. In a few short months Boleslaw yielded to the incessant arguments of his courtiers, and Sbigniew was assassinated.

During the succeeding years of his life Boleslaw endeavoured to stifle his remorse by such works as he hoped would propitiate the favour of heaven. Having quelled repeated insurrections in Pomerania, he undertook to convert it to the true faith. His efforts were to a certain extent successful, not, perhaps, so much through the preaching of his ecclesiastics, especially of Otto, bishop of Bamberg, as through the sums which he expended in disposing the minds of the rude but avaricious chiefs to the doctrines of Christianity. Many towns publicly embraced the new religion. For a time Stettin stood out; but the golden argument, or at least the promise of an exemption from imposts, brought about its conversion. Idols were in most places demolished, churches erected, priests ordained, and bishops consecrated.

Still the voice of inward conscience spoke out too loud to be silenced, and the unhappy duke had recourse to the usual expedient of the times. He built churches and monasteries, fasted, subjected himself to rigorous acts of penance, and visited, in the garb and with the staff of a pilgrim, the shrines of several saints. Not only did he thus honour the relics of St. Adalbert at Gnesen, and the tomb of St. Stephen of Hungary, but it is said he ventured on a long and painful pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Giles in Languedoc, the efficacy of whose intercession had been so signally experienced by his mother. On his way he relaxed not from the severe austerities he had imposed; with naked feet he daily stood in the churches, joining with the utmost fervency in the canonical hours, in the penitential psalms, and all other offices of devotion; at every chapel or oratory he turned aside to repeat his prayers or offer gifts; he relieved all the poor he approached, and wasted himself with vigils. On reaching the end of his journey he practised still greater austerities; during fifteen successive days he lay prostrate before the tomb of St. Giles. Such, indeed, was his abstinence, his contrition, his humility, that the monks were as edified by his visit as he himself. He returned safely to his country, lightened, in his own mind at least, of no small burden of his guilt, and purified completely in the eyes of his subjects. If his reformation was in some respects mistaken, it was certainly sincere, and charity may hope availing.

But a mortification more bitter than any which religious penance could inflict awaited him. Until within four years of his death his arms were almost invariably successful. He had repeatedly discomfited the Bohemians and Pomeranians; he had humbled the pride of emperors; had twice dictated laws to Hungary, and gained signal triumphs over the Russians.¹ It was now his turn to meet with a reverse of fortune. He was surprised and defeated on the banks of the Dniester by a vastly superior force of Hungarians and Russians:

¹ The old Polish histories lead Boleslaw into Denmark. This is a fable arising probably from an alliance (obscurely hinted at) between him and Nicholas, the usurper of that kingdom, in which both engaged to act in concert in subduing the wild inhabitants on the southern coast of the Baltic.

[1129-1139 A.D.]

the Polish historians throw the blame on the palatine of Cracow, who retired from the field in the heat of the action. After a precipitate retreat, Boleslaw deliberated what vengeance should be inflicted on a man through whose cowardice his arms had been thus fatally dishonoured. His first impulse was to execute the recreant; but vengeance gave way to a disdainful pity. The palatine was left with life and liberty; but the reception of a hare-skin, a spindle, and distaff, from the hands of the duke, was an insult too intolerable to be borne, and he hanged himself.

One of the last acts of Boleslaw was to redeem as many of the prisoners made on this occasion as could be mustered. The blow fell heavily on his heart. The victor in forty-seven battles, the bravest prince of the age, could not review his disgrace at an age when his bodily strength had departed, and when no one was to be found on whom he could devolve the task of repairing it. After a year's indisposition—more of the mind than of the body—in which he followed the fatal precedent of his father, by dividing his dominions among his sons, death put a period to his temporal sufferings. With him was buried the glory of Poland until the restoration of the monarchy. His character must be sufficiently known from his actions.

ARISTOCRATIC RULERS (1139-1295 A.D.)

The period from the death of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed to the restoration of the monarchy is one of little interest; it exhibits nothing but the lamentable dissensions of the rival princes, and the progressive decay of a once powerful kingdom. By the will of the late duke, Poland was thus divided among his sons:

The provinces of Cracow, Leuszysa, Sieradz, Silesia, and Pomerania fell to the eldest, Wladislaw, who, to preserve something like the unity of power, was also invested with supreme authority over the rest. Those of Masovia, Cujavia, with the territories of Dobrezyn and Kulm, were assigned to the second brother, Boleslaw. Those of Gnesen, Posen, and Halitz were subjected to Mieczyslaw, the third brother. Those of Lublin and Sandomir were left to Henry, the fourth in order of birth. There remained a fifth and youngest son, Casimir, to whom nothing was bequeathed. When the late duke was asked the reason why this best beloved of his children was thus neglected, he is said to have replied by a homely proverb: "The four-wheeled chariot must have a driver"—a reply prophetic of the future superiority of one whose talents were already beginning to open with remarkable promise. It is more probable that his tender years alone were the cause of his present exclusion; and that, as the provinces before enumerated were intended to be held not as hereditary, but as movable fiefs, reversible to the eldest son, as lord paramount, on the death of the possessors, he was secure of one in case such an event should happen during his life.

The fatal effects of this division were soon apparent. The younger princes were willing, indeed, to consider their elder brother as superior lord; but they disdained to yield him other than a feudal obedience, and denied his authority in their respective appanages. In an assembly at Kruswick, however, they were constrained not only to own themselves his vassals but to recognise his sovereignty, and leave to his sole decision the important questions of peace and war.

But such discordant materials could not be made to combine in one harmonious frame of government. Wladislaw naturally considered every appear-

ance of authority independent of his will as affecting his rights of primogeniture. His discontent was powerfully fomented by the arts of his German consort, who incessantly urged him to unite under his sceptre the dissevered portions of the monarchy. Her address prevailed. To veil his ambition under the cloak of justice and policy, he convoked an assembly of his nobles at Cracow. To them he exposed, with greater truth than eloquence, the evils which had been occasioned in former periods of the national history from the division of the sovereign power, and he urged the restoration of its union as the only measure capable of saving the country either from domestic treason or from foreign aggression. But they were not convinced by the arguments of one whose ambition they justly deemed superior to his patriotism; those arguments, indeed, they could not answer, but they modestly urged the sanctity of his late father's will, and the obligation under which he lay of observing its provisions.

Disappointed in this quarter, he had recourse to more decisive measures. He first exacted a heavy contribution from each of the princes. His demand excited their astonishment, but they offered no resistance to it. With the money thus summarily acquired he not only raised troops, but hired Russian auxiliaries to aid him in his design of expelling his brethren from their appanages. Their territories were soon entered, and, as no defence had been organised, were soon reduced; and these unfortunate victims of fraternal violence fled to Posnania, the only place which still held for Henry. In vain did they appeal to his justice no less than his affection, in vain did they endeavour to bend the heart of the haughty Agnes, whom they well knew to be the chief author of their woes. A deaf ear was offered to their supplications, and they were even given to understand that their banishment from the country would follow their expulsion from their possessions.

This arbitrary violence made a deep impression on the Poles. The archbishop of Gnesen espoused the cause of the deprived princes. Uszebor, palatine of Sandomir, raised troops in their behalf. The views of both were aided far beyond their expectation by a tragic incident. Count Peter, a nobleman of great riches and influence, who had been the confidential friend of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed, and who lived in the court of Wladislaw, inveighed both in public and private against the measures of the duke. But as his opposition was confined to speaking, it did not wholly destroy his favour with the latter. One day, both being engaged in hunting, they alighted to take refreshment. As they afterwards reclined on the hard, cold ground (it was the winter season), Wladislaw observed: "We are not so comfortably situated here, Peter, as thy wife now is, on a bed of down with her fat abbot Skrezepiski!" "No," replied the other; "nor as yours in the arms of your page Dobiesz!" Whether either intended more than as a jest is doubtful, but the count paid dear for his freedom. The incensed Agnes, to whom the duke communicated the repartee, contrived to vindicate herself in his eyes; but she vowed the destruction of the count. She had him seized at an entertainment, thrown into prison, and deprived both of his tongue and eyes.

The popular indignation now burst forth in every direction. Uszebor defeated the Russian auxiliaries; the Pomeranians poured their wild hordes into Great Poland; the pope excommunicated the princess, because through her he was disappointed of the aids he solicited against the infidels; and the same dreaded doom was hurled at the head of the duke by the archbishop of Gnesen, the staunch advocate of the exiled princes. Wladislaw himself was defeated, and forced to take refuge in Cracow. Thither he was pursued by his indignant subjects, who would probably have served him as he had done Count

[1146-1174 A.D.]

Peter, had he not precipitately abandoned both sceptre and consort and fled into Germany to implore the aid of his brother-in-law, the emperor Conrad. Cracow fell; Agnes became the captive of the princes whose ruin she had all but effected. Her mean supplications moved their contempt as much as her ambition and cruelty had provoked their hatred. She was, however, respectfully conducted over the frontiers of the duchy, and told to rejoice her kindred.

By the princes and nobles, Boleslaw, the eldest of the remaining brothers, was unanimously elected to the vacant dignity. The new duke had need of all his talents and courage—and he possessed both in no ordinary degree—to meet the difficulties of his situation. By confirming his brothers in their respective appanages, and even increasing their territories, he effectually gained their support; but he had to defend his rights against the whole force of the empire, which espoused the cause of the exiles. In a personal interview, indeed, he disarmed the hostility of Conrad, who was too honest to oppose a man whose conduct he could not fail to approve; but Frederick Barbarossa, the successor of that emperor, was less scrupulous, or more ambitious. A resolution of the diet having summoned the Polish duke to surrender his throne to Wladislaw, or acknowledge his country tributary to the empire, he prepared to defend his own dignity and the national independence.

Aided by his brothers, whose privileges he had so religiously respected, and by his subjects, whose welfare he had constantly endeavoured to promote, he feared not the result, though an overwhelming force of imperialists and Bohemians rapidly approached Silesia. Had he ventured, however, to measure arms with the formidable Barbarossa, neither the valour of his troops nor the goodness of his cause would have availed him much; but by hovering about the flanks of the enemy, by harassing them with repeated skirmishes, and, above all, by laying waste the country through which they marched, he constrained them to sue for peace. The conditions were that Wladislaw should have Silesia, and that Barbarossa should be furnished with three hundred Polish lances in his approaching expedition into Italy. The former died before he could take possession of the province; but through the interference of the latter it was divided among his three sons, who held it as a fief of Poland, and did homage for it to Duke Boleslaw.¹

The subsequent exploits of Boleslaw were less successful. In one expedition, indeed, he reduced the Prussians, who, not content with revolting ever since the death of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed, had abolished Christianity and returned to their ancient idolatry; but, in a second, his troops were drawn into a marshy country, were there surprised, and almost annihilated. This was a severe blow to Poland; among the number of the slain was Henry, the duke's brother, whose provinces of Sandomir and Lublin now became the appanage of Casimir.

To add to the general consternation, the sons of Wladislaw demanded the inheritance of their father; the whole nation, indeed, began to despise a ruler who had suffered himself to be so signally defeated by the barbarians. By a powerful faction of nobles Casimir was invited to wrest the sceptre from the hands which held it. Fortunately for Boleslaw his brother had the virtue to

¹ From the latter of these conditions, and the concurrent testimony of the German histories, it is not certain that Poland was altogether so independent of the empire as the national writers pretend. It is certain that the former unanimously term the country as tributary as Bohemia itself. *Servit et ipsa (Polonia) sicut Boëmia, sub tributo imperatoriae majestatis*, are the words of Helmotd, who wrote in the time of Barbarossa. Another authority adds that Boleslaw, before he could obtain peace, was obliged to approach the emperor with naked feet and a sword held over his head. This is incredible.

reject with indignation the alluring offer; and he himself, with his characteristic address, succeeded in pacifying the Silesian princes. His reverses, however, and the little consideration shown him by his subjects, sank deep into his heart and hastened his death. To his surviving son, Leszek, he left the duchies of Masovia and Cujavia; but, in conformity with the order of settlement, the government of Poland devolved on Mieczyslaw (1174).

This prince, from his outward gravity and his affectation of prudence, had been surnamed the Old; and the nation, on his accession, believed it had reason to hope a wise and happy administration. But appearances are proverbially deceitful, and gravity more so than any other. He had scarcely seized the reins of government before his natural character, which it had been his policy to cover, unfolded itself to the universal dismay of his people. His cruelty, his avarice, his distrust, his tyranny made him the object alike of their fear and hatred. They were beset with spies; were dragged before his inexorable tribunal for fancied offences; were oppressed by unheard-of imposts, which were collected with unsparing vigour; and were subjected to sanguinary laws emanating from his caprice alone. Confiscation, imprisonment, and death were the instruments of his government.

The people groaned; the nobles, whose privileges had increased inversely with the decline of the monarchy, and whose pride made them impatient of a superior, openly murmured; the clergy execrated one whose exactions weighed even on them. At length the archbishop of Cracow, after vainly endeavouring to effect his reformation, and employing, like the prophet of old, a striking parable to convict him of his injustice from his own lips, joined a conspiracy formed against him. Cracow was the first to throw off its allegiance; the example was followed by the greater part of the kingdom, and with such rapidity that before he could dream of defending his rights his brother Casimir was proclaimed duke of Poland (1178 A.D.).^b

NATIONAL PROGRESS; EXTINCTION OF THE DYNASTY OF THE PIASTS

Casimir was the youngest brother of Boleslaw IV. It was not ambition that induced him to take possession of the throne from which Mieczyslaw was ejected, for, on the contrary, he even requested to be allowed to resign it to him, pledging himself to the voyavods for his better conduct. This offer was, however, refused, the Poles not being willing to trust themselves to their former tyrant, and the only fruit of the negotiation was the proof of Casimir's mild and generous disposition.

He was engaged in various wars with the Russians, though not of sufficient consequence to Poland to merit detail; in all which, however, he rendered himself conspicuous for clemency and benevolence, "smoothing the rugged brow" of war, and binding up the wounds which his sword had made.

The following anecdote is given as an admirable illustration of the mildness and benevolence of this amiable prince: "He was one day at play and won all the money of one of his nobility, who, incensed at his ill fortune, suddenly struck the prince a blow on the ear, in the heat of his uncontrolled passion. He fled immediately from justice, but, being pursued and overtaken, was condemned to lose his head. The generous Casimir determined otherwise. 'I am not surprised,' said he, 'at the gentleman's conduct; for, not having it in his power to revenge himself on fortune, no wonder he should attack her favourite in me.' After these generous words he revoked the sentence,

[1178-1191 A.D.]

returned the nobleman his money, and declared that he alone was faulty, as he encouraged, by his example, a pernicious practice that might terminate in the ruin of hundreds of the people."

This prince was indeed a father to his subjects: he viewed the oppression of the nobles over the serfs with an eye of sorrow; and though it was not in his power to change the constitution of Polish society by emancipating them and making them perfectly independent, what he could do, he did, in protecting them by strict laws from wanton cruelty. He has left behind him the character of the most amiable monarch that ever swayed the Polish sceptre. He had faults, but they were almost lost in the number of his noble qualities and his virtues. He was a lover of peace, and the friend of the people.

His manners were of the most conciliating kind,

And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side.

His clemency was not the result of fear, nor his bounty the ostentation of pride. Like Aristides, he never swerved from duty and equity, and, unlike him, he tempered right with mercy; he has therefore even one claim more than the Athenian to that rare and enviable appellation which his subjects bestowed on him—the Just.

After several succeeding reigns in which nothing occurred worthy to be remembered, we find Wladislaw¹ III on the throne in 1306. He had been deposed, but after five years he was reinstated in his authority. The regal title had been revived by one of the preceding princes in the year 1296, but the Poles were determined not to bestow it on Wladislaw until he had rendered himself deserving of it by reforming his mind and character as a prince.

The first opportunity he had of meriting well of his country was in its defence against new enemies and invaders—no less than the Teutonic knights. This military order had obtained a settlement in Prussia, and were continually infesting the northern frontier. The Germans who accompanied Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, to the crusades in 1188, being left by his death without a commander, were at length formed by Henry, king of Jerusalem, into a religious and martial order, called the knights of St. George. This title was afterwards changed to knights of St. Mary. They were required to be of noble parentage, to defend the Christian religion, and promulgate it to the utmost extent of their power. In the year 1191 Pope Celestine III granted them a bull addressed to them under the title of the Teutonic knights of the Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin. In the beginning of the thirteenth century Kulm, in Prussia, was allotted to them, under the condition that they should turn their arms only against their pagan neighbours. This injunction, however, was soon set at naught; after conquering all Polish Prussia (as it is now called) and building Marienburg, they invaded the Polish territory, and overran the greater part of Pomerania.

Wladislaw, when they had been denounced by the pope as out of the pale and protection of the church, soon checked their inroads. After several battles, in which the Poles were always superior, a great and last effort was made, but still fortune declared against the Teutonic knights; for, according to the Polish historians, four thousand of them were left dead on the field, besides thirty thousand auxiliaries, either slain or taken captive. Wladislaw had it now in his power to exterminate the order; but, at the sacrifice of

¹ Surnamed Loketiek on account of his diminutive stature, meaning but an ell in height.

policy, he contented himself with taking possession of his own territory, and binding them down by a treaty.

Having thus fought the battles of his country, he returned, to obtain the crown which his subjects could no longer refuse. However, to give the ceremony the sanction of religion, Wladislaw sent an ambassador to Rome, to persuade the pope, more perhaps by a liberal sum of money than words, to ratify it with his authority. This confirmation being obtained, the ceremony of coronation was performed with great pomp in the cathedral at Cracow. Death, however, shortly transferred the diadem from his head to that of his son, Casimir, in the year 1333, to whom he gave these instructions on his death-bed: "If you have any regard for your honour or your reputation, take care to yield nothing to the knights of the Teutonic order and the marquis of Brandenburg. Resolve to bury yourself under the ruins of your throne rather than abandon to them the portion of your heritage which they possess, and for which you are responsible to your people and your children. Do not leave your successors such an example of cowardice, which would be sufficient to tarnish all your virtues and the splendour of the finest reign. Punish the traitors; and, happier than your father, drive them from a kingdom where pity opened an asylum for them, for they are stained with the blackest ingratitude."

CASIMIR (III) THE GREAT (1333-1370 A.D.)

Notwithstanding the dying injunctions of his father, Casimir made no attempts to expel the Teutonic knights from his dominions. The reason doubtless was his inability to carry on the war with any prospect of success. His situation was not without its difficulties: the Bohemian king still aspired to the Polish throne; two of his own palatines were in the interests of that monarch; and the internal state of the kingdom, the nullity of the laws, the insecurity of property and persons, were evils which loudly called for reparation. Peace with these enterprising monks was indispensable to the reforms he meditated; it was at length concluded through the mediation of the Hungarian king, but on conditions deeply mortifying to the nation. Cujavia and the territory of Dobrzyn were restored; but Casimir renounced for himself and successors Kulm, Michalow, and Pomerania. The clergy, the barons, the equestrian order, long refused to sanction so unexpected a concession; but the arguments of the king convinced them that no better terms could be procured, and they reluctantly concurred.

In his proposed reformation of abuses, Casimir first applied his attention to one which threatened to dissolve the frame of society. The highways were infested by numerous parties of robbers, chiefly disbanded soldiers, who plundered alike travellers and peasantry, and long defied punishment. Many of them were doubtless protected by certain nobles, whose interests in return they zealously espoused. They were now pursued to their last hiding-places, were brought before the tribunals of the country, and punished with inflexible severity. The scaffolds of Cracow and the provincial towns continually smoked with the blood of the guilty. His severity not only struck a salutary terror into the hearts of the lawless, but impressed the whole nation with a high idea of his vigour.

Casimir at length aspired to the noble ambition of becoming the legislator of his people. He found the laws barbarous, but so sanctioned by time and custom that their abrogation or improvement was a work of great delicacy.

[1347 A.D.]

Nor were the judges who administered them a less evil; their sentences were not according to equity, but capricious or venal; corruption had seized on all, from the princely palatine to the lowest link in the judicial chain. To frame a body of laws uniform in their character and of universal application, he convoked at Wisliza a diet of bishops, palatines, castellans, and other magistrates, and, in concert with the best informed of these, he digested a code which was thenceforth to be received as obligatory and perpetual. It was comprised in two books, one for Little, the other for Great Poland. Their provisions were on the whole as good as could be expected in an age when feudality reigned undisputed, and when civil rights were little understood. They secured to the peasant, no less than to the noble, the possession and the rights of property, and subjected both, in an equal manner, to the same penalties and tribunals. In other respects the distinction between the two orders was strongly marked. Hitherto the peasants had been *adscripti glebæ*, slaves to their masters, who had power of life and death over them, and were not allowed to change owners. Serfdom was now abolished; every serf employed in cultivating the ground, or in colonisation, was declared entitled to the privileges of the peasant; but the peasants were still chained by a personal, though not a territorial, dependence. Of this order there were two descriptions: those who, as serfs previously, could do nothing without their master's permission; and those who, as born free or made so, could offer their industry to whatever master they pleased. Yet even one of the latter class—free as he would be thought—who, by his agreement with his feudal superior, could migrate to another estate with or without that superior's permission, was affected by the system. If he sued another at the law, and sentence was pronounced in his favour, his lord shared the compensation awarded. The murderer of a peasant paid ten marks; five went to the lord, the other five to the family of the deceased. The reason of these regulations, apparently so arbitrary, was, that as the time of the peasant, so long as he remained on his lord's estate, belonged to that lord, so any injury inflicted on him which interfered with his labour, or diminished in any way the profits of his industry, must be felt by the other; by his death he left his family chargeable to the owner of the estate; the lord then, as he participated in the injury, had a claim to share also the compensation. The peasants not free—those who could not migrate as they pleased, and whose families were subject to the same dependence—were yet entitled to a share of the profits arising from their industry, and with these were qualified to purchase their freedom. On their decease their effects devolved, not as heretofore to their lords, but to their surviving kindred. If ill-treated themselves,



POLE

(Thirteenth Century)

or if their wives and daughters were persecuted by their masters, they could remove as free peasants to another estate; the freed peasant could even aspire to the dignity of a noble. Money, or long service in the martial retinue of the great barons, or success in war, or royal favour, could procure that distinction. The importance of the several orders was carefully graduated by the code under consideration. The murder of a free peasant was redeemed by ten marks; of a peasant recently ennobled, or, in more correct language, recently admitted to the privileges of a gentleman, fifteen marks; of a common noble (Anglicè, gentleman), thirty marks; of a baron or count, sixty marks. These distinctions in time gradually disappeared; all were merged in the common designation of *noble*; every noble was thenceforth equal; but the more the order was confounded in itself, the more it laboured to deepen the line of demarcation between itself and the inferior order of peasants. In the following reigns, indeed, the salutary regulations made in favour of the latter by this prince were disregarded. The nobles again assumed over them a despotic authority, and arrogated to themselves a jurisdiction which rightly belonged to the local magistrates. Until within a very modern period, this judicial vassalage subsisted in Poland. The lord of the soil held his court for the trial of his peasantry as confidently as any judge in the realm; in capital cases, however, the culprit lay within the jurisdiction of the palatinal courts.^b

The whole life of this king was a long chain of treaties; he wanted and he was obliged to have peace with all hostile powers before he could start the great work which he had made the aim of his life. He did not, however, conclude peace in a frivolous and light way at any price; on the contrary, he wisely hesitated as long as it was possible before he gave his last word, for he found it difficult to ask the country to make a sacrifice before it had comprehended that it would do so for its own benefit. The treaty of Kalish in 1343, and that of Bohemia a little later, left his hands free so that he could begin his great task of reconstructing the internal organisation of his kingdom. The country he had inherited from his father was no realm, but an incoherent complexity of provinces dependent upon the personality of the king. For this country to become a realm a soul had to be infused into it, and the soul of states is law. In place of the crumbling exercise of the tottering laws of usage he put the written constitutional laws. He touched, however, these time-honoured institutions with no violent hand; success never crowns such a proceeding; on the contrary, he allowed space for development, and towards the end of his life assembled all the state factors and explained to them the meaning of his actions and endeavours; he expresses the tendency of his whole life and the aim of the next future in the following words: "The same people under one sovereign ought not to enjoy various rights, otherwise it is similar to that monster with several heads. It is therefore useful for the state if it proceeds according to one law, no matter in what province." Casimir was, however, far from disguising from himself the fact that the equality of all the elements forming the state is suitable for nomads—for the patriarchal conditions of the nations—but could never be practised in a cultured state such as Casimir was endeavouring to make Poland. And even if he had wished it, the community had reached such a point of development from which it could indeed advance but not go backwards. And here we discover in Casimir an inclination to imitate his German, Bohemian, and Hungarian neighbours in the feudal system. He forces the Masovian line of his house to become his liegemen, enters for some time with Wladislaw the White into a similar relationship, and on his death-bed bequeaths a great part of northern Poland to his grandson Casimir of Stettin, as a feudal tenure. One perceives

[1347 A.D.]

his endeavours to have princes of vassalage. His inclination towards the feudal system appears still more in his fostering of the nobility, to whom he voluntarily accorded an influence over public affairs. The more the idea of property vanishes, the more the principle of noble birth prevails, and the king does not hesitate to countenance it and bestows coats-of-arms upon those families who did not possess them. He encourages the abolition of the old-established system of equality existing among the nobles in favour of a new organisation which made the Polish nobility more similar to the feudal; in a word, he recognises the growing power of the nobility and allows it full development. He is, however, also endeavouring to create and foster for himself and the state a counterweight. This and his care for the national wealth were the cause of the king's inexhaustible endeavours in the development of the towns and in the increase of settlements with German rights. In this respect the reign of Casimir is especially epoch-making.

German colonisation had in his time invaded the greatest part of the Polish realm as far as the district on the other side of the Vistula, and one of the first acts of Casimir was to endow the most important towns in the newly acquired south Russian provinces with German right to transplant German settlers into the thinly populated districts. Not without reason do the patriotic Polish authors of this period complain that the reign of Casimir was in so far destructive to the national spirit, for through his endeavours Germanism came so much to the front that it pervaded every phase of life of the community. German was spoken in the courts of justice, and the German language was employed in business and commerce; nay, it was preached even in the churches of the most important towns, and German expressions penetrated into the Polish language. It is a fact almost unheard of in the history of the world that without any previous conquest one nationality grew through another to such an extent that even now, after centuries, traces are still easily recognised. If, however, the national spirit suffered by it, the national wealth and the welfare of the inhabitants gained. Casimir had received from his father an impoverished land full of tears, and he left it at his death in such a state of bloom and welfare that it could vie with the most prosperous country of the time. Everywhere it was the result of German settlement where German right was guaranteed. Where German right was granted to a town or a borough, the place after a short time became prosperous, enlarged, and enriched. In order to establish a firm foundation for the future, the king ordered the German right to be put in the form of a code as the national laws; he also established courts of appeal for those laws, and thus clearly showed his desire to nationalise those useful institutions which had assumed an indestructible extent during his reign, and to guarantee their co-existence together with national institutions.^d

As from his union with the princess Anne of Lithuania Casimir had only a daughter,¹ his attention was anxiously directed towards the choice of a successor. Though several princes remained of the house of Piast, he did not consider any one of them sufficiently powerful either to repress the insurrectionary disposition of his nobles, or to make head against the military monks, whose ambition he so justly dreaded. He proposed Louis, king of Hungary, the son of his sister, and therefore a Piast, to the diet he had convoked at Cracow. He thus recognised in that body a right to which they had never dared to make a claim. They felt their importance, and resolved to avail themselves of it. He encountered great opposition. One party would have him to

¹ Cunegund, afterwards married to Romulus, son of the emperor Charles IV. By a third marriage he had two other daughters.

nominate the duke of Masovia; another, the duke of Oppelen; both reproached him for his partiality to a foreigner, in prejudice of the male descendants of his house. Fortunately for his views, they opposed each other with so much animosity that, in the end, both adopted his proposition as a means of avoiding the shame of a defeat. But though they thus united in the election of Louis, they resolved to derive their own advantage from it. The sceptre of Casimir, though never swayed more rigorously than justice permitted, they felt to be one of iron, after the long impunity they had enjoyed during two centuries. Some years afterwards they sent deputies to Breda, to inform Louis that, though in compliance with the wishes of their king they had concurred in his election, they should yet consider themselves free to make choice of any other prince if he refused them certain concessions. He was not to invest Hungarians or any other foreigners with the offices of the state; he was to declare the Polish equestrian order exempt from contributions, to confirm them in their utmost privileges, and even to support their retinues in his warlike expeditions. The Hungarian king had the weakness to comply with these and other demands, and thereby to forge chains for his successors. Hence the origin of the *pacta conventa*, or the covenants between the nobles and the candidate they proposed to elect—covenants exclusively framed for their own benefit, and for the detriment alike of king and peasantry.

Casimir was a man of peace. War he desired not, yet he never shunned it when it was forced upon him, or when the voice of his nobles demanded it. Both he and they, perhaps, feared the knights too much to engage with them; but he triumphed over the Silesians (now subject to the Bohemians), the Russians, the Lithuanians, and Tatars; he subdued Volhinia and Podolia, with the palatinates of Brescia and Beltz. These successes, with the alliance of two princes so powerful as Louis and the emperor, rendered him formidable to his neighbours, and deterred his enemies of Pomerania from their cruel aggressions.

But the great qualities of this prince were sullied by some excesses. He was much addicted to drunkenness, and immoderately so to women. Long before his father's death he had dishonoured the daughter of an Hungarian noble, and fled from the vengeance of her friends. To none of his wives (and he had three) did he dream of fidelity. After the death of the princess Anne, he married Adelaide, a German princess; but her jealousy, and still more her reproaches, incensed him so much that he exiled her to a fortress. His career of intemperance was thenceforth the more headstrong. He soon became enamoured of a Bohemian lady, whom all his arts, however, failed to seduce, and who declared she would yield only to marriage. (How his engagement with Adelaide was to be set aside, we are not informed; perhaps he had the art to convince her that he had obtained a divorce.) He feigned to comply; but instead of the bishop of Cracow, whom she wished to perform the ceremony, and whose authority she conceived would sanction the act, he substituted a monk (the abbot of Tynieck), who assumed the pontifical robes, and thus became a participator in the most detestable of deceptions. Her he soon discarded, to make way for a Jewess named Esther, by whom he had two sons. During this concubine's favour Poland was the paradise of the Israelites; the privileges, indeed, which at her entreaties he granted to them, remained in force long after his reign, and, no doubt, were the cause why they have continued for so many ages to regard this kingdom with peculiar affection, and to select it as their chief residence. After Esther, or perhaps contemporary with her, we find a multitude of favourites. His licentiousness knew no bounds; he established a regular seraglio, which he filled with frail

[1356-1370 A.D.]

beauties. The bishops murmured, but dared not openly reproach him; the pope expostulated, but in vain. A priest of Cracow at length had the courage to reprove him; but as he was quickly thrown into the Vistula, his fate deterred others from imitating his temerity. Age effected what reason and religion had attempted in vain. After his union with a third wife (a Piast), he became less notorious for his amours; and as the fire of lust expired before the chilling influence of age, his subjects had the consolation of finding that their wives, sisters, and daughters were safe from pollution.

Casimir's death was occasioned by a fall from his horse while hunting. The accident might not have been fatal, had he not turned a deaf ear to the advice of his physicians. To this day his memory is cherished by his country, which justly regards him as the greatest prince of a great line. Of his genius, his patriotism, his love of justice, his success in improving the condition of his people, his acts are the best comment; but his splendid qualities must not blind us to his vices—vices which not only sully the lustre of his character, but must have had a pernicious influence on the minds of a people with whom the obligations of religion and morality were not in that age usually strong.

During the reign of this last male prince of the house of Piast, the Flagellants, a numerous sect of enthusiasts, so called from the rigour of their self-inflictions, entered Poland from Hungary; they went naked to the waist, wore crosses on their lower garments, and entered every town two by two, with caps descending to their eyes, and exhibiting on their breasts and backs the wounds caused by their merciless whippings. Twice a day, and once during the night, did they inflict upon themselves this horrible penance—sometimes in the churches, sometimes in the public cemeteries, vociferating the whole time, "Mercy!" After which, joining in a song alluding to our Saviour's passion, they would suddenly throw themselves on the ground, regardless of stones, flint, or mud; one of their lay preachers would then pass from one to another, saying, "God forgives thee thy sins!" Thirty days' continued suffering they considered a full atonement for sin; hence they dispensed with the sacraments, which they taught were abrogated, grace being obtained and guilt removed by this penance alone. They took in a strange sense that most Christian of truths, "without shedding of blood there can be no remission." The success of these madmen in making proselytes would appear incredible, had we not instances enough in our times how easily heresy and fanaticism—and those, too, of the worst kind—may be propagated among the vulgar. Hungary, Poland, Germany, Italy, France, and even England, were overrun by the Flagellants. They were long treated with respect even by those who considered them as displaying more zeal than knowledge; but, in the end, it was found that their vices were superior to both. Men and women roamed together from kingdom to kingdom; and while thus publicly enduring so severe a discipline, made ample amends for it in secret; they lived in the worst species of fornication. Until their knavery was discovered, and they were scouted by the very populace, pope and prince vainly endeavoured to repress them.^b

LOUIS (1370-1382 A.D.)

On the death of Casimir, there being no immediate heirs, his sister's son, Louis, king of Hungary, was called to the Polish throne.

As Louis was the sovereign of another kingdom, the Polish nobles, apprehending that their interests would be compromised to those of his other subjects, made him agree to certain stipulations as a safeguard before they would

allow him to take possession of the insignia of authority. There had always been some form of this kind on the accession of the preceding kings, but it was merely a formal coronation oath, binding the new monarch to preserve the interests of his people. In the present case it became something more than a mere matter of form, being made in fact a "corner-stone" of the Polish constitution. This bond between the king and his subjects was called the *Pacta Conventa*, and—subject to the alterations made by the diets—has continued to be administered to the monarchs on oath ever since, and is the *Magna Charta* of Poland. The conditions required of Louis were as follows: He was obliged to resign all right to most of the extensive domains annexed before to the crown, and make them the benefices of his officers or *starostas*, whom he could not remove without consulting the senate, or assembly of nobles. He was not to exact any personal service, to impose any taxes, or wage war without their consent. Nor was he to interfere with the authority of the lords over their serfs. The power of the king was thus limited to little more than that of a guardian of the laws.

Louis agreed to these demands, but his conduct afterwards proved that it was not with an intention of observing them. He fixed his residence entirely in Hungary, and, regardless of the complaints of the Poles, filled all the principal offices with Hungarians. Great disturbances ensued, and the neighbours of Poland, taking advantage of the discord, made frequent incursions. Happily, however, death removed the author of these troubles after he had reigned twelve years, and, having no male heirs, Louis terminated the dynasty of the Piasts in the year 1382.

In this first period were laid the foundations of all the most important Polish institutions, its laws, diets, orders, and not only political establishments, but those of learning also.

The laws, we have seen, were formed into a regular code by Casimir; Wladislaw first assembled his nobles in a diet in the year 1331, and his successor, Casimir, followed his example. These convocations were not merely assemblies of one order, but were formed by the kings on the very principle of balance of power, between the aristocracy, consisting of the influential nobles, and the numerous barons who possessed the title of noblemen, but, in fact, constituted a separate interest. This is a distinction of no small importance; all the army, at least those who fought on horseback, were styled nobles, for *miles* and *nobilis* were synonymous.

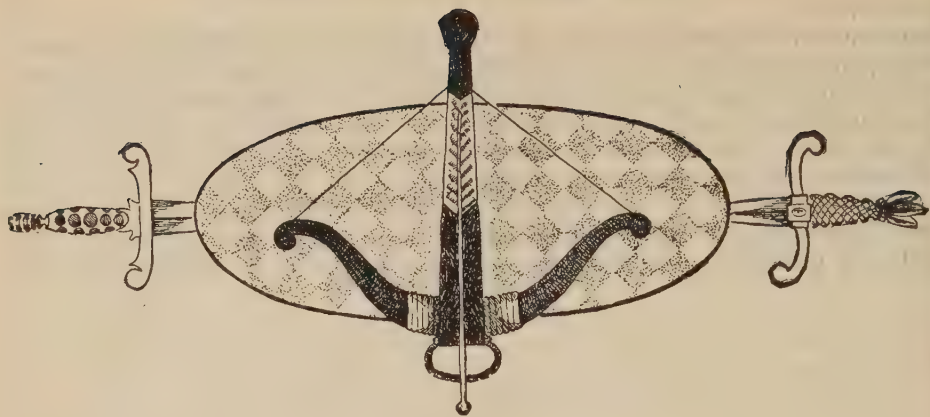
The commercial classes were not admitted to any great privileges, since at that time they consisted chiefly of foreigners and Jews. The latter people, indeed, had obtained possession of most of the ready money in Poland, as well as elsewhere. Boleslaw II granted them a charter in 1264, and the same protection was extended to them by Casimir the Great. It is said that this prince was interested in their favour by Esther, a young Jewess, of whom he was enamoured. Cracow was in his time one of the Hanse towns in alliance with forty other cities in Europe. The Exchange, still standing, impresses us with a high idea of the commerce of this age, thus intrusted to the Jews. So sedulously did this industrious people avail themselves of their advantages, that at the marriage of Casimir's granddaughter, Elizabeth, Wierzynek, a Jewish merchant of Cracow, requested the honour of being allowed to make the young bride a marriage present of 100,000 florins of gold, an immense sum at that time, and equal to her dowry from her grandfather.

With regard to the learning of this period, we first meet with the monkish historian, Gallus, who wrote between the years 1110 and 1135. His history commences in 825, and extends to 1118. According to the custom of his

[1382 A.D.]

order, he wrote in bad Latin verse. He was followed by Matthew Cholewa, bishop of Cracow, and Vincent Kadlubek. This latter writer was also diocesan of the same see, and was born about the year 1160. He wrote in the time of Casimir the Just, and in his history attempts to penetrate the mysteries of the Polish origin. But the circumstance which most conduced to the promotion of learning in Poland was the foundation of the University of Cracow, by Casimir the Great, in 1347. It was regulated in imitation of that of Paris, and such eminence had its professors attained in a short time that Pope Urban V estimated it, in 1364, as equal to any of the universities of Europe.^c





CHAPTER II

ZENITH AND DECLINE

[1382-1696 A.D.]

HEDWIG (1382-1386 A.D.)

THE death of Louis was speedily followed by troubles raised chiefly by the turbulent nobles. Sigismund advanced to claim his rights. Semowit, duke of Masovia, and a Piast, also aspired to the throne; a civil war desolated several provinces. The latter prince might have united the suffrages in his favour had he not exhibited great ferocity, rashness, impatience, and other qualities sufficient to disgust the Poles with his pretensions. The factions at length agreed that the crown should be offered to Hedwig, youngest daughter of the late king, and granddaughter of Casimir the Great, on condition that she should accept as husband any one of the princes whom her subjects might propose to her. As this princess was only in her fourteenth year, the deputies treated with her mother, Elizabeth. That queen, however, being bent on the succession of her eldest daughter, Maria, to whom the Poles had sworn obedience, had recourse to policy. She accepted the throne, indeed, for Hedwig; but, on the plea that the princess was too young to undertake the onerous duties of government, she despatched Sigismund to act as regent, in the view that he would be able to reconcile the people to his authority. Her stratagem failed; he was not even allowed to enter the country; and a messenger was sent to inform her that if Hedwig was not given to the nation in two months a new election would be made. This menace had the desired effect; Hedwig arrived in Poland, and was immediately crowned at Cracow.

The beauty of this princess, her affability, her virtues, discernible even at that tender age, and above all her crown, soon brought her many suitors. Among them was the duke of Masovia; but the evils his ambition had brought on the country (his ravages had never ceased since the death of Louis) caused his rejection. The most powerful was Jagello, son of Gedymin, duke of Lithuania, and his proposals most advantageous to the nation. He offered not only to abjure paganism, and to introduce the Christian faith into his hereditary dominions—Lithuania, Samogitia, and a portion of Russia—but to incor-

[1382-1386 A.D.]

porate these dominions with the Polish crown, and even to reconquer Silesia, Pomerania, and the other territories formerly dependent on it. His pretensions were instantly supported by the whole nation; but a difficulty intervened which threatened to blast its fairest hopes.

Young as was the queen, she had long loved and been affianced to William, duke of Austria. She remembered his elegant form, his pleasing manners, and, above all, the tender affection he had shown her in her childhood, and she could not avoid contrasting him with the rude, savage, uncomely pagan. Her subjects well knew what passed in her mind; they knew, too, that she had written to hasten the arrival of Duke William: they watched her day and night, intercepted her letters, and kept her like a prisoner within her own palace. When her lover arrived he was not permitted to approach her. She wished to see him once—but once—to bid him a last adieu; in vain. Irritated, or perhaps desperate at the refusal, she one day seized a hatchet, with which she threatened to break open her iron gates to admit the duke, and it was not without difficulty that she was forced to desist from her purpose. This was a paroxysm of the passion scarcely to be wondered at in one of her strong feelings. But she was blessed with an understanding remarkably clear for her years: in her cooler moments she perceived the advantages that must accrue to her people from her acceptance of Jagello; and, after a few violent struggles with nature, she resolved to see the formidable barbarian, and, if possible, to subdue the repugnance she felt for him. He arrived, and did not displease her. His baptism by the name of Wladislaw—a name dear to the Poles—his marriage, and coronation followed.^e

Through the marriage of Hedwig with Jagello Lithuania and Poland were united under one crown.^a This duchy was an immense accession to the geographical magnitude of Poland. It extended from Poland on the west, beyond the Dnieper or Borysthenes on the east, and from Livonia on the north. The Lithuanians and Samogitians, who are different clans of the same origin, are now generally believed to have sprung from a different stem from the Poles. They spoke a language widely dissimilar to the Polish or the Russian. Their religion was a singular medley of idolatry: they believed in a supreme god or Jupiter, whom they called the omnipotent and all-wise spirit. They worshipped the god of thunder under the name of Perkunas; they paid homage to a god of the harvests; there were also maintained priests who were continually feeding a sacred fire in honour of Parni, the god of the seasons; and their flamen was called Ziutz. Trees, fountains, and plants all came in for a share of their veneration. They had sacred serpents called Givoïte, and believed in guardian spirits of bees, cattle, etc. As to their government, it was, like that of all other barbarous nations, despotic; and the nobles were less numerous and more tyrannical to the lower orders than in Poland. Ringold was the first who united the various provinces, and assumed the title of grand duke of Lithuania in 1235.

In 1320 we find the famous Gedymin on the ducal throne. He wrested Volhinia, Severia, Kiev, and Tchernizov from the Russians. He divided this dukedom between his sons, but Olgerd made himself the sole possessor. Jagello, one of his thirteen sons, succeeded him in 1381. When raised to the throne of Poland, he appointed his cousin, Witold, to the government of Lithuania.

This province did not so readily coalesce with Poland as was expected. Jagello did not find the people very docile disciples; for, though the Romish faith was partially disseminated in Lithuania proper, and Vilna made the seat of a bishop, the districts which had been subject to Russia had long adopted

the doctrines of the Greek church, and obstinately adhered to their tenets; while the Samogitians refused to accept any modification of the Christian religion; and though the episcopal city Miedniki was built at this time, they clung firmly for a long period to their own strange and wild superstitions. In the latter part of this reign (in 1434), however, the union of the Roman and Greek churches took place at the convent of Florence, and the bishop of Kiev adopted the Roman ritual, but the Greek clergy were allowed the privilege of marriage.

Nor was the political union effected without opposition. The Lithuanian nobles were afraid of losing their ascendancy over their serfs by their connection with the less despotic Polish barons; and Witold, urged on by the emperor Sigismund, who was jealous of the growing power of Poland, revolted, and was making preparations for his coronation, when he suddenly died in 1430.

Jagello established the Polish law on a firmer foundation in the diets of 1422 and 1423, and gave an additional sanction to the code of Wislica, which Casimir had begun. To him the Poles are indebted for their famous law that no individual is to be imprisoned until convicted.

This monarch was obliged to fight as well as preach and legislate; he was in the early part of his reign continually occupied in checking the encroachments of the Teutonic knights. He defeated them in a great battle at Grunewala in 1410, and they were happy to obtain peace in 1422. Having thus laid the foundation of Poland's greatness, he died in 1433.

His son, Wladislaw, was not much more than nine years old when the crown of Poland was placed on his head. His mother and some of the nobles were his guardians during his nonage. Scarcely had he escaped from his pupilage, when he served his maiden campaign against the Turks. The descendants of Osman, not content with their conquests in Asia, had crossed the Hellespont to lay low the tottering eastern empire. They ravaged Transylvania and a great portion of Hungary, and, the Hungarians opposing them in vain, conferred their crown on Wladislaw, who immediately took the field. Murad headed the Moslem army, and Wladislaw the Poles; an experienced warrior was thus pitted against a boy. But the battle is not always to the strong; like a spent wave, as if exhausted with victory, the Turks made but a feeble attack on that Polish army. The Moslems were defeated with the loss of 30,000 men, and were obliged to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded with mutual oaths, and Wladislaw was presented with the Hungarian crown which he had so nobly defended.

But this success only urged him, like the gamester, to try the chance of another cast. Treaties were nothing, oaths were nothing; the pope's legate, who accompanied the youthful king, produced his authority, and silenced all scruples of conscience. But the Turkish swords, which before were blunt with service, were now whetted with revenge, and for once the Moslem crescent was the banner of justice. Murad regained his laurels on the plains of Varna; the Poles were routed, and Wladislaw fell a victim to his own rashness and perfidy. Thus perished this young Polish king, in his twenty-first year, 1444 A.D., an event which spared the lives of many thousands of human beings.

THE DEFEAT OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

The reign of Casimir IV, who succeeded his brother, forms a brighter era in Polish history. His predecessor's fate seems to have given him a distaste for the dangers of war, and the early part of his reign was passed in rather

[1444-1474 A.D.]

disgraceful peace. His first undertaking was against those inveterate and formidable enemies of his kingdom, the Teutonic knights, whom he defeated. The Prussians, wearied with the oppression of these fanatical brigands, rebelled against them, and placed themselves under the protection of Casimir in 1454. The knights did not surrender their conquests without a struggle, and the war was prolonged twelve years. The Poles overran all the Prussian territory which continued to side with the oppressors. So great was the devastation that out of twenty-one thousand villages which are said to have existed before this time in Prussia, scarcely more than thirteen thousand survived the flames, and nearly two thousand churches were destroyed.

The knights were at length obliged to submit; and a treaty was concluded, by which they surrendered all Polish Prussia and held the remaining portion as a fief of Poland. Casimir formed this new addition of territory into four palatinates, under the same government as the rest of his kingdom, excepting certain commercial privileges granted to the trading towns. Dantzic, Thorn, Elbing, and Kulm were important acquisitions, being of great mercantile consequence. Dantzic was one of the principal Hanse towns, commanding the commerce of the Baltic, and Casimir conferred on it the exclusive privilege of navigation on the Vistula. Moldavia, also, was now tributary to Poland, so that this kingdom had then the means of uniting the commerce of northern Europe with that of the south.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The system of internal policy was also undergoing several changes. In the early part of this reign the senate confirmed the decree that the king was not to make war without their permission. In the year 1467 the foundation of the Polish diet, or parliament, was laid. Before that period the senate consisted only of the bishops and great officers of the kingdom, who formed the king's council, subject also to the interference of the nobility.

Learning began to be cultivated by the Polish gentlemen in this reign, and the Latin language was now generally introduced. It is said that, in a conference with the king of Sweden, Casimir, being addressed in Latin, was obliged to employ a monk as interpreter; and, ashamed of his ignorance, he enjoined the study of that language among the gentlemen of Poland by an edict. It has continued ever since almost a living language in that country.

The first printing-press was erected at Cracow in 1474. The Polish language began to be cultivated and used by authors, and even written elegantly. Schools were generally established, to which the sons of the citizens, or even serfs, had the same access as the nobles. Kromer, the historian, called the Livy of Poland, son of a peasant, and raised to the bishopric of Ermland (Warmia), and Janicki, of the same origin, noted for his Latin poems, and crowned with the laurel wreath by Pope Clement VII, were among the numerous authors who lived in this reign. The name of Gregory of Sanok, the Polish Bacon, must not pass unnoticed. He held a professorship in the University of Cracow some time, in which office he introduced a spirit of liberal and independent inquiry, for which we could scarcely give the age credit. He hated the scholastic dialect, says his biographer, ridiculed astrology, and introduced a simple mode of reasoning. He was also a great admirer and patron of elegant learning, and was the first who introduced the works of Vergil into notice in Poland.

The diets, up to this period, had been general assemblies of all the nobles, that is, of the army; but the inconvenience of holding meetings of more than

a hundred thousand horsemen obliged the Poles to adopt the form of representation which had become almost universal in Europe. Dietines, or *Colloquia*, had long been held by each of the palatines in their palatinates, for the administration of justice, and these now began to appoint deputies for the management of the public business. In the course of time every district assumed the same privilege, and at length, in 1468, sent two deputies to a general diet. This first diet was convened to debate on the propriety of renewing the war against the Teutonic knights, of which we have already seen the conclusion. The system, however, was only gradually introduced. The nobles of many of the provinces refused to give up their rights to a deputy, and Regal Prussia, in particular, was so tenacious of this privilege that it has reserved, even to modern times, the power of sending as many nobles to the diet as it pleases. The deputies also were bound to act precisely according to the instructions of their constituents, and the nobles still maintained their custom of general meetings, or confederations, when occasion required. The towns also at this time enjoyed the elective franchise.

Casimir, having thus spent nearly forty-eight years in the service of his kingdom, extending its territory, conquering its enemies, framing its constitution, and civilising it with arts and learning, left it to the care of his third son, John Albert, 1492 A.D.

Good fortune and faction raised John Albert above his two elder brothers, but courage and policy maintained him in his elevation. The latter of these cardinal virtues in a king was not, however, always exhibited in the present monarch's counsels. He had admitted an Italian, Buono Accorso, formerly his tutor, into his confidence, and showed much deference to his opinions. According to his advice he attempted to lessen the preponderance of the nobility in the political scale. The plan was prudent, and if it could have been effected and their power withheld till the *tiers-état* was sufficiently strengthened with wealth and arts to counteract its undue influence, Poland might, like England, have enjoyed a firmly balanced constitution, in which the dissentient ranks are so well adjusted that disorder and its remedy are always produced simultaneously.

Albert impolitically gave publicity to a design in which concealment was the principal requisite to insure success. Unfortunately, a circumstance which happened shortly after the disclosure rendered the king still more an object of suspicion to the nobles. The Polish troops were waylaid by an ambuscade, during a campaign against the Wallachians, and a great number of nobles, who almost entirely composed the army, were put to the sword. This event, coupled with the king's dénouement, engendered a suspicion of treachery, and made the nobles the more on the alert, not only to preserve their privileges, but to intrench on those of the king and the people. The Lithuanian nobles, in particular, were strenuous in their opposition to the king's design; their principles had always been more exclusive than those of the Poles, but the danger which threatened their privileges united both in the common cause. From this time we may date their despotism over the serfs, who, not having allies in the commercial classes, were obliged to submit quietly.

The influence of the trading classes was checked by two causes. In the first place, every gentleman who had a house and a few acres of land could enjoy all the privileges of nobility; hence none but the lower order, or foreigners, would engage in mercantile pursuits; and, secondly, the towns were composed chiefly of German strangers, Jews, and even Armenians, who had been long considered almost out of the pale of the law, and could not be admitted to the rights of naturalisation. From this time, therefore, we may

[1496-1525 A.D.]

date the origin of the exclusive influence of the nobles; they became resolute in maintaining arbitrary authority over their serfs; the commercial class were included in the proscription of rights, being interdicted by the diet in 1496 from becoming proprietors of land or possessors of church preferment.

But what Albert unintentionally pulled down from one part of the constitution, he rebuilt in another; and to make amends for having thus weakened the political power of the people, he fortified their juridical rights. In his time the law courts were submitted to more fixed regulations, and corruption and oppression of the people exposed and punished.

In the reign of his successor, Alexander, who came to the throne in 1501, the crown was still more debased. The king was prohibited from raising any money or using the revenue without the consent of the diet. This law, called *Statutum Alexandrinum*, is said to have been passed to check Alexander's prodigality to musicians, to whose art he was passionately attached. All the Polish laws were revised and corrected at this period by the chancellor Laski, after whom the code is named.

THE REIGNS OF SIGISMUND I AND OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS

When Sigismund I came to the throne, in 1507, he found that it was not a bed of roses. Faction rose up against him as a many-headed monster, and it required a powerful and long arm to decapitate the ever-growing heads and perseverance with resolution to sear the wounds. But the Polish monarch was not to be soon intimidated; he defeated the Lithuanians, who had revolted, and routed the Russian auxiliaries of the rebels. The latter success was in a great measure owing to the artillery, which was now introduced into the Polish army, or rather among their Bohemian allies and fellow subjects.

Albert, marquis of Brandenburg and nephew of Sigismund, had been elected master of the Teutonic order, in the hope that his connection with the Polish kings might be the means of advancing their interest. No sooner was he invested with this authority than he renounced all allegiance to Poland, and refused to submit to his liege lord Sigismund. He was, however, soon brought to obedience, and obliged to resign his authority as master. This resignation was the knell of the Teutonic knights; they were now deprived of all standing ground in Prussia, and were obliged to retire to Marienthal, in Franconia. The Poles were thus delivered from one enemy, but little did they imagine that the successors, whom they appointed to the vacated authority, would eventually be their destroyers. Sigismund formed eastern Prussia into a duchy in 1525, and intrusted it to Albert as a fief. Polish or western Prussia was hence called Regal Prussia, to distinguish it from the duchy.

But when the king had quelled all foreign troubles, he found others at home of a more insidious and less tractable nature. His wife, Bona, was the prime mover of these intrigues; she had obtained a complete ascendancy over the mind of her husband, who was now no more than a puppet which played her own game. The nobility, being summoned by the king to assemble at Leopold or Lemberg in Galicia, obeyed his orders, but it was to make universal complaints against the queen and the administration. This confederation they styled Rokosz, in imitation of the Hungarians, who in cases of public emergency held their assemblies in the plain of Rokosz, near the city Pesth. The confederation was not formed of very stubborn materials, for they were all dispersed, we are told, by a shower of rain. This assembly and protest,

however trifling in themselves, were of much importance as establishing a precedent which was but too often and obstinately imitated in following times.

No sooner had Sigismund Augustus, the son of the preceding monarch, ascended the throne, than factions were formed against him, because he had married without the consent and concurrence of the diet. The object of his choice was Barba Radziwill, widow of a Lithuanian noble of no great consequence. This marriage had been contracted secretly before his father's death, but he publicly acknowledged it on coming to the crown. Firm in his affection, and faithful to his vows, he would not break his domestic ties, although his constancy might cost him a kingdom. The contest did not, however, come to this crisis, for the king dexterously turned the attention of the nobles to their own interests, and heard no more objections to his marriage. But Sigismund did not long enjoy the domestic happiness which he so well deserved, for in the course of six months death made him a widower.

GROWTH OF POLAND

Sigismund was not entirely freed from war, but he found time to cultivate the arts of peace very successfully. In this reign Livonia and Courland were annexed to the Polish crown. The order of the knights of Christ, having the same statutes as the Templars, was founded in 1202 by the bishop of Riga, who conferred on them the right to a third part of Livonia, which they were to conquer and convert to Christianity, and this grant was also confirmed by the pope. The first grand master was Winno, who denominated the order *Ensiferi*. In 1238 they formed a solemn compact with the Teutonic knights and adopted their statutes. They reduced Livonia and Courland, and in 1521 purchased their independence of the grand master of the Teutonic order. The Reformation began now to spread in Livonia, and greatly weakened the power of the knights. At this time they had imprisoned the bishop of Riga, Sigismund's cousin, and massacred the envoys whom he sent to demand the release of his kinsman.

Sigismund was arming to wreak vengeance on them, when, dreading the encounter, they submitted, and formed an alliance with Poland. The czar of Moscow, provoked at this step, invaded Livonia, and the knights, not able to defend themselves, sued for assistance from Sigismund, who repelled the Russians. Livonia was surrendered to Poland in 1561; and Kettler, the grand master, was invested with the duchy of Courland as a fief. He was bound to furnish the king as his vassal with two hundred horse or five hundred infantry, and was not allowed to maintain more than five hundred regular troops.

The war in which Sigismund was engaged with the Russians led to a consolidation of the union between Poland and Lithuania. At the commencement of hostilities the czar was victorious, and even invaded Lithuania. The Polish nobles refused to march to the assistance of their fellow-subjects save under the condition that the union should be consummated. This was readily granted, and in 1569 the desired arrangement was definitely concluded in a diet of both provinces at Lublin. Lithuania was united to Poland under the same laws, privileges, and government. It was agreed that the diets composed of representatives of both these countries should meet at Warsaw, which is a central town, and neither in Poland proper nor Lithuania, but in Masovia.

[1473-1572 A.D.]

THE ADVANCED CIVILISATION OF POLAND UNDER THE JAGELLOS

The genius of Copernicus, the great precursor of Newton, had lately shone forth,

— velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

He was born in 1473 at Thorn, where his father, a citizen of Cracow, had settled after the accession of Polish Prussia to Poland. At the age of nineteen he was sent to the University of Cracow, where he pursued his mathematical studies under the noted Brudzewski. Adam Zaluzianski is the Polish Linnæus, and in this same age published a work entitled *Methodus Herbaria*, in which he exhibits his sexual arrangement of plants. There were perhaps more printing presses at this time in Poland than there have ever been since, or than there were in any other country of Europe at the time. There were eighty-three towns where they printed books, and in Cracow alone there were fifty presses. The chief circumstance which supported so many printing houses in Poland at this time was the liberty of the press, which allowed the publication of writings of all the contending sects which were not permitted to be printed elsewhere.

Nor were the Poles less advanced in that most enlightened feeling of civilisation, religious toleration. When almost all the rest of Europe was deluged with the blood of contending sectaries; while the Lutherans were perishing in Germany, while the blood of above a hundred thousand Protestants, the victims of the war of persecution and the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew, was crying from the ground of France against the infamous Triumvirate and the hypocritical Catherine de' Medici; while Mary made England a fiery ordeal of persecution, and even the heart of the Virgin Queen was not entirely cleansed of the foul stuff of bigotry, but dictated the burnings of the Arians, Poland opened an asylum for the persecuted of all religions, and allowed every man to worship God in his own way. "Mosques," says Rulhière,^c "were raised among churches and synagogues. Leopold has always been the seat of three bishops, Greek, Armenian, and Latin, and it was never inquired in which of their three cathedrals any man, who consented to submit to the regulations of government, went to receive the communion. Lastly, when the Reformation was rending so many states into inimical factions, Poland, without proscribing her ancient religion, received into her bosom the two new sects." All parties were allowed a perfect liberty of the press; the Catholics printed their books at Cracow, Posen, Lublin, etc., while the followers of the Confession of Augsburg published theirs at Paniowica, Dabrowa, and Szamotuly; the reformers, at Pinczow, Brzesce, Knyszyn, Nieswiez; the Arians, at Rakow and Zaslaw, and the Greek sectarians in Lithuania, at Ostrowo and Vilna.

In 1540 it was ascertained that there were not in the whole of Poland more than five hundred Christian merchants and manufacturers, while there were three thousand two hundred Jewish, who employed nine thousand six hundred artisans in working gold, silver, etc., or manufacturing cloths. In the reign of Sigismund Augustus the Jews were prohibited from dealing in horses or keeping inns. Such was the state of his kingdom, when Sigismund died in 1572. With this monarch ended the line of kings of the house of Jagello.

Having thus arrived at another era in our historical narrative, let us cast a brief view on the tract we have travelled over. Under the dynasty of the

Jagellos, which lasted 186 years, Poland had attained its perfect growth and dimensions, and its constitution had also arrived at equal maturity. Jewel after jewel has since been stolen from the crown, till it has become but a simple badge of official distinction. There being no third order whom the kings could raise up against the nobles, which would have rendered the monarchy limited, but shielded it from total subjection to the aristocracy, there was no alternative but to make the government a perfect despotism as in Russia, to preserve the regal authority. This was attempted, as we shall see, in after years, but the kings who undertook it had not sufficient genius or perseverance, and the aristocracy had attained too great an ascendancy by the diet and confederation. Besides, the chief military forces of the kingdom were not composed of a distinct order, who might be won over to the regal side, but of the nobility and their retainers; nor had the king that powerful engine, wealth, in his power, all the revenue being at the disposal of the diet, which was composed of the aristocracy. Under these circumstances the king could only be "a judge," as one of the future monarchs expressed himself, and the state that anomaly, a republic of aristocrats.

THE CROWN A PRIZE OF COMPETITION

Sigismund's funeral bell was the tocsin of anarchy in Poland. Being without a male heir, this last of the Jagellos restored the crown to his subjects for their disposal, a trust which occasioned them much perplexity. The nobles, among whom had sprung up that spirit of equality and jealousy which had so intrenched on the regal authority, would not bend to a rival of their own order; and with the same feeling which has made them in late years rather submit to the domineering and treacherous interference of foreign powers than bear any stretch or even appearance of power in their peers, they preferred to look abroad for a king. The Polish crown thus became a prize of competition for foreign princes, and it still possessed sufficient temptations to have many candidates; for besides the opportunity that a monarch, backed with extraneous forces, might have of extending the authority, there remained still many important privileges like interstices between the enclosures of the laws. The neighbouring potentates now began a struggle for Poland, and at length the unhappy country became the prey of their conflicting interests in addition to the evils of civil dissension.

During the interregnum which succeeded the death of Sigismund, the archbishop of Gnesen, on whom the authority devolved at such times, convoked the diet to debate on the choice of a new king. In this meeting, which was held in 1573, the laws were passed which regulated the elections. The motion made by John Zamoyski, representative of Belz, in Galicia, that all the nobles should have a voice in the nomination, was carried, and it was agreed that they should meet in a plain near Warsaw. In this diet also the coronation oath, or *pacta conventa*, was revised. The principal articles were the same as have been ever since administered to the kings-elect, stripping the monarch of all active power, making the crown elective, and requiring regular convocations of the diet every two years. They bound him also to observe perfect toleration of religious principles, promising among themselves (*inter nos dissidentes de religione*), as well for themselves as their posterity, never to take up arms on account of diversity in religious tenets. The Roman Catholic, however, remained the state religion, and the kings were bound to be of that profession of faith.

[1573-1575 A.D.]

The nobles accordingly assembled at Warsaw, armed, and with all their pomp of retinue. Several candidates were nominated, among whom were Ernest, son of the emperor Maximilian of Austria, and Henry, duke of Anjou, son of Catherine de' Medici, and brother of Charles IX, the reigning king of France. The latter was the successful competitor, and an embassy was sent to Paris to announce the decision. We cannot refrain from inserting, at full length, the description given of this Polish deputation by an eye-witness then living at Paris:^b

"It is impossible to express the general astonishment when we saw these ambassadors in long robes, fur caps, sabres, arrows, and quivers; but our admiration was excessive when we saw the sumptuousness of their equipages, the scabbards of their swords adorned with jewels, their bridles, saddles, and horse-cloths decked in the same way, and the air of consequence and dignity by which they were distinguished. One of the most remarkable circumstances was their facility in expressing themselves in Latin, French, German, and Italian. These four languages were as familiar to them as their vernacular tongue. There were only two men of rank at court who could answer them in Latin, the baron of Millau and the marquis of Castelnau-Mauvissière. They had been commissioned expressly to support the honour of the French nation, that had reason to blush at their ignorance on this point. They (the ambassadors) spoke our language with so much purity that one would have taken them rather for men educated on the banks of the Seine and the Loire than for inhabitants of the countries which are watered by the Vistula or the Dnieper, which put our courtiers to the blush, who knew nothing, but were open enemies of all science; so that when their guests questioned them, they answered only with signs or blushes."^d

Thus was Henry called to the throne, and he who was engaged at the very moment of his election in fighting against the Protestants now took the oath of toleration to all dissenters and sectaries. He accepted the crown reluctantly; for, although all was ready for the king's departure to Poland, this prince did not hurry to set out. However honourable the object of his voyage, he regarded it as an exile. But no sooner had he reached Poland than he was informed of the death of his brother and the vacancy of the French throne. Not choosing to forfeit his hereditary right and the substantial authority of the crown of France, and knowing that the Poles would not allow him to swerve from his oath, which bound him to reside in Poland, he took the singular resolution to abscond and leave the country by stealth. He was overtaken a few leagues from Cracow by one of the Polish nobles, but resolutely refused to return.

This singular and unexpected event renewed the factions, some of which called Maximilian of Austria to the throne, but were at last obliged to yield to the opposite party, who chose Anne, the sister of Sigismund, and Stephen Báthori, duke of Transylvania, for her husband, 1575 A.D.

THE REIGN OF BÁTHORI (1575-1586 A.D.)

This prince was possessed of rare qualities and high talent, having raised himself by his valour, and without the least violence or collusion, to the dukedom of Transylvania; and he was now called spontaneously to the Polish throne. Nor did he degenerate after his exaltation, vanquishing the Russians in a series of battles. Peace was at length concluded by the interposition of Possevin, the Jesuit, and legate from the pope.

This was the circumstance which gave the Jesuits an introduction into Poland. Their order was then noted only for its learning, and Báthori, imagining he was acting for the improvement of his people, intrusted to them the care of the University of Vilna, which he had just founded. Succeeding years, however, showed them in a very different character in Poland from teachers and peacemakers.

But the most politic act of this king was the addition to the strength of the nation effected by establishing a standing army and introducing an improved discipline. He now also brought the Cossacks under some military order. It was that Cossack tribe called Zaporog (Cosaci Zaporohenses) that was thus rendered serviceable to Poland. They inhabited, or rather frequented, the islands and swamps of the Dnieper, which formed a barrier against their warlike neighbours. In the reign of Sigismund I they were first armed against the Tatars, and a Polish officer, Daszkiewicz, was appointed their governor, but no further notice was taken of them till the time of Báthori.



NATIONAL POLISH COSTUME

The absurd and monstrous descriptions of this people and their manners, which were founded on rumour, have been fully credited by modern writers; and Voltaire, who is one of the greatest among fabulists, does not fail to magnify the wonders. We shall endeavour to throw a little clearer light on the manners of this tribe, from two old authors of credit. The Cossacks were the southern borderers of Poland, and, like all other people similarly situated, were continually carrying on an irregular and predatory war; hence their name, which implies plunderers. The Ukraine also means frontier country, and in course of time all its inhabitants were designated Cossacks. "They were," says Chevalier, "only a military body, and not a nation, as some have imagined. We cannot compare them better than to the 'Francarch-

ers' formerly established in France by Charles VII." They made periodical naval expeditions every season against the Turks, and have even advanced within two leagues of Constantinople. Their rendezvous was in the islands of the Dnieper, and when winter approached they returned to their homes. They generally mustered five thousand or six thousand men; their boats were sixty feet long, with ten or twelve oars on each side, but this must be understood only of their war-boats.

The other author whom we shall quote was one who lived at that period, and frequently had the command of the Cossack troops, no less than the father of the famous Sobieski. Even then, it seems, they were the subject of curiosity and fable. "I will describe," says he, "their origin, manners, and customs, which I am acquainted with by hearsay, and have myself witnessed. They are chiefly of Russian origin, though many criminal refugees

[1576-1587 A.D.]

from Poland, Germany, etc., are to be found among them. They profess the religion of the Greek church. They have fixed their residence in those naturally fortified places which are watered by the Dniester. Their business is war, and when they are shut up as it were in their nest, they consider it illegal to neglect athletic sports for any other pursuits. They live sparingly, by hunting and fishing. They support their wives and families with plunder. They are governed by a *præfect* (*hetman*), whose sceptre is a reed, and who is chosen by acclamation in a tumultuous manner. He has absolute power of life and death. He has four counsellors. The Poles have given them the town Trychtymirov, in Kiev.

"Long habit has fitted them for maritime warfare. They use boats on the sides of which they can occasionally fasten flat bundles of reeds, to buoy them up, and resist the violence of the waves and winds. With these boats they sail with great rapidity, and very often take the laden Turkish vessels. Not many of them use lances, but they are all furnished with arquebuses, and in this kind of warfare the kings of Poland can match the infantry of all the monarchs in the world. They fortify their camps with wagons ranged in several rows; this they call *Tabor*, and make them their last refuge from an overbearing enemy. The Poles were obliged to furnish them with arms, provisions, and forage for their horses." Such were the men whom Báthori enlisted in the Polish service. In the year 1576 he divided them into six regiments, and appointed superior and subordinate officers over them. "They were then only infantry," says Chevalier, "but Báthori joined to them two thousand horse, and in a short time they consisted chiefly of cavalry." Their chief was called *hetman*, or *attaman*, and the king presented him with the following articles as ensigns of authority: a flag, a horse-tail, a staff, and a mirror. Rozinski was their first hetman appointed by Báthori.

It is said that the king had formed a design of extending the regal authority, but death frustrated it, in 1586. Few monarchs are more respected by the Poles than the one whom we have just described; and, compared with many of the Polish sovereigns, he certainly deserved the title conferred on him, "*In republicâ plus quàm rex.*"

SIGISMUND'S WARS WITH TURKEY, RUSSIA, AND SWEDEN

Violent factions, in consequence of this event, were formed at the diet of election, and both Maximilian of Austria and Sigismund, prince of Sweden, were next elected to the throne. Sigismund's party prevailed, and took Maximilian prisoner, 1587 A.D. The successful competitor did not make an ungenerous use of his advantage, but liberated him, and rejected the offered ransom, saying: "I will not add insult to misfortune. I shall give Maximilian his liberty, and not oblige him to buy it."

Sigismund's family was related to the Jagellos on the female side, which reconciled the Poles to his accession. His reign commenced with war, for the Turks, continually harassed by the Cossacks, and not being able to revenge themselves on that vagrant people any more than if they were an annoying swarm of locusts, called the Poles to account for the actions of their dependents. After considerable slaughter, which was interesting only to the victors and the victims, and of no service but to rid the Ukraine of a few thousand cutthroat robbers, peace was effected by the intervention of an English ambassador.

Sigismund's father dying about this time, the Swedish crown was bequeathed to the Polish king; but the Swedes, who had adopted the reformed

religion of Luther ever since the time of Gustavus, were apprehensive of the government of a Roman Catholic, as Sigismund was, and as he was obliged to declare himself before he could ascend the Polish throne. Nor were their fears groundless, for his very first acts were a bad omen for the Protestant religion. He was accompanied by a popish legate, by whose advice he demanded that there should be a Roman Catholic chapel in every town, and expressed his determination to be crowned by the pope's deputy. This was borne with impatience; but when the king attempted to enforce his will with Polish troops, the murmur of discontent was raised to the shout of rebellion, and all the attempts of the king to trample down the Swedes to obedience were of no avail.^b

Sigismund turned his attention at this time to Russia, where was being enacted the farcical romance of the false Dmitri.¹ Incited by an ambition to conquer Russia, and encouraged therein by the Jesuits, he invaded the country, ostensibly as the avenger of his murdered subjects.^a

Zolkiewski, the maternal grandfather of Sobieski, who, as his son-in-law writes, was made both chancellor and grand general, commanded the troops, and entering Moscow took prisoner Vasili Shuiskiy, the new czar, and his brother. The king's son, Wladislaw, was set on the throne, and thus Poland was once the disposer of the Russian crown. He was, however, soon deposed, and Sigismund did not attempt to reinstate him. Zolkiewski had the honour of entering Warsaw with a Russian czar in his train.

Sigismund had not abandoned his plan of regaining the crown of Sweden, and with this view he joined with Ferdinand, the emperor of Germany, and assisted him against the voyevode of Transylvania, who opposed him. The Transylvanian was in alliance with the sultan, and urged him to make a diversion on the side of Moldavia, which at that time was under the power of the Turks. The palatine of Moldavia had invited the Poles to his assistance, and accordingly the famous Zolkiewski, the conqueror of Russia, marched into that country with eight thousand regular troops, and irregular forces of Cossacks and Moldavian refugees amounting to about twenty thousand. The Turkish army was chiefly composed of Tatars, and numbered nearly seventy thousand. Zolkiewski, notwithstanding the disparity of forces, obliged the Tatars to give way; but being almost abandoned by his auxiliaries, and his little band being reduced to little better than five thousand, he was obliged to retreat.

Like all experienced generals, Zolkiewski could play the losing as well as the winning game, and an eight days' march in the face of a numerous army, used to irregular warfare, must have required some tactics and management. Historians compare this retrograde movement to "the retreat of the ten thousand," and no doubt the Polish grand general, if he had boasted a Greek tongue and a Greek sword, would have made as wonderful a narrative as Xenophon. But Zolkiewski was to suffer a different fate, for when the troops had reached the Dniester they were panic-struck at the sight of the enemy, and fled in disorder. "Zolkiewski," says the Polish historian James Sobieski, "like Paulus Æmilius, disdained to survive his defeat, and, with the same valour which had marked his life, he fell fighting for his country, and covered with wounds, on the banks of the Dniester, near the town of Mohiley." His son was taken prisoner, but both bodies were redeemed and buried in the same grave, with this inscription:

Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.

[¹ For an account of the false Dmitri see Volume XVII, pages 224-229.]

[1626-1635 A.D.]

This voice from the tomb urged their descendant Sobieski to exact retribution from the Turks. This was only the signal for fresh war; the sultan now headed his troops in person, but was eventually obliged to make peace.

While the Poles were thus engaged in the south, the Swedes were making inroads in the north. Sigismund had not quietly given up the crown of Sweden, but although his exertions were fruitless, he still cherished the hope of recovering it. The Polish king found an opponent in Gustavus Adolphus, who was now on the throne, and who withstood not merely the Poles, but almost all continental Europe, at least the Catholic part. Livonia, the point of junction between the two kingdoms, was the seat of war. After some trifling struggles, Gustavus took the field in 1626, and laid siege to Riga. This town surrendered in six weeks, and the Swedish king drove out the Jesuits, who were its perpetual tormentors. But Sigismund was too stubborn to be taught the inutility of resisting the great Gustavus; he would not see in him anything but a young hot-headed competitor, and not the determined champion of the Thirty Years' War. Battle lost after battle increased the demands of the Swedes, and lessened the power of the Poles. The Polish king was also the dupe of the courts of Vienna and Madrid, whose interest it was to make him divert Gustavus from the rest of Europe, and in consequence they promised to assist him with money and troops. These promises were never kept, and Sigismund continued obstinately to gnaw the file. The city of Dantzic, however, defended itself very vigorously; the Swedish admiral was killed, and Gustavus obliged to raise the siege. But the continued run of ill-fortune at length opened the eyes of the Poles to their own folly and the treachery of their pretended allies, and Sigismund was happy to make peace for six years, by which he resigned Livonia and part of Prussia, in 1629.

Sigismund terminated this reign of trouble in 1632. Ever the dupe of the Jesuits, who were in his perfect confidence, he lost one kingdom and weakened another which was so unfortunate as to continue under his power. Poland, the land of toleration, was now the scene of religious contest, and the Protestants were deprived of all places of trust and power. General dissatisfaction resulted, and the nobles had formed a confederation against their king in 1607, but not being very resolute, they failed in carrying their point. In 1609 these confederations were authorised by law. The spirit of contention, however, still continued to divide house against house, and the father against his son; intolerance added to the serf's chains and put an embargo on commerce. Such were the effects for which Poland was indebted to Sigismund III. He not only committed actual injury, but sowed fresh seeds by intrusting great power to the Jesuits. "He had, in short," says a French writer, "two faults, which generally occasion great misfortune: he was very silly and very obstinate."

A PERIOD OF DECLINE

Some time after the accession of Wladislaw VII, son of Sigismund, to the throne, died Gustavus Adolphus, which event enabled the Poles to oblige the Swedes to resign their conquests and make a firmer peace in 1635 at Stumsdorf. Had all the acts of the new king been dictated by the same good policy, Poland would have been saved much loss of strength and influence.

The Polish nobles were jealous of the independence of the Cossacks, so different from the state of their own serfs; the Jesuits could not bear to tolerate them in their adherence to the doctrines of the Greek church, and longed to make them Catholics; the king perhaps was swayed by both reasons, so that

the sovereign, nobles, and Jesuits all united to prune the almost lawless freedom of that wild but useful tribe, and from this time may be dated their alienation from the Polish interest. Wladislaw ordered forts to be erected in the Ukraine to awe them, and the Cossacks armed in defence of their right, but were defeated. In defiance of treaties, the Poles villainously butchered their hetman and many other prisoners. A compact made after this, binding the victors to withdraw their troops and restore the Cossacks to their full liberty, was as soon broken; the diet ordered the number of forces in the Ukraine to be increased, and that they should be reduced to the same state of subjection as the serfs. The Polish nobles seemed to imagine that oaths and engagements were not binding with uncivilised people, for they committed all kinds of outrages on them, both personal and general; at length an act of intolerable injustice drove the Cossacks again to rebel, and they were obtaining many advantages when death carried off their tyrant, Wladislaw, in 1648.

But the former bigot was succeeded by another: John Casimir, younger brother of the late king, was called to occupy the throne just vacated. Casimir was a Jesuit by principle, education, and character, and the pope gave him a cardinal's hat, to free him from his religious ties that he might assume the crown.

Under this king the Cossacks were as badly treated as under his predecessor. The Polish nobles continued to oppress them, and Casimir connived at the injustice; at length, however, a notorious act of villainy roused them to revolt. Chmielnicki, a man of some influence in the Ukraine, was deprived of a small tract of land by the Polish governor, and resenting the oppression, asserted his right and taunted that officer as a tyrannical upstart. The governor, incensed at his resistance, imitated the violence of the other Polish nobles, carried off Chmielnicki's wife, and set fire to his house, in which his infant child perished. Chmielnicki drew his sword to revenge his wife's honour and his child's death, and joined the rebel Cossacks, who made him their leader. It was about this time that Casimir came to the throne, and feeling that the Cossacks were the aggrieved party, he refused to prosecute the war, but endeavoured to conciliate them by writing to the hetman and confirming him in his office. The Cossack chief withdrew his forces, and negotiations were in progress; but the nobles, confederating at the instigation of the aristocrats, put an end to these pacific measures with the sword. The Cossacks taught the Poles that they could defend their own liberty as well as that of their former allies and present oppressors. The rebel forces left behind them a wake of blood and devastation. They advanced into Poland, and even invested the king in his camp at Zboro. The Cossacks were credulous, and, believing a people who had deceived them so often, consented to negotiate. It was then agreed, in 1649, that they should have the free use of their privileges and religion.

This treaty did not satisfy the nobles, who were both foiled in their undertaking and humiliated by their defeat; they therefore determined to pay no more attention to it than the preceding agreements. Before the end of the year the diet announced its intention of reducing the Cossacks to obedience. Casimir made the expedition quite a crusade, and received a sacred helmet and sword from Pope Innocent X. His preparations were on as great a scale as if he designed the subjugation of a powerful nation, instead of a few thousand rebels, as they denominated the Cossacks; besides an army of 100,000 nobles, he assembled a body of 50,000 of the foreign troops who had fought in the Thirty Years' War. The hetman, not terrified at this gigantic armament, allied himself with the Khan of the Tatars, and encountered the Poles.

[1651-1667 A.D.]

Victory declared in favour of the oppressors, and the Cossacks were dispersed; but the hetman had yet sufficient resources to obtain a peace in 1651. Submission to despotism is a distasteful lot, and happily cannot under any circumstances be made a duty by the strictest treaties or vows, according to the well-known principle of moral philosophy, that improper promises are not binding; so thought the Cossacks without the aid of a system of ethics, and submitted to the Russians in 1654. Alexis was then czar; he gladly received his new subjects, and, assigning as a pretext for war an omission which the Poles had made in one of his titles, marched two armies into Poland, one towards Smolensk, and the other towards Kiev.

While the Russians were ravaging the east, another and no less formidable enemy was arming on the north. Casimir, who sunk beneath the burden of one crown, would not resign the family pretensions to another, that of Sweden; and when Christina, abdicating about this time, appointed her cousin, Charles Gustavus, her heir, he protested vehemently against the succession. Charles Gustavus armed in defence of his right; and perceiving that in one of the letters from Casimir only two *et cæteras* were used after his titles, instead of three, made it a pretext for declaring war. Charles Gustavus marched into Poland with 60,000 troops; discontent and revolt increased their number with Poles, and the Swede entered Warsaw. The contemptible John Casimir fled to Silesia, and Charles Gustavus was master of Poland.

But the nobles were soon disgusted with their new tyrant, and in 1656 they confederated in Galicia, and Casimir joined the confederacy. Fortune smiled still more favourably: Alexis, jealous of the growing power of Sweden, withdrew his troops, and even the hetman, who had received an envoy from Casimir, was satiated with revenge, and retired to the Ukraine. Charles was obliged to retrace his steps, and Casimir reached Warsaw again.

The Treaty of Oliva (1660 A.D.)

It is pretended that Charles Gustavus now proposed a partition of Poland between Prussia and Austria, but, fortunately for the kingdom, the czar declared war against Sweden, and diverted the conqueror from his design. The elector of Brandenburg concluded a treaty of peace at Wehlau, on the 19th of September, 1657, satisfied with obtaining the independence of Ducal Prussia. Austria offered assistance, now the danger was over, and the Treaty of Oliva was concluded on the 3rd of May, 1660, between Poland, Prussia, and Sweden. Casimir resigned all pretensions to the Swedish crown, and ceded Livonia to Sweden. It must not be forgotten that the *et cæteras* of the king of Sweden's title were arranged to his satisfaction in one of the articles of this treaty.

Thus was Casimir freed from this terrible coalition, which had threatened to forestall the fate of his unfortunate kingdom. But even before the Treaty of Oliva was concluded, the Poles, instead of conciliating all parties, passed a decree in the diet against the Arians, most of whom had sided with Sweden, and persecuted them with confiscation, exile, and death. Another rupture also broke out with the Cossacks; the haughty nobles infringed on the treaty they had made with them in 1658, and the Ukraine again submitted to Russia. "Since then," says Salvandy, "Warsaw has seen them keeping guard at the gates of her palace."

The Poles kept the Russians at bay, and the famous John Sobieski distinguished himself in these campaigns, but they were obliged to make peace in 1667. By the treaty, Severia and the Ukraine on the east of the Dnieper were

ceded to Russia; the Cossacks (Zaporogians) were to be under the joint dominion of both states, ready to serve against the Turks when required, and were to have the free exercise of their religion.

This reign was as unfortunate in its internal policy as in its foreign relations; the king was entirely at the mercy of his queen, his mistresses, and the Jesuits. Many of the nobles during the Swedish invasion had urged the necessity of choosing a successor to the throne who might be able to fight their cause, and many went so far as to wish the monarchy to become hereditary. The emperor was proposed by many, but the queen, Louise Marie, exerted herself to insure the succession to the French prince, Condé; and in the diet of 1661 the king himself made the proposal. This unconstitutional proceeding produced great murmurs among the nobles; the diet was dissolved, and the seeds of serious revolt were thus sown which harassed Casimir during the rest of his reign. In this diet Casimir pronounced these remarkable words, which have been construed as a singular prophecy of the dismemberment of Poland: "I hope I may be a false prophet, in stating that you have to fear the dismemberment of the republic. The Russians (*Moscus et Russi*) will attempt to seize the grand duchy of Lithuania as far as the rivers Bug and Narew, and almost to the Vistula. The elector of Brandenburg will have a design on Greater Poland and the neighbouring palatinates, and will contend for the aggrandisement of both Prussias. The house of Austria will turn its attention to Cracow and the adjacent palatinates." Rulhière^c pretends that Casimir had the mysterious treaty in his eye when he spoke these prophetic words, but a more natural solution of the question is found in the letters before mentioned, which show that the apprehensions Casimir expresses were not confined to him.

Casimir, worn out by trouble, took the resolution of resigning the sceptre which he could not wield and resuming his religious habit. He had been told in the diet that the calamities of Poland could not end but with his reign, and he addressed that diet in the following words:

PEOPLE OF POLAND: It is now two hundred and eighty years that you have been governed by my family. The reign of my ancestors is past, and mine is going to expire. Fatigued by the labours of war, the cares of the cabinet, and the weight of age; oppressed with the burdens and solitudes of a reign of more than twenty-one years, I, your king and father, return into your hands what the world esteems above all things, a crown; and choose for my throne six feet of earth, where I shall sleep in peace with my fathers.

After his abdication he retired to France, where he was made abbot of the monastery of St. Germain-des-Prés.

It was in this king's reign that the *liberum veto*, or privilege of the deputies to stop all proceedings in the diet, by a simple dissent, first assumed the form of a legal custom. "The leaven of superstition and bigotry," says Rulhière,^c "began to ferment and blend itself with all the other vices of the constitution; they then became closely united, and their junction defied all remedy. It was then that in the bosom of the national assemblies sprang up this singular anarchy which, under the pretext of making the constitution more firm, has destroyed in Poland all sovereign power. The right of single opposition to general decrees, although always admitted, was for a long time not acted upon. There remained but one step to complete the destructive system, and that was taken in 1652 under the reign of John Casimir. A Polish noble, named Sizinski, whom his contemporaries have denounced to the indignation of posterity, having left the diet at the period allotted for its resolutions, and by his voluntary absence prevented the possibility of any unanimity, the diet

[1667-1668 A.D.]

considered that it had lost its power by the desertion of this one deputy." A precedent so absurd but so easily imitated could not fail to have the most pernicious effects.

There can be only one opinion on this king's reign; he deserves any character rather than that of "The Polish Solomon," nor can we agree with the whole of the assertion that

He made no wars, and did not gain
New realms to lose them back again,
And (save debates in Warsaw's diet)
He reigned in most unseemly quiet.

His reign, unfortunately for Poland, was anything but an "unseemly quiet," and has added another proof of the bad effects of engrafting the sceptre on the crosier.

The introduction of the Jesuits by Báthori had a great effect on the progress of learning in Poland. The curious, however, count up 711 Polish authors in the reign of Sigismund III. The Polish language became more generally diffused in Lithuania, Galicia, Volhinia, etc., where formerly the Russian was the prevalent dialect. The close intercourse which commenced with France during the unfortunate administration of John Casimir introduced many of the comforts of civilisation; travelling was improved in Poland, inns were built on the high roads, and carriages came into general use. But sadly did learning languish in this stormy reign. The incursions of the Swedes, Cossacks, and Tatars swept away the libraries, broke up all literary society, and commerce shared the same fate.^b

THE UNWILLING MICHAEL IS MADE KING (1668 A.D.)

A diet of convocation now assembled to elect a successor to Casimir. Its first act was to render abdication henceforth illegal in Poland.^a

The candidates to the throne were three: the prince of Condé, supported by the primate and the great barons; the prince of Neuburg, an ally, or rather a creature, of Louis XIV; and Charles of Lorraine, a prince in the interests of Austria. The first of these candidates, however illustrious his exploits, could not be acceptable to a nation which detested alike the tyranny and arrogance of the French monarch, and which remembered but too well the disasters inflicted on the republic by one of that nation—Henry of Valois. Though the grand marshal of the crown, Sobieski, left the fields on which he had hitherto reaped his laurels to swell the partisans of Condé, the cause was hopeless; vast bodies of armed nobles flocked round the *kolo*, and insisted that the Frenchman should be excluded. The contest, which now lay between the French and Austrian interests, promised to be ruinous, and to end in blood; the adherents of each were nearly equal in number, and perfectly so in obstinacy. One morning, however, before the great dignitaries had arrived, and while the electors were ranged round the plain, under the banners of their respective palatinates, the cry of a Piast proceeded from that of Russia, and an obscure prince, Michael Korybut, was proclaimed by those immediately at hand. The cry spread with electric rapidity; it was echoed by the electors of the other palatinates, who by this unexpected nomination saw an escape from the greatest of all evils—civil war. As the senators approached, they were surprised at the universal clashing of sabres, and the howls of approbation which accompanied the name of Michael. They were compelled to join

in the vast chorus, and "Michael! Michael!" resounded with deafening acclamations. In less than two hours he was proclaimed king of Poland.

Prince Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki was the son of the ruthless Jeremy, so infamous for his persecution of the dissidents. Infirm in body and weak in mind, without influence, because without courage and riches, he saw that if he was now made the scapegoat for the hostile factions, both would afterwards unite in his pursuit. With tears in his eyes he begged to decline the proffered dignity; and when his entreaties were received with howls of "Most serene king, you shall reign!" he mounted his horse and precipitately fled from the plain. He was pursued, brought back, forced to accept the *pacta conventa* which had been prepared for the successful candidate, and to promise before the assembled multitude, whose outrageous demonstrations of homage he well knew were intended to insult his incapacity, that he would never seek to evade his new duties. To relieve his extreme poverty, some of the wealthier barons immediately filled his empty apartments with household furniture, and his still emptier kitchen with cheer, to which he had never before been accustomed. In these studied attentions there was more of contempt than of good nature. The mockery was complete, when in the diploma of his elevation it was expressed that he was the sun of the republic, the proudest boast of a mighty line of princes, one who left the greatest of the Piasts, the Jagellos, or the Vasas far behind him.

WEAKNESS OF MICHAEL'S REIGN

With the commencement of his reign Michael began to experience mortification within and danger from without. Though the public treasury was empty, though Poland had no army, even when the Cossacks and Tatars were preparing to invade her, two consecutive diets were dissolved, and their proceedings consequently nullified, by the veto. Then the quarrels of the deputies—quarrels which were not unfrequently decided by the sword—introduced a perfect contempt for the laws, as well as for all authority other than that of brute force. The poor monarch strove in vain to reconcile the hostile factions; his entreaties—he was too timid or too prudent to use threats—were disregarded, even by such as the distribution of crown benefices had at first allied with his interests. Without decision, without vigour, without money or troops, and consequently without the means of commanding respect from any one of his subjects, he was the scorn or jest of all. A resolution was soon taken to dethrone this phantom of royalty. The turbulent primate Prasmowski was the soul of the conspiracy, which was rendered still more formidable by the accession of the queen Eleanor, an Austrian princess. In the view of obtaining a divorce, and of procuring the elevation to the throne of one who had long been her lover—the prince of Lorraine—she scrupled not to plot against her husband and king. It was, in fact, but exchanging one lord for another, a beloved for a despised one; and whether the plot failed or succeeded, she was sure of a husband and a throne. Fortunately for Michael, there was another conspiracy, the object of which was to transfer the queen and the sceptre to a French prince. Thus one faction neutralised the other; but in the end one of them would doubtless have triumphed, notwithstanding the adhesion of the small nobles to the reigning king—an adhesion, however, not the result of attachment to the royal person, but solely of hostility to the great barons—had not the loud notes of warlike preparation drowned for a moment the noisy contentions of the rebels.

[1670-1672 A.D.]

SOBIESKI AND THE TURKISH CAMPAIGN (1670-1673 A.D.)

During these melancholy transactions, the heroic Sobieski was gathering new laurels on the plains of Podolia and Volhinia. By several successes, though obtained with but a handful of troops, chiefly raised at his own expense, he preserved the frontier provinces from the ravages of the Cossacks, the allies now of Muscovy, now of the Porte, as best suited their ideas of interest or of revenge. He was now opposed, however, to a new and apparently resistless enemy—the Turks, whom the perfidious policy or revenge of Louis XIV raised up against the republic. The advanced guard of that enemy, consisting of Cossacks and Tatars, whom the Porte had ordered to pass the Borysthènes, he utterly routed, retook the important frontier fortresses, and by everywhere opposing a movable rampart to the barbarians, he kept them in check, fixed the wavering fidelity of the Volhinians, who were ready to join the Muscovites, and re-established his communications with Moldavia. Europe termed these preliminary operations the miraculous campaign. But Muhamed IV now approached, accompanied by the veteran army which had reduced Candia, and which under its general, Cuprugli, had triumphed over the Venetians, the Hungarians, and the empire. About three hundred thousand Ottomans crossed the Dniester and advanced into Podolia. In the deplorable anarchy which reigned at the diet, no measures whatever had been taken to oppose the enemy. Sobieski had but 6,000 men; and notwithstanding his energetic remonstrances, he could obtain no reinforcements. He had the mortification to see the fall of Kamenets, the reduction of all Podolia, and the advance of the Turks into Red Russia, the capital of which, Leopold, was soon invested by Muhamed in person. What man could do—what no man but himself could have dared—he accomplished. He cut off an army of Tatars, leaving 15,000 dead on the field, and releasing 20,000 Polish captives, whom the robbers were carrying away. But however splendid this success, it could not arrest the arms of the Turks. As the panic-struck nobles removed as far as possible from the seat of war, Michael hastened to make peace with the Porte; as the price of which he ceded Kamenets and the Ukraine to the victors, acknowledged the superiority of the Porte over the Cossacks, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 220,000 ducats (about £10,000 or \$500,000).

Such was the humiliating state to which the republic was reduced by its own dissensions. In vain did Sobieski exclaim against the inglorious Peace of Buczacz; in no Polish breast could he awaken the fire of patriotism. It is impossible not to suspect that the money of France or of the Porte had corrupted the leaders of the various factions; a nation renowned beyond all others for its valour would surely not have thus coolly beheld its glory sullied, its very existence threatened, unless treachery had disarmed its natural defenders. At this time no less than five armed confederations were opposed to each other—of the great against the king; of the loyal in his defence; of the army in defence of their chief, whom Michael and his party had resolved to try, as implicated in the French party; of the Lithuanians against the Poles; and, finally, of the servants against their masters, of the peasants against their lords.

Though Sobieski despised Michael, he scorned to take revenge on so poor a creature; his country still remained, though humbled and degraded, and he swore to exalt her or to die. Through his efforts, and the mutual exhaustion of the contending parties, something like tranquillity was restored, and in a diet held at Warsaw the renewal of the war was decreed. As no tribute was

sent, the grand vizier did not wait for the hostile declaration: followed by his imperial master, he crossed the Danube. At the head of near forty thousand men, Poles, Lithuanians, and German auxiliaries, Sobieski opened a campaign destined to be forever memorable in the annals of the world. His plan was to meet and annihilate Kaplan Pasha, who was advancing through Moldavia; to return and fall on Hussein, another Turkish general, who with eighty thousand men held the strong position of Kotin, on the Moldavian side of the Dniester, opposite to Kamenets: the destruction of these two leaders, he hoped, would lead to the fall of the latter fortress, and enable him to contend with the sultan in person, should the monarch persist in advancing.

The mutiny of his troops, however, especially of the Lithuanians, who exclaimed that he was leading them to utter destruction, and who refused to advance into an unknown country, compelled him to begin with Hussein. With difficulty he prevailed on them to pass the Dniester, and to march on Kotin; he found the Turkish general so strongly fortified, that Paz, the Lithuanian hetman, refused at first to join in the meditated assault; but he had done such wonders in preceding campaigns with a handful of troops, that with 40,000 he thought nothing impossible. Paz, his personal enemy, he persuaded to co-operate, and the bombardment commenced while the grand assault was preparing. Fortunately for the Christian arms, the night of the 10th of November, 1673, was one of unexampled severity; the snow fell profusely, and the piercing blasts were still more fatal to the besieged, most of them from warm Asiatic climes. On the morning of the 11th Sobieski led the attack; ere long his lance gleamed on the heights, and the struggle was renewed in the heart of the Turkish intrenchments. In vain did the janissaries endeavour to prolong it; they fell in heaps, while the less courageous or more enfeebled portion of the enemy sought safety in flight. The bridge, however, which connected the two banks of the river was in the possession of the Christians, and thousands perished while endeavouring to swim over. The carnage was now terrific; 40,000 of the Moslems now lay on the plain, or floated in the stream, and an immense booty fell to the victors. Poland was saved; the fortress of Kotin capitulated. Kaplan Pasha retreated beyond the Danube; Moldavia and Wallachia declared for the republic, and would perhaps have been incorporated with it, had not the grand hetman been recalled from his career of conquest by an important though not an unexpected event.

This was no other than the death of Michael, who expired at Lemberg (Leopol) the night before the great battle of Kotin, while on his way to join the army. His demise was very agreeable to the Poles, who longed for a prince capable of restoring their ancient glory. Let him not, however, be judged with undue severity; his feebleness was no more than his misfortune, while his intentions were good. Though without vigour of understanding, he was accomplished, and even learned; he was acquainted with several languages, and addicted to literary pursuits. Knowing his own incapacity to rule so fierce a nation, compulsion alone made him ascend the throne; and if his reign was disastrous, the reason has been sufficiently explained. On the whole, he should be pitied rather than condemned.

MICHAEL IS SUCCEEDED BY JOHN (III) SOBIESKI (1674 A.D.)

Though, on the death of Michael, the number of candidates was greater than it had been on any preceding occasion, from the state of parties in the republic, no one could doubt that the chief struggle would be between those of

[1674-1676 A.D.]

France and the empire. The dukes of Lorraine and Neuburg were again proposed: the former was zealously supported by a queen lover; the latter by the money and promises of Louis. (The electors had long been sufficiently alive to the value of their votes.) That a stormy election was apprehended was evident from the care with which the szopa, or wooden pavilion of the senators, was fortified. The appearance on the plains was exceedingly picturesque: everywhere were seen small bands of horsemen exercising their daring feats; some tilting; some running at the ring; others riding with battle-axes brandished to the entrance of the szopa, and with loud hurrahs inciting the senate to expedition; others were deciding private quarrels, which always ended in blood; some were listening with fierce impatience to the harangues of their leaders, and testifying by their howls or hurrahs their condemnation or approval of the subject. At a distance appeared the white tents of the nobles, which resembled an amphitheatre of snowy mountains, with the sparkling waters of the Vistula and the lofty towers of Warsaw.

The appearance of the Lithuanians was hostile; perhaps they had some reason to suspect the nomination of Sobieski, with whom their hetman, Paz, had long been at variance; certainly they seemed resolved to support the Austrian to the last extremity. Sobieski, who in the mean time had arrived from Kotin, proposed the prince of Condé, another candidate; whether in the hope that such a proposition would succeed, or with the view of distracting the different parties and making way for his own elevation, is not very clear. He soon found, however, that the prince was no favourite on the *kolo*; and his personal friend, Jablonowski, palatine of Russia, commenced a harangue in support of his pretensions. The speaker, with great animation, and not without eloquence, showed that the republic could expect little benefit from any of the candidates proposed, and insisted that its choice ought to fall on a Piast; on one, above all, capable of repressing domestic anarchy, and of upholding the honour of its arms, which had been so lamentably sullied during the two preceding reigns. The cry of "A Piast! a Piast!" and "God bless Poland!" speedily rose from the Russian palatinate, and was immediately echoed by thousands of voices. Seeing their minds thus favourably inclined, he proposed the conqueror of Slobodisza, of Podhaic, of Kalusz and Kotin; and the cry was met with "Sobieski forever!" All the palatinates of the crown joined in the acclamation; but the Lithuanians entered their protest against a Piast. Fortunately for the peace of the republic, the grand duchy was not, or did not long continue, unanimous; Prince Radziwill embraced the cause of the crown; Paz was at length persuaded to withdraw his unavailing opposition, and John III was proclaimed king of Poland.¹

Before the new king would consent to be crowned, he undertook an expedition to rescue Kamenets, Podolia, and the Ukraine from the domination of the Moslems. To preserve these, and if possible to add to them, Muhamed IV had taken the field with a formidable army. Kotin was retaken, the Muscovites who contended with the Porte for the possession of the provinces on the Borysthenes were expelled from the Ukraine, and several Cossack fortresses carried; but here the sultan, thinking he had done enough for glory, returned to Constantinople. John now entered on the scene, and with great rapidity retook all the conquests that had been made, except Kotin, and reduced to

¹ The *pacta conventa* signed by this king differed little from those of his predecessors. In the article that offices should be conferred on native nobles only, it was added, and on such only as have worn their honours three generations. Every third year he was to pass into Lithuania: it had before been decreed that every third diet should be held at Grodno. A pension was to be paid to Queen Eleanor.

obedience most of the Cossacks on the left bank of the Borysthenes. But this scene was doomed to be sufficiently diversified: the wicked desertion of Paz, who with his Lithuanians was averse to a winter campaign, prevented the king from completing the subjugation of the Ukraine, and even forced him to retreat before a new army of Turks and Tatars: twenty thousand of the Tatars, however, were signally defeated at Zloczow; and the little fortress of Trembowla made a defence worthy the best ages of Roman bravery. The Lithuanian soldiers being compelled by their countrymen to rejoin the king, that monarch again entered on the career of victory. The Turks were defeated at Soczawa, and were pursued with great loss to the ramparts of Kamenets. With the exception of that fortress and of Podhaic, which they had stormed, Poland was free from the invaders.

Sobieski, having thus nobly earned the crown of a kingdom which he had so often saved, returned to Cracow, where his coronation was performed with the accustomed pomp, but with far more than the accustomed joy. At the diet assembled on this occasion, a standing army of 30,000, and an extraordinary one of three times that number, were decreed; but nothing more was done, and the republic remained defenceless as before. Other salutary proposals submitted by the king, whose talents were as conspicuous in government as in the field, had no better success. The fate of the republic, however it might be delayed by monarchs so enlightened and conquerors so great as he, was not to be averted.

From these harassing cares John was summoned by a new invasion of the Turks and Tatars, amounting in number to almost 210,000, and commanded by Ibrahim Pasha of Damascus, whose surname of *Shaitan*, or the devil, was significant enough of his talents and character. The Polish king, with his handful of 10,000, was compelled to intrench himself at Zurawno, where he was well defended by sixty-three pieces of cannon. His fate was considered—perhaps even by himself—as decided; all Poland, instead of flocking to his aid, hastened to the churches to pray for his deliverance. For twenty days the cannonading continued its destructive havoc, occasionally diversified by still more destructive sorties from the camp. The advantage rested with the Poles, but they were so thinned by their very successes that their situation became desperate. The Tatar khan, however, who knew that the Muscovites were laying waste that part of the Ukraine subject to Doroszensko, the feudatory of the Porte, and were menacing his own territories, clamoured for peace. It was proposed by the pasha, but on the same humiliating terms as those of Buczacz. The enraged Sobieski threatened to hang the messenger who should in future bring him so insulting a proposal.

Hostilities recommenced; though the Poles were without provisions or ammunition, he scorned to capitulate. He rode among his dismayed ranks, reminded them that he had extricated them from situations even worse than the present one, and gaily asked whether his head was likely to have suffered by the weight of a crown. When the Lithuanians threatened to desert, he only replied, "Desert who will—alive or dead I remain!" But to remain in his camp was no longer safe: one morning he issued from it, and drew up his handful of men, now scarcely seven thousand, in battle array as tranquilly as if he had legions to marshal. Utterly confounded at this display of rashness or of confidence, the Turks cried out, "There is magic in it!"—a cry in which *Shaitan*, devil as he was, joined. Filled with admiration at a bravery which exceeded his imagination, the pasha sued for peace on less dishonourable conditions. By the treaty two-thirds of the Ukraine was restored to Poland, the remaining third being in the power of the Porte; the question as to Podolia

[1678-1683 A.D.]

was to be discussed at Constantinople; all prisoners, hostages, etc., were also restored. The conditions, indeed, were below the dignity of the republic, but that such favourable ones could be procured at such a crisis is the best comment on the valour of the king. This was the sentiment of all Europe, which resounded more than ever with his praises.

This peace was followed by the prolongation of the truce with Muscovy. Neither were the conditions of the latter so advantageous as could have been desired. Three insignificant fortresses were restored; but Severia, Smolensk, Kiev, and other possessions remained in the iron grasp of the autocrat. In vain would the king have endeavoured to wrest them from it. without money or troops, with anarchy also before his eyes, it was no slight blessing that he was able to preserve from day to day the independence, nay, the existence, of the republic.

During the four following years the king was unable to undertake any expedition for the reconquest of the lost possessions. Though he convoked diet after diet in the hope of obtaining the necessary supplies for that purpose, diet after diet was dissolved by the fatal veto; for the same reason he could not procure the adoption of the many salutary courses he recommended, to banish anarchy, to put the kingdom on a permanent footing of defence, and to amend the laws. His failure, indeed, must be partly attributed to himself; since, great as he was, he appeared as much alive to the aggrandisement of his own family as to the good of the republic. There can be little doubt—and he ought to be praised for it—that he had long meditated the means of rendering the crown hereditary in his offspring; but the little caution with which he proceeded in this great design, and the criminal intrigues of his queen, a French woman of little principle, whose influence over him was unbounded, roused the jealousy of the nobles, especially of the Lithuanians, and compelled him to suspend it. Had he shown more prudence, as well as more firmness, in his administration, and within his palace, his object might have been attained, and Poland preserved from ruin, under the sway of his family.

John Sobieski had always belonged to the faction or party in the interests of France, and, consequently, averse to that of Austria; but there was one thing in which he would not gratify the perfidious Louis XIV. As a Christian knight and a noble Pole, he had vowed inextinguishable hostility against the Moslems—a feeling, in his case, deepened by the memory of his maternal grandfather, his father, and his brother, who had all perished under the sword of the misbelievers—and he could not consequently band with the Porte against the empire. While the Turks were arming for the invasion of Germany, his alliance was eagerly sought by Louis and Leopold: he entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the latter. To this turn in his policy he was said, perhaps injuriously, to have been not a little disposed by the promise of an archduchess for his eldest son, and by the resentment of some insults shown by the *grand monarque* to his queen.

THE RELIEF OF VIENNA (1683 A.D.)

But the money of Louis and the venality of the Polish barons opposed great obstacles to the ratification of this treaty by the diet. A conspiracy was soon set on foot, the object of which was, either to turn the king from the Austrian cause or to dethrone him. Fortunately the correspondence of the French ambassador with the unprincipled court of Paris fell into his hands, and he was enabled to frustrate the criminal design. To escape detection,

the very conspirators voted for a war with the infidels, and preparations were made for a great campaign. It was time. Vienna was invested by 300,000 Turks and Tatars, under Kara Mustapha, the vizir; the dastardly Leopold had retreated to Linz, and despatched messenger after messenger to hasten the departure of Sobieski. Germany looked to him as its saviour, and Europe as the bulwark of Christendom. Having beheld at his feet the ambassadors of the empire and the nuncio of the pope, he left Cracow, August 15th, with a small body of Polish troops, and without waiting for the Lithuanians; the chief part of his army, amounting in all to about thirty thousand men, he had previously ordered to rendezvous under the walls of Vienna.

The king found the affairs of the imperialists in a worse situation than he had conceived. The Turkish artillery had made a practicable breach, and the terrified inhabitants of the capital were in momentary expectation of an assault. One evening, however, their despair was changed to joy, as they perceived from their telescopes the appearance of the Polish hussars on the heights of Kahlenberg. Sobieski was enthusiastically invested with the chief command of the Christian army, consisting of Poles, Saxons, Bavarians, and Austrians, amounting to 70,000 men. One who had been his rival as a candidate, the duke of Lorraine, gave a noble example of magnanimity by this submission, and by zealously co-operating in all his plans. On the morning of September 12th commenced the mighty struggle between the Crescent and the Cross. Throughout the day the advantage rested with the Christians, but the vast masses of the Turks remained unbroken. Towards nightfall the Polish king had fought his way to the intrenched camp of the vizir, whom he perceived seated in a magnificent apartment tranquilly drinking coffee with his two sons.

Provoked at the sight, he rushed forward, followed by an intrepid band. With the loud war-cry of "God for Poland!" and his pious repetition of the well-known verse of Israel's prophet king, "*Non nobis, non nobis, Domine exercituum, sed nomini tuo da gloriam!*" was united that of "Sobieski!" Shouts of "Sobieski! Sobieski!" caught the ears of the Moslems, who for the first time now certainly knew that this dreaded hero was with the Christians. "Allah!" exclaimed the Tatar khan, "the king is with them sure enough!" The consternation among the infidels was extreme; but, true to the bravery of their character, they made a vigorous stand. In vain; their ranks strewed the ground; six pashas fell with them; the vizir fled, and with him the remnant of his once formidable host. The Turkish camp, with its immense riches, became the prey of the victors; not only Germany, but Europe, was saved. The hero of Christendom hastened to the cathedral of St. Stephen to join in a solemn *Te Deum* for the success of this memorable day.

It is painful to dwell on the subsequent conduct of Leopold. Instead of clapping the knees of his saviour with joy, and of blushing at his own cowardice, he met the king with coolness, nay, even with insult. His empire was saved, and as he had no need of further aid, he took care to exhibit no further gratitude. His behaviour astonished no less than incensed the Poles, many of whom, without their king's permission, returned to their homes; but Sobieski, with the rest, proceeded into Hungary in pursuit of the fugitive Moslems. By two subsequent victories won at Parkan and Strigonia, he freed most of that kingdom from the foot of the invaders, and would have extended his successes far beyond the Danube, had not the Lithuanians delayed to join him and his Polish troops insisted on returning to their country.

On his arrival he had the additional gratification of finding that one of his generals had obtained some signal successes in the Ukraine over a combined

[1683-1686 A.D.]

army of Turks and Tatars; had dethroned one hospodar of Wallachia, and elevated another better disposed to the views of the republic.

THE DOUBLE CHARACTER OF SOBIESKI

But whilst pursuing the splendid successes of this Christian hero, posterity must blush at the weakness of his policy, at the blindness with which he pursued the aggrandisement of his family; implicitly followed the counsels of his despicable queen; and trusted to the protestations of Leopold, who, when his aid was required, never hesitated at promises, and, when that aid was furnished, never thought of performing them. Though the archduchess promised to his son was resigned to the elector of Bavaria, the imperial lure of assisting him to subdue Wallachia, which was to become a permanent sovereignty in his family, again armed him against the Turks. To be freed from all apprehensions on the side of Muscovy, he forever confirmed to that power the possession of Smolensk, Siewierz, Tchernigov, and the greater portion of Kiovia, with Kiev, the capital. These possessions, indeed, he could not hope to recover; but voluntarily to have resigned them, and forever, justly excited the indignation of many, especially when they found that the czarina Sophia refused to perform conditions to which she had agreed—to join the general crusade against the Porte, and to pay the republic 200,000 rubles in return for these concessions.

Having raised about forty thousand men, the king entered into Wallachia, to conquer it for one of his sons. But the expedition had no effect, owing partly to the exceeding dryness of the season, and to the consequent sufferings of his army, and partly to the non-appearance of the contingents promised by Leopold and the hospodar. He returned, but not without loss, both from the reason already assigned, and from the activity of the Turks in his rear, who, however, dared not attack him. A second expedition was but partly successful; in fact, the infirmities of age had overtaken him, and had impaired his mental no less than his bodily vigour. His failure, however, in both expeditions was owing to circumstances over which he had no control; in neither did it dim the lustre of his martial fame.

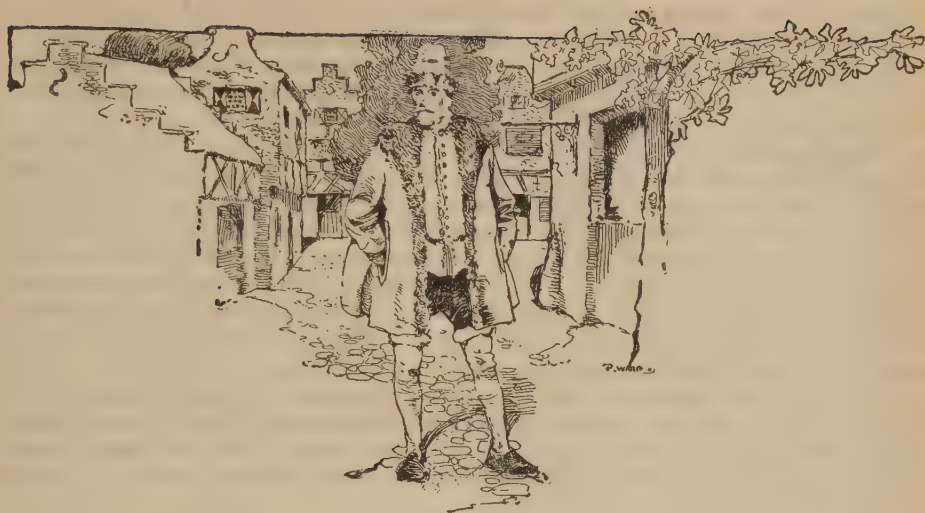
No two men could be more unlike than Sobieski in the field and Sobieski at his palace of government: in the former he was the greatest, in the latter the meanest, of men. He was justly despised for his tame submission to his worthless queen. To her he abandoned all but the load of administration; her creatures filled most offices in the state; all, too, were become venal—all conferred on the highest bidder. The bishop Zaluski, on this subject, relates an anecdote sufficiently characteristic of the court where such a shameless transaction could take place. The rich see of Cracow being vacant, the queen one day said to the bishop of Kulm, "I wager with your sincerity that you alone will have the bishopric of Cracow." Of course the prelate accepted the challenge, and, on being invested with the see, paid the amount. Zaluski himself opened a way to the royal favour by means equally reprehensible. He presented the queen with a medicine-chest, together with a book of directions for employing them, valued at a few hundred ducats: she received it with contempt. The offer of a silver altar, estimated at 10,000 crowns, of a valuable ring, and two diamond crosses gratified her avarice, and made the fortune of the giver. Her temper was about equal to her disinterestedness. On one occasion the king had promised the great seal to Zaluski; the queen to Denhov: of course the latter triumphed.

"You are not ignorant," said the king to the disappointed claimant, his intimate friend, "of the rights claimed by wives—with what importunity the queen demands everything that she likes; you only have the power to make me live tranquilly or wretchedly with my wife. She has given her word to another, and if I refuse her the disposal of the chancellorship she will not remain with me. I know you wish me too well to expose me to public laughter, and I am convinced that you will let me do what she wishes, but what I do with extreme regret." Can this be the victor of Slobodisz, Podhaic, Kotin, and Vienna?

It cannot be matter of much surprise that such a prince should have little influence in the diets, or that his measures should form the subject of severe scrutiny by many of his nobles. French money raised him up enemies on every side; so also did that of his queen, whenever he ventured on such as were unpalatable either to her or to her creatures. The man who could not preserve peace in his own family, who could not prevent his wife and eldest son, nor mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, from bringing disgrace on his palace by their unnatural quarrels, could not be expected to have much influence anywhere. In full senate he was often treated with marked disrespect; the words "tyrant! traitor!" were lavished on him; and he was once or twice invited to descend from a dignity which he dishonoured. That he seriously entertained the design of abdication, notwithstanding the decree against it during the interregnum of Michael Korybut, is certain; but if he had many enemies, he had more friends, and he was persuaded to relinquish it.

The last days of John Sobieski were passed in literary or in philosophical contemplation. Sometimes, too, he migrated from scene to scene, pitching his tent, like the Sarmatians of old, wherever a fine natural prospect attracted his attention. His last hours were wrapped in mystery. He spoke to Zaluski of a dose of mercury which he had taken, and which had occasioned him intense suffering in mind and body. "Is there no one," he abruptly exclaimed, whilst heavy sobs agitated his whole frame, "to avenge my death!" This might be the raving of a sickly, nervous, distempered mind; but a dreadful suspicion fixed on the queen. Her subsequent conduct confirmed it. Scarcely was the breath out of his body when she seized on his treasures, and renewed her quarrels with her eldest son, Prince James, with a bitterness that showed she felt no regret for his loss.

Sobieski was the last independent king of Poland. His enemies could not but allow that he was one of the greatest characters in royal biography, the greatest beyond comparison in the regal annals of his country.^e He died in 1696.^a



CHAPTER III

THE EXTINCTION OF A KINGDOM

[1696-1796 A.D.]

SOBIESKI and his intrigues, so long a stumbling-block of offence in the eyes of the Poles, were no more; but the rancour and vehemence of contention still survived. A people in this dissentient state of feeling were not likely to be calm, impartial adjudicators. Whilst the most powerful Polish and foreign interests were nullifying each other by opposition, a noble of inferior rank and influence started a new candidate, and carried his point. This was no other than John Przependowski, castellan of Kulm, who had first united with the prince of Conti, one of the most popular of the candidates for the Polish crown. But he wished to derive some profit from his vote, and finding the prince's finances exhausted, he looked round the different courts for another patron. He was bold and born for intrigue, and therefore well adapted for his present purpose. He had married the daughter of General Fleming, who was then in high favour with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, and afterwards his prime minister. This connection brought him in contact with the elector, whom he found just suited for his design. Augustus was a young, wealthy, ambitious monarch. "No prince was ever more generous," says Voltaire, "gave more, or accompanied his gifts with so much grace." His religion, professedly the Lutheran, stood in the way; but there is something that will remove more mountains than faith, and it was opportunely remembered that the young elector had recanted the Reformed belief two years before, during a sojourn at Rome, and he was now as good a Catholic as the Poles or the *pacta conventa* could require.

Money purchased Augustus plenty of votes, but as he was late in the field there were some too firmly engaged by the prince of Conti to be decently transferred. The consequence was that on the 27th of June, 1697, both were

elected by their different partisans, the archbishop declaring Conti king, and the bishop of Cujavia, Augustus. But notwithstanding the informality of the latter election, nothing was to be said to the ten thousand Saxons with whom he came to take possession of his kingdom; he was acknowledged king, and the prince of Conti sailed back to France unanointed.

But Augustus had not yet been crowned, a ceremony essentially requisite to invest him with full authority, and he was anxious that it should take place. There was some difficulty even in this; all the regalia were locked up in the treasury at Cracow in the keeping of officers in Conti's interest. The law forbade breaking open the doors, but the Saxons "laughed at locksmiths" and broke down the wall. It was also necessary that the archbishop should perform the ceremony, but he also was in the other interest; the diocese was therefore declared vacant, and newly filled. There was still another impediment—the funeral of the late king ought to precede the inauguration, and the corpse was in the hands of Conti's party at Warsaw; but the Saxons substituted an effigy, and the coronation was solemnised and the elector proclaimed king under the title of Augustus II.¹ It was observed that the king fainted during the formalities, as if his heart failed him at thought of the charge he was taking on himself.

This forced election was the first of the disgraceful series of events which laid the yoke on the necks of the Poles, and at last rendered them mere bondsmen. After this period Poland always received her kings under the compulsion of foreign arms. The czar and the king of Sweden even offered to support the present election; but Augustus found that he and his Saxons were sufficiently strong to fight their own battles.

The *pacta conventa* required Augustus to dismiss his own troops; but he was too prudent to trust himself to subjects who were not yet reconciled to his "usurpation," and looked about for a pretext to retain them. This was readily found; he employed them against the Turks, and the Poles were satisfied. But this war was ended by the Treaty of Karlowitz, in January, 1699, by which treaty the Poles regained Kamenets, but gave up their encroachment in Moldavia, etc., and the king was obliged to find them another occupation. This also too soon presented itself.

AUGUSTUS' CAMPAIGN AGAINST SWEDEN

Sweden was now under the government of a minor, and as Poland had long looked with a lingering eye on Livonia, which had been ceded by the Treaty of Oliva, in John Casimir's time, he thought it would be a favourable juncture to attempt its recovery; and the service of the Saxons in that undertaking would make the Poles forgive their intrusion. He attempted it entirely at his own risk, without the concurrence of the Poles, and in fact in direct opposition to some of their representations. The bishop who had crowned him told the king that his attack on Sweden was a gross violation of the rights of nations and of equity, which the Almighty would not fail to punish—a judgment, says the historian, which seems to be dictated by the spirit of divination.

His first attempt was not so successful as he had anticipated, and he engaged Peter the Great, czar of Russia, to assist him. Peter entered very willingly into the plan; he wished to found a port on the east of the Baltic,

¹ The first Augustus was Sigismund Augustus.

[1701-1702 A.D.]

Ingermanland, the northeast part of Livonia, seemed just adapted for it, and he thought it would pay him very well for his share of the enterprise. The meeting took place on the 26th of February, 1701, at Birzen, a small town in the palatinate of Vilna in Lithuania.

But Charles, the young Swedish monarch, although only eighteen, was not to be made the tame victim of such flagrant injustice. He was apprised of their designs and chose to anticipate them. He had routed the Russians at Narva in the preceding year, and made even Moscow tremble. But justice fought for him, and his soldiers were animated by the example of their youthful hero. These were the troops whom the Russian savages called "terrible, insolent, enraged, dreadful, untamable destroyers." He then marched against the Saxons in Livonia, and came up to them on the banks of the Dvina. The river was very wide at the spot and difficult to pass, but Charles was never to be daunted. He caused large boats to be prepared with high bulwarks to protect the men, and observing that the wind was in the enemy's face, lit large fires of wet straw; and the smoke, spreading along the banks of the river, concealed his operations from the Saxons. He directed the passage himself, which was effected in a quarter of an hour, and he was much mortified at being only the fourth to land. He rallied his troops and routed the Saxons. He did not stop till he arrived at Birzen, the town where Augustus and the czar had planned the expedition. He felt, he owned, a satisfaction at entering Birzen as a conqueror, where the leagued monarchs had conspired his ruin some few months before.

The news of Charles' approach was nearly as agreeable to most of the Poles as it was terrible to Augustus; they considered him as their champion against the tyrannical and intruding Saxons. The primate wrote to the Swedish king assuring him of this feeling; and Charles expressed himself as the friend of Poland, although the enemy of their sovereign. Augustus was aware of this, and dismissed the Saxon troops, to regain the favour of his subjects. This step had the desired effect for a time: the primate, traitor as he was to both parties at heart, pretended to rouse the king's awakening popularity which he could not check; and the people were so gratified by the concession that most of the influential palatines swore to defend their sovereign to the death. This adherence to their falling monarch was daily increasing, when unfortunate dissensions in Lithuania once more severed the bond of union.

That province had been divided into two contending factions ever since the death of Sobieski; and party spirit had run so high that the contest became quite a civil war. The family of Sapieha, the great general of Lithuania, and that of Oginski, the great standard-bearer, were the leading interests. As long as the Saxons remained in Lithuania, Sapieha was protected from the violence of Oginski, who was backed by most of the nobility; but after their departure he and his adherents were left exposed, so that their only alternative was to make the Swedes their protectors. Under these circumstances Augustus could offer but little opposition to Charles, and a deputation was sent to the Swedish monarch, with proposals of peace. "I will make peace at Warsaw," was the young but firm warrior's answer; and at the same time he added that he came to make war on Augustus, the usurper, and his Saxons, and not against the Poles.

The Capitulation of Warsaw; the Dethronement of Augustus (1702 A.D.)

Augustus felt that all was lost, and that his kingdom had departed from him. But he yet fought up against fortune; he had privately recalled his

Saxons, and then assembling all the troops he could, mustered nearly twenty-four thousand men. Augustus now found himself in that perplexing dilemma in which all kings who thrust themselves upon a people by force are always at some period deservedly placed. The Poles, at best only lukewarm in his cause, were converted into ardent enemies by this recall of the Saxons. While Augustus was engaged in marching from palatinate to palatinate to canvass his partisans, Charles pushed on unopposed to Warsaw, which capitulated on the first summons, on the 5th of May, 1702. Augustus, however, marshalled his troops in the plain of Klissow, and waited for the arrival of the Swedes to fight for his crown. Even now his army doubled that of Charles, but the Poles, who composed the greater part of it, did not engage willingly. Augustus indeed fought bravely; but in vain did he rally his troops: three times they again recoiled. Fortune still frowned on the Polish monarch, and he fled towards Cracow.

An accident favoured his escape, and prolonged the struggle: Charles had a fall from his horse as he was pursuing him, and was detained in bed six weeks on his march. Augustus made good use of this respite, reassembled his troops, and prepared for another battle; but discontent and rebellion thinned his ranks: the Poles dreaded further opposition to the formidable invader, and began to fall into his will, in consenting to raise to the throne James Sobieski, the eldest son of their late monarch. Against such numerous enemies no resistance could be offered; protraction of the war was useless, for difficulties only stimulated the Swedish hero. "Should I have to stay here fifty years," said he, "I will not go till I have dethroned the king of Poland." Augustus therefore fled to Saxony, taking, however, the precaution to secure the persons of James Sobieski and his brother Constantine.

THE DISPOSAL OF THE POLISH CROWN

The throne being thus vacated, it remained for Charles to fill it; but he was for some time undetermined who should be the chosen person. His counsellors advised him to step into it himself, but fate, in the shape of military glory, diverted him from that design. He first fixed on Alexander, Sobieski's third son. Alexander, however, wished only for the enlargement of his brothers and to revenge them, having none of the *libidinem dominandi*, and it was in vain that the king of Sweden and the nobles entreated him to change his mind; he was immovable. The neighbouring princes, says Voltaire, knew not whom to admire most, the king of Sweden, who at the age of twenty-two years gave away the crown of Poland, or the prince Alexander, who refused it.

But kingdoms do not long go begging, and all men are not so disinterested as Alexander Sobieski. When Charles told young Stanislaus Leszczynski, the Polish deputy, that the republic could not be delivered from its troubles without an election, "But whom can we elect," said Stanislaus, "now James and Constantine Sobieski are captives?" The king looked with an eye of scrutiny at his interrogator, and thought to himself, "Thou art the man!" He, however, deferred that answer until he had further examined his young protégé.

Stanislaus was descended from an illustrious Polish family; his father was crown treasurer and palatine of Posnania, to which latter office his son succeeded. He added to innate talent the polish of education and commerce with society both at home and abroad. "Stanislaus Leszczynski," said one

[1704 A.D.]

of his contemporaries, "the son of the grand treasurer of the crown, is regarded amongst us as the honour of our country. A happy facility of manners makes him win his way to all hearts." He was courageous, and at the same time mild in his disposition, and had a very prepossessing appearance. In fact, Charles was so much struck with him that he said aloud he had never seen a man so fit to conciliate all parties. He was also sufficiently hardy and inured to service to please the rough king in that respect; and after the conference the Swedish monarch exclaimed, "There is a man who shall always be my friend!" and Stanislaus was king of Poland.

But the formality of election was observed, although it was, in fact, nothing but a ratification of Charles' choice. Many other candidates were also nominated, and though Stanislaus was the most popular among them, as well as the nominee of the lord of the ascendant, the primate Radziejowski objected to him, ostensibly on account of his youth. "What?" said Charles. "He is too young," answered the primate. "He is not so young as myself," replied the king, impatiently, and he sent the Swedish count Horn to Warsaw to enforce the election. Horn met, however, with some resistance from the independent Poles. "Are we assembled," said one of the nobles, "to act in concert for the ruin of Poland, whose glory and safety depend wholly on the freedom of the people and the liberty of the constitution? Let our independence be our first care, then let us think of an election. Shall we call that revolution legitimate which springs from fear of being hewn down by the troops of armed foreigners, who surround us and insult the dignity of the republic with their presence?" Several nobles, roused by this appeal, entered their protests, which, according to law, would check the election, but this trifling opposition was disregarded, the Swedes shouting, "Long live Stanislaus Leszczynski, king of Poland!" and the election was registered. The constitution was certainly infringed by the Swedish influence, but Augustus was not a fit person to complain of unconstitutional acts.

Stanislaus was no sooner seated on the throne and enjoying the honeymoon of royalty at Warsaw, than the alarm-bell sounded, and Augustus, with an army of twenty thousand Saxons, was seen marching to regain his capital. The city was unfortified, and the new king was obliged to flee, with his family, to their protector, Charles. The work of dethronement was now to be all done over again. The Swedish monarch had not lost any of his activity; he overtook Augustus unexpectedly in Posnania, and a battle was fought at Punitz, on the borders of Silesia. The Saxon army consisted almost entirely of foot, whereas the enemy were all cavalry. The Saxons formed themselves into solid bodies, presenting on all sides a hedge of bayonets. The Swedish cavalry in vain attempted to break their ranks; the Saxons stood their ground till nightfall, although inferior in number, and made good their retreat. This was certainly no contemptible specimen of the military talents of Augustus, although a great portion of the credit is of course to be given to the skill of Schullemburg.

The Saxon army retreated, and the Swedes followed and overtook them again on the banks of the Oder. Charles now imagined they must fall into his hands, as they were unprovided with pontoons or boats to effect the passage, but in this he was mistaken. Schullemburg passed his whole army over during the night with a very trifling loss, and Charles himself was obliged to own that "to-day Schullemburg has the better of us."

Notwithstanding all this display of courage and tactics, Augustus could not support his falling fortune, and again withdrew to Saxony. Charles, tired of having to fight his battles over again so often in Poland, resolved to

put an end to the Saxons' occasional excursions, by carrying the war into their own country. Augustus now began to tremble; the Swedish king could as easily appoint a new elector as a new king. To avoid these consequences he submitted to the conditions Charles imposed. These were, to resign all pretensions to the crown of Poland, to break off all treaties against Sweden, and to set at liberty the two Sobieskis.

Russian Intervention; the Flight of Stanislaus.

In the mean time Peter the Great was not idle; he felt much aggrieved that Augustus had capitulated without his knowledge, but he forgave him on hearing how severely he was already punished by the hard conditions of the treaty. The Russians under the command of Menshikov overran Poland in the absence of Charles and Augustus, who were in Saxony, forming a rallying point for the adherents of the ex-king and plundering the opposite party. In fact Peter treated Poland more as a vanquished province than an allied state, ravaging, levying contributions, and carrying off all the valuables he could lay hands on. The news that Stanislaus and Charles were returning from Saxony soon put a check to this injustice and obliged him to retreat.

The fate of Stanislaus was so completely dependent on that of Charles that the history of the latter is also the history of the former. The Swedish hero, leaving his *protégé* in Poland, pursued the czar, who had retired into Lithuania, although it was in the month of January, 1708. The result of this singular campaign forms one of Faine's commonplaces:

—dread Pultowa's day,
When fortune left the royal Swede,

at once stripped Charles of the title of Invincible, the hard earnings of nine years' victories, drove him to seek an asylum in Turkey, and dragged Stanislaus from the Polish throne.

Augustus, on hearing this unexpected news, immediately returned to Poland and resumed the diadem in spite of his oath. The pope's dispensation sanctioned the perjury; Polish inconsistency favoured the new revolution; and the victorious arms of Russia confirmed all. Stanislaus knew it was in vain to resist, and did not wish to shed blood in a useless struggle; he therefore retired to Swedish Pomerania. He defended that province against the united Russians, Saxons, Poles, and Swedes, and Augustus wished to put an end to the contest. Stanislaus agreed to abdicate, but Charles' consent was required to satisfy the newly raised king. The Swede, "proud though in desolation," merely answered to all the persuasions, "If my friend will not be king, I can soon make another." Stanislaus determined to try what could be effected by a personal interview, and "risking more," says Voltaire, "to abdicate a throne than he had done to ascend it," undertook to travel in disguise through the midst of his enemies to Charles' retreat in Turkey. He stole one evening from the Swedish army which he commanded in Pomerania, and traversing the enemy's lines with a passport under the name of Haran, after many dangers reached Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. He here styled himself a major in Charles' service, not knowing that the king was at that time far from a good understanding with the Porte. On this hint the suspicions of the Turkish officer were awakened, who, being acquainted with the ex-king's person by description, saw through the disguise and arrested him.

[1708-1717 A.D.]

"Tell him," exclaimed the inflexible Swede when he heard of his apprehension, "never to make peace with Augustus; assure him fortune will soon change." This prediction seemed about to be verified, when the Turks, stimulated by the intrigues of the Swedish monarch, took up arms against the Russians, and investing Peter on the banks of the Pruth obliged him to make that famous capitulation in 1711. By this he was bound to withdraw all his troops from Poland, and never interfere in the affairs of that government; besides which, Charles was to be insured an unmolested return to his own kingdom.

Peter was, however, no sooner out of danger than he forgot his oath, and instead of withdrawing his troops from Poland reinforced them. In 1712 great complaints were made about this encroachment, and the czar pretended to countermand them, but still kept them on the confines of Lithuania. In 1714 Charles returned to Sweden, and at the same time Stanislaus, resigning all pretensions to Poland, retired to the little duchy of Zweibrücken in Germany, which was presented to him by the king of Sweden, who possessed it by inheritance. He remained there till he was deprived of it by Charles' death, four years later.

AUGUSTUS IS AGAIN KING

The return of the Swedish monarch was a pretext for retaining the Saxon troops in Poland. But even this excuse did not satisfy the justly discontented Poles; they avenged the insults and ravages of these intruders by the lives of many hundreds of them. This was the declaration of open war between the king's troops and the confederated nobles. Augustus in vain opposed his infuriated subjects, and after his army had been almost annihilated called upon the czar for assistance. This induced the confederates to negotiate, and under the terror of a Russian army peace was concluded between the monarch and his people in 1717.

It was then agreed that the Saxons should leave the kingdom, and this engagement was accordingly kept. At the same time the Polish army was decreased to eighteen thousand men, under the pretence of curbing the influence of the two grand generals. This was a most pernicious step to the independence of Poland, as it confined its defence almost entirely to the *pospolite*, who could never compete with the large standing armies which were now kept up by its neighbours. "Imprudent nation!" exclaims Rulhière,^d "which allowed itself to be disarmed at the very moment when new dangers were about to threaten it; which almost solely intrusted its defence to the convocations of the *pospolite*, at a time when all the other nations of Europe had discovered the inutility and abandoned the use of that mode of protection!"

In the mean time Peter had obtained all the Livonian territory he aimed at, and was willing to embrace the schemes of the Swedish minister to enter into a treaty with Charles, to re-establish Stanislaus, make a descent on England, and in fact become the arbiter of Europe. The conferences were carried on with the greatest secrecy, but sufficient transpired to make Augustus tremble. His minister, Fleming (with or without his master's concurrence), employed some French miscreants to carry off Stanislaus and bring him prisoner to Dresden. This he thought would be a bar to the inimical designs of the allies. The villains were discovered and taken before the ex-king as assassins, expecting summary punishment; but the beneficent and philosophic Stanislaus reproved them mildly. "What injury have I done you, my

friends?" said he. "And if none, why should you attempt my life? Were I to retaliate I should take away yours, but I forgive you; live and become better." This was acting up to his own aphorism, "We are amply avenged by having the power to pardon," and gives him a stronger claim to the title of beneficent philosopher than all his writings, were they a hundred times more voluminous.

The king of Poland publicly disclaimed all knowledge of the plot, but we must leave his protestation to plead for itself. At that time it had the effect of shifting the onus of censure to Fleming's shoulders, and at any rate the minister was not unjustly scandalised. The death of Charles, in 1718, broke the alliance, and averted the danger which threatened Augustus. Such was the termination of the attack on Livonia; Peter was the only gainer, while the king of Poland had been dethroned, plundered of his treasures in Saxony, and had recovered his crown only by breaking his oath, sacrificing his power, and becoming almost a mere Russian viceroy.

Poland now enjoyed for some years a state of comparative peace, but it seemed likely to be disturbed in 1726 by disputes about Courland. The duchy had been held as a fief of the Poles ever since 1561, under the express condition that when the line of succession was extinct it should revert to Poland. The diet held in this year (1726), taking into consideration the old age of the childish duke—who in fact no longer held the reins of government, having been deprived of them by Anne, who was the niece of Peter the Great and had married the late duke—determined to annex it to the kingdom, and accordingly sent commissioners to divide it into palatinates. But this the Courlanders stoutly resisted, and elected Count Maurice, of Saxony (Marshal Saxe), natural son of Augustus, their duke—an election that pleased neither the Poles nor the Russians, and was set aside, the duchy remaining under the power of Russia till the death of Augustus.

The same diet held a debate on another singular event, which at the time threatened to be of some importance. Nearly two years before this time the Jesuits were making a public procession with the host in the streets of Thorn, and some young scholar of the order insisted that the children who were present should kneel. This they refused to do, being Lutherans, as were most of the inhabitants of the city, and a scuffle ensued. The offending Jesuit was taken into custody, and his order, highly incensed, imperatively demanded his release, which being refused they attacked the citizens, and some blood was shed on both sides. The townspeople, enraged at this breach of their privileges, broke open the Jesuits' college, plundered it, profaned all the objects of worship, and among other impieties mistreated an image of the Virgin.

The Catholics of Poland, fired at the profanation, immediately came to the diet almost infuriated with fanatic zeal. A commission was appointed, with absolute power to examine into the business and punish the impiety. It was in vain the Lutherans pleaded their grievances; the magistrates were capitally condemned for not exerting their authority, seven other citizens suffered the same fate, and numbers were banished or imprisoned. Three persons, accused of throwing the Virgin's image into the fire, lost their right arms, and the whole city was deprived of the freedom of public worship. The persecuted dissidents carried their complaints before all the Protestant princes; and Prussia, Great Britain, and Sweden interested themselves in their behalf. Augustus began to fear the intervention of force; but the threat was not executed, and the poor Lutherans were left to digest their troubles with prayer and patience.

[1733 A.D.]

THE CLOSE OF AUGUSTUS' REIGN

The king spent the rest of his reign in attempting to make the crown hereditary, and to stretch its prerogatives. The 31st of January, 1733, ended his eventful life, and gave the Poles another opportunity to save their falling country. The biographer of Augustus makes his funeral oration a series of antitheses. He was like all men in whose minds no one passion has established absolute monarchy over the rest: he rang the changes of pleasure and repentance, sense and folly, inaction and exertion. He kept a sumptuous court; and if the first part of his reign undermined the constitution of Poland, the latter part corrupted its morals. But notwithstanding his luxuries and extravagance, he amassed considerable wealth. It is said that he had collected at Dresden porcelain to the value of twenty-four millions. So fond was he of trumpery of this kind that he gave Frederick William, of Prussia, one of his most dangerous neighbours, his finest regiment of dragoons in exchange for twelve vases. He left his son twelve millions in his treasury, and an army of thirty-three thousand good troops, to purchase or seize the crown of Poland.

The reign of Augustus hastened the decline of the Polish nation by many conspiring causes, nor was it more favourable to the advance of learning; only luxury and sumptuousness were encouraged by this monarch's example. Many learned men, indeed, might be mentioned, but none who had any influence on the public mind. The slothful voluptuousness of the latter part of this reign, which succeeded the anarchy of the commencement, completed the ruin it had begun; and Augustus has left behind him the character of one of the most splendid as well as most athletic sovereigns of Poland, to be balanced against the irretrievable injury he has done both to this kingdom and his electoral dominions. Many wonderful feats of strength are still related of Augustus, such as that he could lift a trumpeter in full armour in the palm of his hand. His immense cuirass and helmet, which are shown even to the present day in the *Rüstkammer*, or armoury of Dresden, bear at least some partial testimony to the truth of these traditions.^b

THE ACCESSION OF FREDERICK AUGUSTUS II (1733-1763 A.D.)

After passing a severe law against the Lutherans, who were not only deprived of their civil rights but insultingly forbidden to leave their odious country, the diet of convocation resolved that a Piast only should be elected. This exclusion of foreign candidates was intended to open the way for the second elevation of Stanislaus, now father-in-law of Louis XV, who in his peaceful court of Lorraine was too philosophic to be tempted by ambition. Overcome, however, by the French court, and by the pressing entreaties of his former subjects, he reluctantly proceeded to Warsaw, to support by his presence the efforts of his friends. He was received with acclamation, and in the diet of election sixty thousand voices declared him king of Poland.

But the republic had ceased to control her own destinies; her independence had vanished, and she was no longer allowed either to choose her own rulers or to take any other important step without the concurrence of her neighbours. Both Austria and Muscovy had resolved to resist the pretensions of Stanislaus, and to enforce the election of a rival candidate, Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, son of the late king.

An army of Muscovites arrived in the neighbourhood of Warsaw; and at the village of Kamenets, in a wretched inn in the depths of a forest, the party of nobles opposed to the French interests proclaimed Frederick Augustus king of Poland. On the 9th of November the elector left Saxony. At Tarnowitz, on the Silesian frontier, he swore to the *pacta conventa*, and entered triumphant into Cracow, where he and his queen were solemnly crowned. The Muscovite troops pursued the fugitive Stanislaus to Dantzic, where that prince hoped to make a stand until the arrival of the promised succours from France. Though aid arrived from that country, it was too slender to avail him. The bravery of the inhabitants, however, enabled him to withstand a vigorous siege of five months: when the city was compelled to capitulate, he stole from the place, and in disguise reached the Prussian territories after many narrow escapes.

After receiving the oaths of the Dantickers and assisting at the diet of pacification—the only diet which, during his reign, was not dissolved by the veto—Frederick Augustus appeared to think he had done enough for his new subjects, and abandoned himself entirely to his favourite occupations of smoking and hunting. To business of every description he had a mortal aversion: the government of his two states he abandoned to his minister, Count Brühl. The minister, indeed, strove to resemble him in idle pomp and dissipation, and by that means obtained unbounded ascendancy over him; an ascendancy, however, which was rather felt than seen, and which he who exercised it had art enough to conceal. The king had not the capacity, or would not be at the pains, to learn the Polish language—another source of discontent to the people. But the forests of Saxony were more favourable to the royal sports than those of Poland; Saxony, therefore, had more of the royal presence.^c

POLITICAL DECADENCE

From whatever point of view we may consider the condition of Poland during the middle of the eighteenth century, from the political and social or from the general mental and moral point of view, we always gain the impression of an irremediable decay, the germs of which had certainly already existed for a considerable time in the life of the nation and its realm, but which had been completely developed only during the reign of the two Augustuses from the Saxonian family (1697-1763).

After the unhappy times of John Casimir, when the republic was already quite near the danger of being dissolved, it had again under the leadership of John Sobieski shown itself to the world as a power. But even Sobieski's most glorious undertaking, the deliverance of Vienna from the Turks, had remained fruitless. It was like the last brilliant ray of the setting sun; and when this king was lowered into his grave, there were buried with him, if not actually Poland's liberty, of which he used so often and so proudly to boast, at least the national independence and power.

The very beginning of the Saxonian period was characteristic and full of important consequences for the position of Poland in her affairs both at home and abroad. For, on the whole, Frederick Augustus had only obtained his accession to the throne—thanks to his not having spared any money for bribery—to his at once having entered the country with some thousands of gallant troops, and above all to the support of Austria, Russia, and Rome. And as the beginning, so was the continuation. The same powers that had placed him on the throne had also to try to keep him there. Without the victories of

[1733-1763A.D.]

Peter the Great over Charles XII he would hardly have returned to Poland as the ruler, after his abdication in favour of Stanislaus Leszczyński. When he died, the decision in favour of his son was due to Austria and Russia, and especially to the arms of the latter. The nation itself had declared itself by an overwhelming majority in favour of Stanislaus Leszczyński, but abandoned him after a short and powerless resistance because they had, in the first place, no army capable of resisting the well-exercised and disciplined Russian and Saxonian troops, and because, on the other hand, the general summons of the nobility (*Pospolite ruszenie*) did not meet with sufficient sympathy and encouragement. Already during the election of the first Saxonian one heard the words: "They could have enough kings, without shedding their blood for one of them."

The consequence was that as the influence of Russia in Poland increased, the independence of the republic waned. All circumstances, the state of the general European politics as well as the inner conditions of Poland, were favourable for Russia. Austria, united with Russia for the next decade, had no reason to oppose her in Warsaw; France could not do it at first, and could not even wish to do it afterwards, since Louis XV had joined the Austro-Russian alliance against Frederick II.^e

STATE OF POLAND UNDER AUGUSTUS III

Augustus III, without possessing his father's great qualities, displayed the same generosity. He also, as his father did, forestalled his most stubborn enemies by conferring benefits upon them. In appearance he walked in the same footsteps; he let remain around the throne all the manifestations of civilisation that his father had collected there, but there was nothing inherent in his taste for luxury. It was only through a habit acquired by education that he ruined himself by splendour, without caring for it, by paintings, without knowing anything about them. In the pomp of his court there was no element of gallantry, and the king, of great personal beauty, kept an inviolable fidelity to the queen, his wife, the ugliest princess of her time. But this beauty, so striking in the prince's features at first glance, vanished at the slightest closer inspection; then there appeared an indescribable quality of coarseness; his silent and sad countenance was without character unless it was somewhat stamped with pride. His mind was so lazy and limited that he had never been able to learn the language of his country. His sole passion was for the hunt; and the queen, who never left his side, followed him at it from early dawn in an open chair, braving with him all the inclemencies of the seasons. In this sole and constant occupation he pretended to govern alone the two states of Saxony and Poland, but as a matter of fact all the cares of government were abandoned to a favourite, who was clever enough to make this monarch always believe that he was exercising it himself.

Count Brühl, an indefatigable huntsman because this was a sure means of pleasing his master, an agreeable companion, skilful at all games and sports, a man who had spent his entire life at court and become minister, was never anything else but a courtier. It was not the king's choice that raised Brühl to this high position, but rather his favour, which, growing from day to day without being based on any foundation of merit, let the conduct of affairs fall little by little entirely into the hands of the minister. Never was more servile respect shown a prince than that which Brühl rendered his master with perpetual assiduity, always at his side in the hunting forest, or passing entire

mornings in his presence without saying a word, while the do-nothing prince walked up and down smoking and let his eyes fall on his minister without seeing him. "Brühl, have I any money?" "Yes, sire." It was always the same response. But in order to satisfy the caprices of the prince, which each day were something different, Brühl loaded the state bank of Saxony with more notes than it had funds, and in Poland he auctioned off all the offices of the republic. He brought to the great affairs of general politics in Europe that spirit of underhand intrigue and double dealing that is so often acquired at court; cringing before his master, engaging in society by his grace and gentleness, weak and perfidious in affairs, and always the most superb of men. The excesses of luxury of all kinds that he indulged in would seem exaggerated in a novel, but the truth passes all description. Lucullus, the wonder of the Romans after they had despoiled Greece and Asia, Lucullus, who loaned one day to the managers of some great spectacle five thousand of his coats, would have seemed nearly naked and bare to the Saxon minister. He pretended that this mad magnificence was not his own personal taste, but only seemed to flatter one of his master's foibles. In fact Augustus, attached by indolence to a simple and secluded life, took pride in being served by so fastidious a minister. "Were it not for my profession," said Brühl, "he would let me want for the most necessary things." And this vainest, most superb of men, was nothing in the midst of all the pomp but the vilest of flatterers. For a long time it was never suspected that a secret piety mingled with all a courtier's passions in the minister's soul, but one day two strangers indiscreetly made their way into his inner apartments, and were astonished to see him on his knees, his face to the floor, before a table lighted like a tomb during funeral ceremonies. Brühl got up in great haste and said to the intruders, "After giving my entire day to my temporal master, I must give a few moments to eternity."

Count Brühl, in the first place minister of Saxony, was nobody in Poland, where foreigners were excluded from all offices; but as soon as by his influence over the king's mind he had begun to dispose alone of all favours, he boldly passed himself off as a Pole and found means in a lawsuit purposely raked up to have the court recognise a false genealogy. This judgment became a means for fortune to shower riches and dignities upon him.

The master and favourite had no other political system than one of entire dependence upon Russia. They skilfully seized every occasion to gain the goodwill of that court. Did the emperor smile upon a young man, they were carefully informed of the fact. The riband of Poland had become in some manner the first degree of Russian honours, and the first sign of budding influence at Petersburg. From Warsaw all the news of Russia was faithfully sent to other courts, and for the empire it was like the capital of a distant province. A few Poles grieved at this degradation, but as to make one's own and one's family's fortune had become the universal occupation in this reign, the majority sought favour at its source. They travelled to the court of Russia; the vile intrigues of the Russian courtiers were preserved at Warsaw in anecdotes for the instruction of the young nobles, and as a science useful to the ambitious. Brühl applauded the policy; he believed himself secure by the skill of his negotiations in whatever influence the czarina possessed. The high chancellor Bestuzhev made use of him as a subordinate spy in the general affairs of Europe, and profited by the Saxon minister's deference to sell to him the *Starosties* and Polish offices in opposition to him, and many people have thought that the Russian prime minister had no other design upon Poland than to sustain his credit by these sales.

[1733-1763 A.D.]

The king preferred to reside in Dresden rather than in Warsaw, because the forests of his electorate were better adapted for hunting than those of his kingdom, and because, hating all ceremony, he was not obliged to hold court at Dresden, as Polish traditions compelled him to do at Warsaw. It was in Saxony that he maintained troops of French dancers and Italian singers at great expense, and ruined himself in wild prodigality. And as the Polish ministry displayed no energy except in the king's presence, and the diet and council of senators could not meet without the king's convocation, his long absences left the republic in complete inaction. The law which obliged the convocation of a diet every two years brought him back at the eve of this period; and he was always anxious that these assemblies should have a happy issue, because he regarded their success as a proof of the confidence the Poles had given him. But after several stormy sessions, there was always found some member whose opposition compelled the diet to be dissolved, and the king, accustomed to this misfortune, seemed easily consoled when the season was favourable for a return to Saxony.

During the thirty years of this reign the nation assembled always in vain, and the most frivolous pretexts were sufficient for these ruptures. The king of Prussia relates how one day Augustus was trying to dissolve the diet, and his partisans, few in number, not being able to find some apparent motive under which to cover all their evil intentions, the king looked through the Polish laws, and there discovered an ancient regulation forbidding any matters to be considered by artificial light. He wrote to his supporters to get them to prolong some session into the night and have candles brought in. He was obeyed. The candles arrived; great uproar in the assemblage. Some cried that the law was being violated; others that the old order of the diet is changed, that the arbitrary power holds all the means of providing for itself, while in the tumult a nuncio protested against the validity of a diet where the laws were openly broken. Let us imagine the simplest heritage left for some years without master and government; everything would fall to ruins: and one of the greatest kingdoms of Europe remained thirty years without any sort of administration. There existed no legitimate power to look after the collection of taxes and the condition of the troops. The high treasurers enriched themselves from the public funds while the state was poor and in debt. The great generals were powerful, but the republic was defenceless. The great marshals were dreaded, but the police were not maintained, and the chancellors were reproached with signing illegal acts. All large affairs were in confusion. No ministers were sent to foreign powers.

There was one irregularity especially whose fatal results touched everybody's pockets: the mints had been closed in 1685, to await the first session of the estates in order that they might during that interval consult with the great Prussian cities concerning some projected regulation of coinage. But the dissolution of the diets always prevented these regulations from being considered, and the mints still remained unopened. Foreign money, becoming more necessary from day to day, had only an arbitrary circulation, and there were no coins of small value for domestic trade. The republic was unable to remedy the difficulty. The king felt himself sufficiently authorised by the pressing necessity to have Polish coins struck off in Saxony, and in his eagerness to gain by the operation he set neighbouring sovereigns the dangerous example of deteriorating them.

In the midst of a long peace the nation plunged into effeminacy, made a duty of imitating the luxury of the court, and this foolish luxury disguised the true state of the kingdom under an apparent prosperity. The people,

that is to say the slaves, became each day more wretched because the land-owners were compelled to increase their revenues by increase of work, which they put upon the unfortunate beings. The majority of the noblemen, ruined by a vain display of wealth, no longer had either arms or horses, and were not, as in former times, always ready to march to the defence of their country. Henceforth there were no more inspections of the nobility, and whoever would have proposed to re-establish them would have needlessly made himself suspected at court. Thus all the abuses of the strange government were felt at once.^d

THE PONIATOWSKI VERSUS THE CZARTORYSKI

For ten years two great parties, represented at their head by the greatest families of the land, had quarrelled with one another in Poland—the Poniatowski and the Czartoryski. For a long time the latter had maintained secret



STANISLAUS II, AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI
(1739-1798)

relations with the royal house, and enjoyed a fulness of royal favour. With a sufficient insight in regard to the defects of the organism of the state, the leader of this house indeed offered his hand as a strength to the royal power. By the formation of a confederation, with the king at the head, the way would be made smooth for laying the foundation of healthier conditions. Already a hundred and thirty senators had joined together, when, by the advent of the count De Broglie, the whole undertaking gave way (1752). The influence and importance of this family were not undervalued in Vienna, and Augustus III gave his support to secure the same to the well-meant council. Later on, personal differences with the all-powerful minister Brühl turned

the Czartoryski into the camp of the opposition. The horn of plenty of royal favour now fell into the lap of the Poniatowski.

During the last years of the reign of Augustus III, the conviction of the sad and almost inconsolable state of the republic was deeply rooted in wide circles, and the necessity was recognised for a great reform. Only about the means the views differed. The Poniatowski and their adherents wished a regeneration of the nation from within, and with that still the preservation of freedom, of which the republic was so proud. It is not yet perceptible in what manner this so-named patriotic party thought to attain this great aim; and there would indeed be great difficulty in proving and in significantly showing that the work of reform had made itself clear.

Since the rupture between the Czartoryski and the royal house the leader directed his attention to Russia, with whose help he hoped to abrogate wrongs, and also in the future to be enabled, according to his thought, to direct the choice of a king.^f

[1745-1763 A.D.]

RUSSIAN MACHINATIONS

Nothing could more clearly prove the absolute dependence of the republic on the northern empire than the fact that though Frederick Augustus, in virtue of his rights over Courland, permitted his third son, Charles, whom the states of that duchy had ventured to elect for their sovereign, to accept the precarious dignity, his timidity was absolutely ludicrous; nor would he grant the permission until assured that the choice would be agreeable to the empress Elizabeth. But Peter III, the successor of that princess, refused to acknowledge Duke Charles, who, in fear of the consequences, precipitately fled from Courland to await the course of events. In his contempt for the republic, the new czar would not even condescend to acquaint Frederick Augustus with his accession. So completely did he consider Poland within his grasp, and in reality a province of his empire—however his policy might induce him to permit a little longer the show of national independence—that, in a treaty with the Prussian monarch, he insisted on three great objects: (1) the election of a Piast, and consequently a creature of his own, after the death of Augustus; (2) the protection of the dissidents against the declared will of the diet; and (3) the possession of Courland as a fief of the imperial crown.

St. Petersburg, in short, was the great focus where the rays of Polish intrigue were concentrated, and where the more ambitious natives resorted to obtain, by flattering the imperial confidants, the dignities of the republic. Every intimation, however slight, from the northern metropolis was an imperious obligation on the feeble king and his servile minister; and not on them alone, but on the great body of the nobles, who had lost all sense of the national dishonour, and who transferred their homage from Warsaw to St. Petersburg without shame or remorse. Among these unprincipled Poles, none was more conspicuous than Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, formed a criminal intrigue with the grand duchess Catherine; and who, by favour of the connection, was taught to regard the Polish crown as his own. The father of this adventurer had been the confidant of Charles XII in Turkey, and had been singularly favoured by that monarch. "Charles," wrote the archduchess to the old count, "knew how to distinguish your merit; I also can distinguish that of your son, whom I may one day raise, perhaps, above even Charles himself." The confidants of the two lovers had little doubt that, when the grand duchess was seated on the imperial throne, she would contrive to set aside her husband, and bestow both her hand and sceptre on one whom she had resolved to place over the republic. Finally, the Muscovite armies traversed the kingdom, whether to oppose the Germans or the Turks, or to support the plots of their avowed adherents, with perfect impunity, and in contempt of the humble supplications of court and diet.

It must not, indeed, be concealed that the republic had a few true sons, who endeavoured to rouse the nation to a sense of its humiliation and to arm it against the interference of its neighbours. At the head of these was Braniczki, grand general of the crown, who belonged to no faction and who aimed only at the redemption of his country. But his efforts could avail little against those of two rival factions, whose dissensions were espoused by the great body of Polish nobles. The court, aided by the Radziwills and the Potockis, laboured to preserve the ancient privileges of the republic—in other words, the abuses which had brought that republic to its present deplorable state; and the Czartoryskis to establish an hereditary monarchy, the trunk of

which would be not Frederick Augustus but their kinsman the young count Poniatowski. The cause of the latter was naturally more acceptable at the court of St. Petersburg, especially after the elevation of Catherine; and the Muscovite generals were ordered to protect it, in opposition to the king, and, if need were, to the whole nation.

Catherine II was no less decisive with respect to Courland. She ordered fifteen thousand of her troops to take possession of the duchy in favour of Biron, who had been exiled by Peter and recalled by her. At a meeting of the senate, indeed, over which the feeble king presided, some members had the boldness to dispute the rights of Biron, and to insist on the restoration of Charles; and, what is still stranger, they prevailed on a majority to adopt the same sentiments. They even resolved to cite the Muscovite governor before the tribunal of their king. But this was no more than the empty menace of cowards, who hoped to obtain by blustering what they dared not attempt by open force. A thundering declaration of the czarina and the movement of a few Muscovite troops towards the frontiers so appalled them that they sought refuge in the obscurity of their sylvan abodes; and the king, with his minister Brihl, precipitately abandoned Poland, never to return. With no less speed did Duke Charles, who had stood a six months' siege by the Muscovite troops, follow that exemplary pair to Dresden. It is true, indeed, that the empress arrested the march of her troops in Lithuania; that she found cause to fear the determined opposition of the lesser nobles; and that she resolved to wait for the king's death before she proceeded to declare the throne vacant and secure the elevation of her former lover: but her purpose was immutable; and if her moderation or policy induced her to delay its execution, she knew her power too well to distrust its eventual accomplishment. However, "to make assurance doubly sure," she sought the alliance of the Prussian king, with whom she publicly arranged a portion of the policy that was afterwards adopted in regard to this doomed nation.

Nothing could be more mortifying to the Czartoryskis than this stroke of policy on the part of the czarina. They had long planned the deposition of Frederick Augustus, and the forcible elevation of their kinsman, and their vexation knew no bounds at the delay thus opposed to their ambitious impatience. The young count, in particular, who had traitorously boasted that the last hour of the king was come, that Poland was about to enter on new destinies, behaved like a madman on the occasion, but he became more tractable on learning the indisposition of Frederick Augustus. The death of that prince restored him to perfect equanimity.

Though under Frederick Augustus Poland entered on no foreign war, his reign was the most disastrous in her annals. While the Muscovite and Prussian armies traversed her plains at pleasure, and extorted whatever they pleased; while one faction openly opposed another, not merely in the diet but on the field; while every national assembly was immediately dissolved by the veto; the laws could not be expected to exercise much authority. They were, in fact, utterly disregarded; the tribunals were derided, or forcibly overturned, and brute force prevailed on every side. The miserable peasants vainly besought the protection of their lords, who were either powerless, or indifferent to their complaints; while thousands expired of hunger, a far greater number sought to relieve their necessities by open depredations. Bands of robbers, less formidable only than the kindred masses congregated under the name of soldiers, infested the country in every direction. Famine aided the devastations of both; the population, no less than the wealth of the kingdom, decreased with frightful rapidity.

[1763 A.D.]

THE INTERREGNUM

Though Catherine had long determined on the election of her former lover, she was at first prudent enough to employ address in preference to open force. She had no wish, by her example, to procure the armed interference of Austria—a power which could not regard without alarm the growing preponderance of her empire; and the great Frederick might possibly be no less disposed to preserve Poland independent, as a barrier against her progressive encroachments westward. Her ambassador at Warsaw had orders to repeat her resolution to defend the integrity of the republic; but he was at the same time instructed to say that a Piast only would be agreeable to his sovereign. Who that Piast was, there was no difficulty in surmising; but the count, from his unprincipled manœuvres during the late reign, and still more, perhaps, from the comparative baseness of his extraction, was odious to the whole nation. Here was another obstacle, which required alike great art and unflinching firmness to remove. Entreaties were first to be tried, then remonstrances, next menaces, but actual force only when other means should fail.

In the dietines assembled in each palatinate, to choose the members for the diet of convocation, and to draw up such laws, regulations, and improvements as it was intended to propose in the general diet, the necessity of a radical change in the constitution was very generally expressed. But if the members agreed in this self-evident proposition, they differed widely in every other matter. While one party inclined to the establishment of a hereditary monarchy and the abolition of the veto, another contended for the formation of a government purely aristocratical; a third, with equal zeal insisted that the constitution should only be slightly modified to meet the wants of a new and improved society. All dispute, however, was soon cut short by the united declaration of the Prussian and Muscovite ambassadors, to the effect that their sovereigns would not allow any change at all in the existing system. The Poles now felt that they were slaves.

To a Piast—in other words, a mean dependent on the czarina—Austria opposed the young elector of Saxony, son of the late king. A great number of nobles, on the promise that the freedom of election should be guaranteed by the forces of the empire, and the Muscovites taught to respect the republic, espoused the interests of this candidate; and probably his death was the only event which averted from the country the scourge of war. It was an event so favourable to the views of Muscovy that her triumph was secure. So convinced of this was the sagacious Frederick that he hastened to confirm Catherine in her design, which he offered to support with all his power; and he thereby acquired all the advantages he expected—a confirmation of the favourable treaty he had before made with Peter III. Poniatowski received the riband of the black eagle, which he regarded as an earnest of his approaching elevation.

As the period appointed for opening the diet of convocation drew near, the two allied powers took measures to secure their common object. Forty thousand Prussians were stationed on the Silesian frontier, and ten thousand Muscovites quickly occupied the positions round Warsaw. Their creatures, the Czartoryskis, were active in distributing money with amazing prodigality, and in promising places, pensions, and benefices to all who promoted the success of their kinsman. But on some neither fear nor seduction had any influence: twenty-two senators and forty-five deputies, at the head of whom were the grand hetman and Mokronowski, a Pole zealous for his country's

cause, signed a declaration to the effect that the diet of convocation could not be held so long as foreign troops were present.

On the 7th of May, however, it was opened, but under circumstances deeply humiliating to the nation. The Muscovite troops were posted in the squares, and at the ends of the streets leading to the place of deliberation; while the armed adherents of the Czartoryskis, some thousands in number, had the audacity to occupy not only the avenues to the house, but the halls of the senators and the deputies. Of the fifty senators then in Warsaw, only eight proceeded to the diet, which was to be opened by the aged Count Malachowski, marshal on the occasion. Instead of raising his staff—the signal for the commencement of proceedings—this intrepid man resolutely held it downwards, while his no less courageous companion, Mokronowski, conjured him, in the name of the members who had signed the declaration, not to elevate it as long as the Muscovites controlled the free exercise of deliberation. As the speaker concluded by his veto, a multitude of soldiers, with drawn sabres, rushed towards him. For a moment the tumult was hushed, when the marshal of the diet declared his intention of departing with the symbol of his office. Immediately a hundred armed creatures of the Czartoryskis exclaimed, in a menacing tone, "Raise your staff!" "No," cried Mokronowski, in one still louder; "do no such thing!" Again the soldiers endeavoured to pierce through the crowd of deputies, to lay their victim low, while several voices exclaimed, "Mokronowski, retract your veto; we are no longer masters; you are rushing on certain death!" "Be it so!" replied he, as he folded his arms in expectation of the catastrophe; "I will die free!"

The elevation of his purpose was read in the energy of his look, and could not but strike a deep awe into the assailants, who began to hesitate in their design; especially when they reflected that their bloody deed must bring inevitable disgrace on their cause, and perhaps rouse all Europe against them. As the marshal refused to raise his staff, he was called on to resign it into other hands. "Never!" replied this noble octogenarian: "you may cut off my hand, or you may take my life; but as I am a marshal elected by a free people, so by a free people only can I be deposed. I wish to leave the place!" He was surrounded on every side by ferocious soldiers and deputies resolved to prevent his egress. Seeing him thus violently detained, Mokronowski exclaimed, "Gentlemen, if a victim is wanted, behold me; but respect age and virtue!" At the same moment, the younger of these heroic patriots forcibly opened a way for the marshal, whom he succeeded in conducting to the gate. The undaunted deportment of both seemed to have made its due impression on the members, who opposed no further obstacle to their departure. As they passed through the streets, however, they were exposed to new dangers; and there is little doubt that Mokronowski would have been sacrificed, had not a man, whose name history conceals, closely followed his heels, exclaiming at every step, "Make way for General Gadowski!"

But this admirable display of firmness led to no corresponding result. Though two hundred members of the diet had resolved to have no share in this lawless force, and left Warsaw for their respective habitations, those who remained—the creatures of Muscovy and the Czartoryskis, scarcely eighty in number—were but the more encouraged to betray the liberties of their country. Another marshal was speedily elected, and measures passed in this illegal assembly alike injurious to freedom and tranquillity. The dissidents were deprived of the few remaining rights left them by former persecutors: the Prussians were also forbidden to assemble at the diets, otherwise than by deputies—and these to be few in number. No folly, surely, ever equalled

[1763-1768 A.D.]

that of men who, in such a desperate situation, laboured to alienate an important portion of the people from the government, at a time when the most perfect harmony and the closest union were required to avert the threatened destruction of the republic. In some other things they exhibited a little common sense. They abolished the veto, making the success of the measures proposed depend on the majority, not on the unanimity, of suffrages; and they recognised in the elector of Brandenburg the long disputed title of the king of Prussia.¹ Finally, the diet of election opened August 27th, and on the 7th of the following month Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was declared king of Poland.

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS

The first acts of Stanislaus were almost sufficient to efface the shame of his elevation. Not only were the abolition of the veto confirmed and the arbitrary powers of the grand marshals and hetmans greatly restrained, but enlightened regulations were introduced into the commerce of the country and the finances of the state; the arts and sciences were encouraged, especially such as related to war. The dissidents, however, could not obtain the rights which they claimed, notwithstanding the representations of the Muscovite ambassador, whose sovereign was ever on the alert to protect the discontented and to urge their confederations. But the czarina was in no disposition to see her imperial will thwarted; her attachment to the king had long been weakened by new favourites, and she could not behold, without anxiety, the changes introduced into the constitution of the Poles—changes which, she was sagacious enough to foresee, must, if permitted to take effect, entirely frustrate her views on the republic. Her ambassador declared to the diet that these innovations must be abandoned and the ancient usages restored.

The assembly was compelled to give way, especially as numerous confederations were formed by the small nobles, no doubt in the pay of Catherine, for the same object. The conviction felt by the humblest member of the equestrian order that he by his single protest could arrest the whole machine of government was a privilege too gratifying to self-love to be abandoned without reluctance. Hence Muscovy had little difficulty in nullifying measures which, however advantageous and even necessary to the republic, were less prized by the majority of the nobles than their own monstrous immunities.

It must not, however, be supposed that this dictatorial interference of Muscovy was admitted without opposition. In the diet of 1767-1768 it was courageously denounced by several senators, especially by two bishops and two temporal barons; but the fate of these men was intended to deter all others from following the example: they were arrested by night, and conveyed into the heart of Muscovy. Liberty of discussion had long been forbidden by the haughty foreigners; but, as mere menaces had produced little effect, to the astonishment of all Europe, unblushing violence, and that too of the most odious description, was hereafter to be employed. It was now evident that nothing less than the entire subjugation of Poland, than its reduction to a province of the empire, was resolved. The forcible removal of these heroic champions of independence was to secure the triumph of the ancient anarchy.

¹ They also recognised the sovereign of Muscovy as "empress of all the Russias," thereby supporting the claim of the czarina to the dominion over Red Russia and the other Russian provinces possessed by Poland.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF THE REPUBLIC (1772 A.D.)

But however appalling the fate of these men, it had not the effect designed by its framers: it roused the patriotic and the bold to a more determined and effectual opposition. A confederation of a few influential nobles was formed at Bar, a little town in Podolia, of which the avowed object was to free the country from foreign influence, and to dethrone the poor creature who so dishonoured the nation. At the same time the Turks declared war on the czarina. A memorable struggle ensued, which during four years desolated the fairest provinces of the republic. But unassisted patriotism, however determined, could do little with the veteran armies of Russia; the small bands of the natives were annihilated one by one. An attempt of the confederates to carry off the king by violence did no good to their cause. Finally, the Turks were unsuccessful, the Muscovites everywhere triumphant; circumstances which led to a result hitherto unprecedented in history—the partition of the republic by the three neighbouring powers.

It is not difficult to fix the period when this abominable project was first entertained, or with what power it originated. Notwithstanding the cautious language of the king of Prussia in his memoirs, there is reason enough for inferring that he was its author, and that the subject was first introduced to Catherine, in 1770, by his brother Prince Henry. More than twelve months, however, elapsed before the two potentates finally arranged the limits of their respective pretensions; and although they agreed, without difficulty, on guaranteeing each other's claims, would Austria calmly witness the usurpation? If the Poles themselves were not easy to reduce, what hope of their subjugation would remain, should they be supported by the troops of the empire? That power must be permitted to share the spoil. Unscrupulous, however, as Catherine often was, she refused to be the first to mention such a project to the court of Vienna. Frederick had less shame. After some hesitation, the Austrian court acceded to the alliance. The treaty of partition was signed at St. Petersburg, August 5th, 1772. It must not be supposed that these monstrous usurpations were made without some show of justice. Both Austria and Prussia published elaborate expositions of their claims on the countries invaded. In neither case have these claims either justice or reason to support them.

AN ACCESS OF POLISH PATRIOTISM

The powers thus allied were not satisfied with the success of their violence; they forced a diet to sanction the dismemberment of the country. The great body of the deputies, however, refused to attend this diet of 1773; the few who did were chiefly creatures of Russia, the mercenary betrayers of the national independence. But among these few, nine or ten showed considerable intrepidity in defence of their privileges; none so much as Thaddeus Reyten, deputy of Novogradok, who from incorruptible, daring integrity has been surnamed the Polish Cato. As unanimity could not be expected, wherever one true patriot was to be found, the foreigners laboured to change the diet into a confederation, where the great question might be decided by a majority of votes. To prevent this was the great end of the patriots: each party endeavoured to produce the election of a marshal from among themselves; since the powers with which that officer was invested made his support or opposition no slight object.

[1773-1778 A.D.]

Corrupted as were a great number of the members, they could not tamely see one Poninski, a creature of Russia, forced on them, and they exclaimed that Reyten should be their marshal. Poninski immediately adjourned the diet to the following day, and retired into the king's apartments. Reyten also, after exhorting his countrymen to firmness, declared the sitting adjourned. Thus passed the first day. Throughout the night the gold of the three ambassadors was lavishly distributed, and more traitors made. The following day both marshals resorted to the hall of assembly; but as neither would give way, nothing was done, and the sitting was again adjourned. Seeing no prospect of unanimity, Poninski drew up the act of confederation at his own hotel, and sent it to Stanislaus to be signed. The king replied that he could not legally sign it without the consent of his ministers and senators. The menaces of the ambassadors, however, soon compelled the weak creature to accede to the confederation; but that illegal body was debarred from the hall of deliberations by the intrepid Reyten, who, with four companions, persisted in keeping possession of this sanctuary until he saw the confederation held in the open air. As longer opposition, where the very shadow of law was disregarded, would be useless, he returned to his own residence, with the melancholy consolation of reflecting that he was almost the only one who had withstood the torrent of intimidation or corruption. After his departure the partition treaty was ratified, and a permanent council was established, which, under the influence of the Russian ambassador, governed king and republic.

During the few following years Poland presented the spectacle of a country exhausted alike by its own dissensions and the arms of its enemies. The calm was unusual, and would have been a blessing could any salutary laws have been adopted by the diets. Many such, indeed, were proposed, the most signal of which was the emancipation of the serfs; but the very proposition was received with such indignation by the selfish nobles, that Russian gold was not wanted to defeat the other measures with which it was accompanied—the suppression of the veto, and the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. The enlightened Zamoyski, who had drawn up a code of laws which involved this obnoxious provision, was near falling a sacrifice to his patriotic zeal.

The Diet of 1788

But what no consideration of justice or policy could effect was at length brought about by the example of the French. In the memorable diet which opened in 1788, and which, like the French constitutional assembly, declared itself permanent, a new constitution was promulgated, was solemnly sanctioned by king and nobles, and was enthusiastically received by the whole nation. It reformed the vices of the old constitution—offered a new existence to the burghers and peasants—destroyed all confederations, with the fatal veto, and declared the throne hereditary in the house of Saxony. It had, however, two great faults: it limited the royal authority, so as to make the king a mere cipher, and it came too late to save the nation. The elector of Saxony refused to accept the crown, unless the royal prerogatives were amplified, and Catherine resolved to destroy both it and the republic. The king of Prussia, indeed, announced his entire satisfaction with the wholesome changes which had been introduced, and pretended that he had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of the nation and the preservation of a good understanding with it; but he renewed his alliance with the czarina, the basis of which was a second partition of the republic!

THE SECOND PARTITION (1793 A.D.)

The first object of Catherine was to form the leading discontented Poles into a confederation to destroy the new constitution, and to call in her assistance to re-establish the ancient laws. The confederation of Targowitz struck the nation with terror, but inspired the bold with more ardour. Resistance was unanimously decreed, and the king was invested with dictatorial powers for the national defence. He even promised to take the field in person, and triumph or fall with his people. Yet, in August, 1792, a very few weeks after this ebullition of patriotism, he acceded to the infamous confederation, ordered his armies to retreat, and to leave the country open to the domination of the Russian troops. His example constrained all who had property to lose; since all preferred the enjoyment of their substance under arbitrary government to independence with poverty or exile. The Russian troops entered the kingdom and restored the ancient chains; the Prussian king followed the example, and began his second career of spoliation by the reduction of Dantzic. A diet was assembled at Grodno, but none were admitted as members except such as had opposed the constitution of 1791—none, in fact, but the slaves of the czarina. The feeble Stanislaus was compelled to attend it.

It was converted into a diet of confederation, the better to attain the ends for which it was convoked; yet some of the members were intrepid enough to protest against the meditated encroachments on the territories of the republic; nor did they desist until several were arrested, and the remainder threatened with Siberia. The Russian troops, which had hitherto occupied the approaches to the hall of assembly, and had exercised a strict surveillance over every suspected person, were now introduced into this sanctuary of the laws.^c

Soon the Targowitz confederates were to become aware that they had been the tools of foreign covetousness, and that the empress had demanded the re-establishment of the old condition with all abuses and perversity, only so that on the ground of the dissension, venality, and party rage of the Polish nobles she could attain her egoistic aims more surely. When at the entry of the Russian army Catherine sought to awaken the belief that the republic of Poland would be maintained in its integrity, she only wished to keep down the covetousness of the neighbouring powers. For there is no doubt that from the beginning she had planned the union of the two provinces of Volhinia and Podolia to the Russian empire, and had thought to join the remaining lands to a vassal state under Russian sovereignty.

The position and inclination of the land after the victory of the Targowitz confederates seemed favourable towards the carrying out of this plan. She thought that Prussia and Austria could therefore get their indemnification at the expense of France on the other side of the Rhine. It was only when the German arms in the west did not obtain the success hoped for, and it was feared that the two neighbouring states would demand their share in the booty and indemnification for their arduous efforts with the sword against the common enemy of monarchical principles, that she gave thought to a second partition such as she had suggested formerly in a confidential note to Prince Subow.

The joy of the Poles over the victory of the French and the unconcealed hopes of the assistance of the old friend made the empress anxious; it was only in the union of the three Eastern powers that she believed herself to have a firm guarantee against the propagation of revolutionary ideas as well as

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against the ingratitude and thoughtlessness of the Polish people. At least she expressed herself in this strain to Bulgakow's successor, the new ambassador Sievers. So as to have a quiet and not dangerous neighbour in Poland, she wrote to him that it must be placed in a state of complete impotency; for this purpose she recommended him to be prudent and firm. Count Sievers took the hint and acted accordingly. Without being initiated into the secret plans of the Petersburg court, he knew how to turn the commands and instructions of the empress to good account.

The Targowitz confederates, who under the protection of the Russian empress thought to rule the re-established republic in the old manner, and whose leader, Felix Potocki, had hopes of winning the crown, from all sorts of signs expected the approaching destiny, and when the Prussians, after having formed an armed union with Russia, marched into the western borderland, the confederates fell into great dismay. They reminded the empress that the Russian ambassador had promised the integrity of the republic, but received the answer that Bulgakow had done that of his own accord; Poland was a conquered land and must await its fate.

Meanwhile the Russians remained in Volhinia and Podolia, whilst the Prussians took possession of the provinces in the Vistula, and after a bloody fray compelled Dantzic to surrender. At the same time the two allied states declared that it was necessary to confine Poland within narrow limits so as to suppress the extravagance of freedom which had penetrated into the republic from France, and to preserve the neighbouring states from every contagion of the democratic Jacobinism.

At the instigation of the Petersburg cabinet, a diet was appointed at Grodno in the spring by the reinstalled permanent council. The agents of the empress now adopted the usual course for obtaining suitable deputies for the meeting.

The Russian troops under the haughty General Igelström, and still more the sums of money by which Count Sievers operated the favours and promises which he granted or held in view, did not fail to do their work. The ambassador kept a list of noble persons, with notes as to the price at which their votes could be obtained. Thus it came about that mostly "bribed people" were sent by the legislative assembly as deputies to Grodno.

On the 27th of June, 1793, the diet was opened and was declared confederate, so that consent was not required for the resolutions. The proposal of a deputy that ambassadors should be sent to the European courts, especially Vienna, so as to appeal for their intercession and help, and that the sitting should be adjourned till their return, was rejected, although even King Stanislaus agreed to the proposal, and then, according to the wish of the Russian ambassador, chose a committee of thirty-one members whom Sievers had previously made known to his partisans. That under such circumstances the demand of Russia would meet with no obstinate resistance could be foreseen. Both parties had often enough declared that, relying on the magnanimity and benevolence of the empress, they entirely gave themselves up to her will. By acceding to her wishes the deputies hoped to put an end to the second treaty of partition, and to deprive Prussia, whom they hated with national antipathy and by whom they considered themselves betrayed, of its share. And indeed things did not seem favourable for the claims of the Berlin court.

The Austrian government, then under the leadership of Thugut, with envy and jealousy saw the increase of power Prussia would obtain through the Polish acquisitions, and sought to postpone the partition business until the

end of the French war. We shall soon see what a laming effect the proceedings on the Vistula had on the passage of arms taking place at the same time on the Rhine.

How could the two great German powers, who in the one place went hand in hand together and in the other were working against one another, obtain satisfactory results and success at arms! In Petersburg irresolution and reservation prevailed. Whilst the cession of the Ukrainian and Lithuanian provinces was imperiously requested and obtained from the diet, the Prussian demands were upheld with little energy. The wish was expressed by lovers of rank and ambitious Polish nobles and Lithuania itself, that the empress and her favourite, Subow, would take the entire empire under their protection and make no further partition. The electoral noble, embittered that Duke Peter Biron, to whom the father Ernest John had left the government in 1769, granted the municipality further rights and rendered the acquisition of feudal lands available to the citizens, joined those equal to him in Poland in the same offer. The attempt almost meant interference with the autocrat. All exerted themselves to take up the yoke of Russia so as to be all the more certain of satisfying their own passions and interests. Catherine did not refuse to try and separate the cause of Russia from that of Poland; her ambassador was directed to appear only as a "just and impartial mediator" between Poland and Russia and to "proceed with moderation." Sievers demanded more money in case the empress should desire to "increase her intentions" towards Poland.

Thus the affair dragged on for weeks; the committee of the diet sought evasion and the Russian ambassador only gave an apparent support. It was only when Prussia, after the reconquest of Mainz, made preparations to turn its arms towards the East, that the Russian empress thought it advisable, so as to avoid warlike developments, to enter into the joint liability of the treaty of partition, and now Sievers received instructions to dispose the Poles towards it, and with earnestness to accomplish the negotiations. Then followed the famous "silent sitting" of the diet at Grodno. After having locked the hall under pretext of a proposed attempt on the king, and surrounded the castle with soldiers, the ambassador compelled the assembly to authorise the committee to sign the treaty of partition with Russia drawn up by himself; then when new difficulties were raised, the first violent measure was followed by another.

After four deputies, who had especially distinguished themselves in the opposition against Prussia, had been arrested in Grodno by Russian soldiers and taken away as prisoners, Sievers had the palace again surrounded by soldiers, and compelled the diet, assembled under the presidency of the king in the closed hall, to listen to and grant the demands of Prussia. When a deep silence reigned over all and no vote for or against was heard, finally, after midnight, the deputy Count Ankiewicz declared that "silence was consent." The marshal to the diet then asked three times of those assembled in the hall, "Does the diet authorise the commission to ratify the treaty with Prussia unconditionally?"

As all again remained silent, he declared the resolution as unanimously agreed.

The scene would indeed have been great and tragically sublime, as it has often been represented, had not later discoveries proved that the whole thing was an understood comedy; that the deputies, so as to keep up an appearance before the people, had previously arranged the "silence" and had received their reward for it in ringing gold. Ankiewicz and Bielinski received a con-

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tinual income from Russia; the protest which some deputies had raised against the force used did not prevent the majority of the members of the diet from taking part in the festivities and banquets, by which the Prussian and Russian ambassadors celebrated the fortunate ending to their work of pacification.

"The play in Grodno," remarks a historian of the present, "which for so long was considered an historical tragedy, was really only a great piece of intrigue."

By the second treaty of partition Russia received the fertile province of east Poland, over 4,500 square miles with more than three million inhabitants; Prussia, besides the townships of Dantzic and Thorn, the provinces of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, and other provinces of Great Poland, an increase of land united to South Prussia "with its remaining possessions of more than a million inhabitants and 1,000 square miles."

Scarcely a third of its former district remained to the republic of Poland. And so as to rob the last traces of independence from these poor remains and their impotent king, a perpetual council was reinstated, a new treaty formed with Russia by which the Poles could introduce no alterations into the administration without the permission of the empress, and form no union or treaties with any strange power, and the Russian troops were to have the right of invading the kingdom at all times. So that the treaty should appear as the unanimous agreement of the whole nation, those deputies who could not or would not accept it were induced by money to keep away from the diet. Thus the "Everlasting Union" took place, October 14th, 1793.

From this time on the "Illustrious Republic" of Poland became a complete Russian vassal state, in which the word of Catherine's ambassadors was of more value than that of the king.

Lelewel says, "Stanislaus Augustus suffered all mortification, all humiliation, and all insults. Susceptible like all weak hearts, he wept over the republic, and instead of taking decisive steps he gave himself up to childish complaints." *g*

THE REVOLT OF THE PATRIOTS

The Poles have a proverb, "You may strip a Pole to his shirt, but if you attempt to take his shirt he will regain all." Although they have not precisely verified this, they seem always to have kept it in their eye as a principle of action; they have always submitted in the first instance to the greatest aggressions with wonderful indifference and docility, but have generally made the most determined resistance to the finishing act of tyranny. "The proud Poles" might be expected to find the yoke of subjugation more galling than any other nation in the world; it was still a country of nobles, men whose only business was to rule, and cherish lofty feelings. Those who were too devoted to their liberty to stay to witness their country's oppression were now wandering outcasts in foreign lands, but wherever they went they carried with them hearts which still yearned for their homes, although they could not find any enjoyment in them without independence. Dresden and Leipsic were the chief places of refuge for these patriots, among whom Potocki, Kollontay, Malachowski, Mostowski, and Kosciuszko were the most conspicuous. They were not, however, willing to sacrifice the lives of their countrymen in rash and useless struggles, but waited for a favourable juncture to unsheathe the sword once more against their oppressors. But their fellow patriots in Poland, who were feeling more keenly the pains of tyranny, were more impatient and obliged them to hasten their plans, "and thus," says one who was enlisted among

them, "they left to Providence the issue of the most rash enterprise that could be conceived." The design was first formed at Warsaw, and the revolution regularly devised a commission of four persons forming the active body. Their agents were spread all over the kingdom; the plot was speedily maturing, and would no doubt have become general had not the explosion been forestalled.

Igelström, who had succeeded Sievers, and was invested with plenary power, insisted on the immediate reduction of the Polish army to fifteen thousand men. At this time it consisted of about thirty thousand, divided into small bodies, scattered in different parts of the kingdom under the surveillance of the Russian troops. The permanent council was obliged to obey the mandate, and issued the orders. This was the signal for throwing off the galling yoke. A strict correspondence had been carried on between the Poles abroad and their brother patriots in Poland. Cracow was fixed on as the point of junction, and unanimous consent placed the noble Kosciuszko at the head of the confederacy. The patriots of Warsaw had sent two emissaries, in September, 1793, to this great man, who had retired to Leipsic, and he then commenced communications with Ignatius Potocki and Kollontay. Not satisfied with report, Kosciuszko went to the frontier of Poland, that he might ascertain the state of feeling; he then forwarded his companion Zayonczek to Warsaw, where he stayed ten days undiscovered. His report was that "the members of the conspiracy were zealous, but too enthusiastic; that their only connection with the army was through Madalinski, Dzialynski, and a few subalterns." Kapustas, however, a banker of Warsaw, made himself very instrumental in preparing the minds of the people for the grand attempt proposed; and Madalinski pledged himself to risk all if they attempted to oblige him to disband his brigade.

The approach of such a man as Kosciuszko to the frontier could not be kept secret. While Zayonczek was at Warsaw, Kosciuszko had an interview with Wodzicki, commander of two thousand troops, near Cracow, and the circumstance came to the ears of a Russian colonel stationed there, but fortunately Kosciuszko was apprised of the event, and, to lull suspicion, immediately retired to Italy.

The arrival of Stanislaus and the Russian ambassador at Warsaw from Grodno was the signal for fresh persecution. Arrests daily took place, and Mostowski, one of the chief senators, was imprisoned. About this time Zayonczek returned from Dresden, and the king being aware of it, and knowing he was one of the emigrants, suspected his design, and informed the Russian minister, in consequence of which the patriot was ordered to leave the kingdom. Madalinski was the first to draw the sword of rebellion. He was stationed at Pultusk, about eight leagues from Warsaw, with seven hundred cavalry; and on receiving the order to disband the corps, he refused, and declared it was impossible till their pay, which was two months in arrears, was advanced. After this, which occurred on the 15th of March, 1794, he set out for Cracow, having previously traversed the new Prussian territory, made several prisoners, and exacted contributions.

KOSCIUSZKO NAMED DICTATOR

Kosciuszko was aware of this bold step, and, though he would probably have advised more caution, knew the die was cast, and that it was now too late to debate. He hastened from Saxony, reached Cracow on the night of

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the 23rd of March, where Wodziecki, with a body of four hundred men, was ready to receive him, and on the following day was proclaimed generalissimo. The garrison and all the troops at Cracow took the oath of allegiance to Kosciuszko, and a deed of insurrection was drawn up, by which this great man was appointed dictator, in imitation of the Roman custom, in great emergencies. His power was absolute; he had the command of the armies, and the regulation of all affairs political and civil. He was commissioned, however, to appoint a national council, the choice being left to his own will. He was also empowered to nominate a successor, but he was to be subordinate to the national council.

Seldom before was confidence so fully and so unscrupulously reposed by a nation in a single individual; and never were expectations better grounded than in the present instance. Thaddeus Kosciuszko was born of a noble, but not very illustrious, Lithuanian family, and was early initiated in the science of war at the military school of Warsaw. In his youth his affections were firmly engaged to a young lady, the daughter of the marshal of Lithuania, but it was his fate to see his love crossed, and his innamorata married to another, Prince Lubomirski. He then went to France, and on his return applied to Stanislaus for a military appointment, but was refused because he was a favourite of Adam Czartoryski, whom Stanislaus hated. Kosciuszko sought to dispel his disappointment in the labours of war. The British colonies of America were then throwing off the yoke of their unnatural mother-country—their cause was that of justice and liberty, and one dear to the heart of a young, proud-spirited Pole. Kosciuszko served in the patriotic ranks of Gates and Washington, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the latter great general. When the struggle in the New World was crowned with success, he returned to his own country, where he found an equally glorious field for his exertions. He held the rank of major-general under Joseph Poniatowski in the campaign of 1792, to which office he had been raised by the diet, and we have already seen what a glorious earnest he then gave of what was to be expected from him, had not his ardour been checked by the king's timidity and irresolution.

VICTORIES OF KOSCIUSZKO

The first acts of the dictator were to issue summonses to all the nobles and citizens; to impose a property-tax, and make all the requisite arrangements which prudence dictated with regard to the commissariat of his little army. On the 1st of April he left Cracow at the head of about four thousand men, most of whom were armed with scythes, and marched in the direction of Warsaw, to encounter a body of Russians more than thrice their own number, which he understood were ordered against them by Igelström.

The patriots encountered the enemy on the 4th of April, near Raclawicé, a village about six or seven Polish miles¹ to the northeast of Cracow. The battle lasted nearly five hours, but victory declared in favour of the Poles; three thousand Russians being killed, and many prisoners, eleven cannon, and a standard taken. This success confirmed the wavering patriots, and accelerated the development of the insurrection throughout the kingdom. In vain did the king issue a proclamation, by order of Igelström, denouncing the patriots as the enemies of the country, and directing the permanent council to commence legal proceedings against them; the tame submission of these dependents of

¹ A Polish or German mile is nearly equal to two French leagues, of twenty-five to a degree.

Igelström only served to increase the irritation of the patriots. The state of Poland is thus described by the Russian minister himself, in a letter of the 16th of April, addressed to the secretary of war at Petersburg, and intercepted by the Poles:

"The whole Polish army, which musters about eighteen thousand strong, is in complete rebellion, excepting four thousand, who compose the garrison of Warsaw. . . . The insurrection strengthens every moment, its progress is very rapid, and its success terrifying. I am myself in expectation of seeing the confederation of Lublin advance, and I have no hope but in God and the good cause of my sovereign. Lithuania will not fail, certainly, to follow the example, etc."

On the same day Igelström ordered the permanent council to arrest above twenty of the most distinguished persons, whom he named. He also issued his orders to the grand general to disarm the Polish garrison of Warsaw. The 18th of April was the appointed day, as the most favourable to the design, since it was a festival, Easter eve, and most of the population would be at mass. Strong guards were to be stationed at the church doors; the Russian troops were to seize the powder magazines and arsenal, and the garrison were then to be immediately disarmed. In case of resistance, the Cossacks received the villainous orders to set fire to the city in several places and carry off the king. The design, however, fortunately transpired on the very same day that it was formed. Kilinski, a citizen of Warsaw, discovered the plan, and informed the patriots that Russians, in Polish uniforms, were to form the guards which, on the festivals, are stationed at the churches. In confirmation of his account he assured them that one of his neighbours, a tailor, was at work on the disguises. A private meeting of the patriots immediately took place, in which it was determined to anticipate it by unfurling the standard of insurrection on the 17th. The precipitancy of the plot did not admit of much organisation; the only concerted step was to seize the arsenal, which was to be the signal for the insurrection.

At four in the morning a detachment of Polish guards attacked the Russian picket, and obtained possession of the arsenal and the powder magazine, and distributed arms to the populace. A most obstinate and bloody battle took place in the streets of Warsaw, which continued almost without intermission during two days. But notwithstanding the superiority in number of the Russian troops, amounting to nearly eight thousand, the patriots were victorious. This glorious success was not obtained without much bloodshed; above two thousand two hundred of the enemy were killed, and nearly two thousand taken prisoners. The most sanguinary affray took place before Igelström's house, which was defended with four cannon and a battalion of infantry. But nothing could withstand the impetuosity of the Poles; Igelström narrowly escaped to Krasinski's house, where he made offers to capitulate. The king exhorted the people to suspend their attack; in the pause, while the patriots were expecting Igelström's submission, he escaped and fled to the Prussian camp, which was near Warsaw. But the patriotic spirit of the Poles on these glorious days was unalloyed by a particle of selfish or dishonest feeling; in obedience to a proclamation demanding the restitution even of this lawful plunder of Igelström's house, and issued three days after the event, all the bank notes were brought back, and even the sterling money to the amount of 95,000 ducats of gold. Many striking instances of disinterestedness were elicited by this proclamation, but the following must not be passed over in the crowd. A private soldier presented himself at the treasury with 1,000 ducats of gold which had fallen into his hands, and for a long time

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refused any reward for his honesty; it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted even a ducat, repeating that he found all the reward he desired in the pleasure of serving his country and performing his duty.

On the 17th the people crowded to the castle, where they found General Mokronowski and Zakrzewski, who had formerly been president of the city under the constitution of the 3rd of May. The latter was reinstated in his post by unanimous acclamation, and the general was appointed governor. Mokronowski was one of the old body of patriots, and had signalised himself in the campaign of 1792. They established a provisional executive council, consisting of twelve persons besides themselves. The council declared at their first meeting that they subscribed without reservation to the act of insurrection of Cracow; they also sent a deputation to the king to testify their respect to him, but at the same time prudently expressed their intention of obeying the orders of none but Kosciuszko. The dictator immediately ordered all the inhabitants of Warsaw to lay down their arms at the arsenal to prevent any disturbances.

The Lithuanians did not long delay to obey the call of their Polish brethren: on the night of the 23rd of April Jasinski, with three hundred soldiers and some hundred citizens, attacked the Russian garrison at Vilna, and, after a repetition of the scene of carnage at Warsaw, were left masters of the city.

THE TIDE TURNS AGAINST THE PATRIOTS

Fortune, however, was not uniformly favourable to the good cause. A body of nearly forty thousand Prussians entered the palatinate of Cracow and effected a junction with the Russians near Szczekociny, and the king of Prussia arrived in a few days to head them in person. Kosciuszko advanced with sixteen thousand regular troops and about ten thousand peasants to the defence of Cracow; and, being ignorant that the enemy were reinforced by the Prussians, found himself engaged with a force double his own. The engagement of Szczekociny took place on the 6th of June: the Poles lost about a thousand men, but made their retreat in good order, without being pursued. Kosciuszko, in announcing this affair to the supreme council, says: "We have sustained a trifling loss, compared with what we have caused the enemy. We have effected our retreat in good order, after a cannonade of three hours." Another body of the patriots suffered a similar defeat near Kulm, three days after; and to complete the climax of misfortune, the city of Cracow fell into the hands of the Prussians on the 15th. These untoward events, following in such rapid succession, began to depress the spirits of the Poles; and the violent and seditious exclaimed that these reverses were caused by traitors, and were greatly to be attributed to the negligence of the government in not punishing the numerous individuals who crowded the prisons. Warsaw threatened to exhibit a revival of the bloody deeds of the Mountain butchers of the French revolution. On the 27th of June a young, hot-headed demagogue inflamed the passions of the rabble with a bombastic harangue on the treachery to which he ascribed the recent reverses, and urged the necessity of checking it by making an example of the persons now in custody. On the following day they went in a crowd to the president to demand the immediate execution of the unfortunate prisoners, and being refused, they broke open the prisons and actually hanged eight persons. This disgraceful and almost indiscriminate butchery was with difficulty stopped by the authorities. Every true patriot lamented deeply this blot on the

glory of their revolution, and none more than the humane and upright Kosciuszko. "See," said he, "what tragic scenes have passed at Warsaw, almost before my eyes! The populace have indulged in unpardonable excesses, which I must punish severely. The day before yesterday (the 28th) will be an indelible stain on the history of our revolution; and I confess that the loss of two battles would have done us less harm than that unfortunate day, which our enemies will make use of to represent us in an unfavourable light in the eyes of all Europe!" He ordered a strict investigation, and seven of the ringleaders were hanged.

The emperor of Austria had preserved a neutrality up to this time, but on the 30th of June he announced his intention to march an army into Little Poland, "to prevent by this step all danger to which the frontiers of Galicia might be exposed, as well as to insure the safety and tranquillity of the states of his imperial majesty." The Austrians entered Poland accordingly without opposition, but offered not the least molestation to the Poles. The invasion, however peaceful, was only like a "shadow before" of "coming events."

In the mean time the Prussians and Russians continued to approach Warsaw, at the distance of three leagues from which Kosciuszko was encamped, at a place called Pracka-Wola. It was here that one of his brothers in arms, and who has recorded the events of this portion of his glorious career, found him sleeping on straw. The picture he draws of this great man in his camp is an interesting view of the hero who upheld the fate of Poland. "We passed," says Count Oginski,^h "from Kosciuszko's tent to a table prepared under some trees. The frugal repast which we made here, among about a dozen guests, will never be effaced from my memory. The presence of this great man who has excited the admiration of all Europe; who was the terror of his enemies and the idol of the nation; who, raised to the rank of generalissimo, had no ambition but to serve his country and fight for it; who always preserved an unassuming, affable, and mild demeanour; who never wore any distinguishing mark of the supreme authority with which he was invested; who was contented with a surtout of coarse grey cloth, and whose table was as plainly furnished as that of a subaltern officer, could not fail to awaken in me every sentiment of esteem, admiration, and veneration, which I have sincerely felt for him at every period of my life."

The enemy continued to advance towards Warsaw, and encamped near Wola, a league from the city. They were fifty thousand strong, forty thousand Prussians and ten thousand Russians. The city had been hastily fortified at the commencement of the insurrection, and with the protection of Kosciuszko's army resisted all the enemy's attacks. The first serious combat took place on the 27th of July, and was repeated on the 1st and 3rd of August, when the Prussians attempted to bombard the town, but not a house was injured. On the 2nd, Frederick William wrote to Stanislaus recommending him to use his influence to induce the inhabitants to surrender, to which the king of Poland answered that it was not in his power to do so while Kosciuszko's army lay between Warsaw and the enemy. The same spirit of patriotism, however, did not animate all the Poles; but it is satisfactory, though apparently singular on the first appearance, to find that the defaulters in the good cause were chiefly rich capitalists, men who in Poland at that time had scarcely a thought beyond stock-jobbing. But these malecontents formed only a small portion of the people, and were obliged to cherish their opinions and wishes in secret. On the 16th of August General Dombrowski, who had lately had some advantage in skirmishes with the Russians at Czerniakow, attacked them a second time, but was obliged to retire. This was followed

[1794 A.D.]

by many warm actions, in which Dombrowski, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Pozinski, and many others eminently distinguished themselves. The hottest affair took place in the night of the 28th. Dombrowski was attacked, while at the same time General Zayonczek was advancing his troops against the Prussian army. The courage and patriotism of the Poles predominated on this occasion. In the night of the 5th of September the Prussians and Russians made a sudden and unexpected retreat, with so much precipitation that they left the wounded and sick, as well as a great portion of their baggage.

UPRISING IN THE PRUSSIAN PROVINCES; REVERSES IN LITHUANIA

This sudden retreat of the king of Prussia, with a superior army of forty thousand men, appeared at first so unaccountable that even Kosciuszko imagined it was a feint, and would not allow his troops to pursue them; but the real cause was the news that insurrections had broken out in the Polish provinces which had been recently annexed to Prussia. The Prussian yoke was even more galling to the Poles than that of Russia, on many accounts. In all his new provinces Frederick William had introduced German laws, and even went so far as to oblige his vanquished subjects to learn the language of their victors; so that the Poles foresaw that even the very traces of the Polish nation were to be erased from the face of the earth. The inhabitants of Great Poland had not been deaf to the call of their brethren of Cracow and Warsaw; Mniewski, castellan of Cujavia, and other leading men had found means to open a communication with the patriots at the very commencement of the revolution, and had even contrived to form magazines of arms and ammunition in some retired woods during the space of five months, with such circumspection that not the slightest suspicion was excited. On the 23rd of August, when most of the Prussian troops were engaged in the siege of Warsaw, and but weak garrisons were left in the Polo-Prussian towns, a small body of confederates, having assembled in a wood near Sieradz, attacked the Prussian guard, seized the magazines, and remained masters of the town. The insurrection became general in a few days; the palatinates of Kaliz and Posen joined the confederacy by the 25th, and Mniewski with a handful of heroes marched to Wloclawek, a town on the Vistula in the palatinate of Brest-Cuyowski, where he seized thirteen large barks laden with ammunition, designed for the siege of Warsaw. These bold examples were imitated in the other palatinates; the spirit of patriotism began to evince itself even in the heart of Dantzie, and one of the patriotic detachments penetrated as far as Silesia.

Such was the state of affairs which called Frederick William from the siege of Warsaw. His ministers and officers prompted him to take the most severe measures to reduce the patriots, in the execution of which Colonel Szekuby signalised himself by excessive barbarity; but this cruelty only served to render their tyrants the more odious in the sight of the Poles and to animate them in their battle of freedom.

Kosciuszko sent Dombrowski with a considerable number of troops to second the insurgents, and so admirably did he perform his orders that by the middle of September all Great Poland, except a few towns, was in the possession of the patriots.

The good cause was not thriving so prosperously in Lithuania; Vilna had fallen into the hands of the Russians on the 12th of August, and nearly all the rest of the province soon shared the same fate. Catherine, to crush the revo-

lution, ordered her general, Suvarov, to march from the frontiers of Turkey towards Warsaw, and on the 16th of September he attacked a body of the Polish army at Krupezyce, a little village to the east of Brest-Litovski, and drove them towards this latter place. The attack was renewed on the following day, when the patriots were overpowered by superior forces, and many were taken prisoners.

This unfortunate defeat laid open the road to Warsaw, so that Kosciuszko was obliged to advance to support the flying army. He proceeded to Grodno, and having appointed Mokronowski commander of the Lithuanian army, he returned to prevent the junction of Suvarov with Fersen, who headed the other Russian corps.

THE FALL OF KOSCIUSZKO

The 10th of October was the decisive day; Kosciuszko attacked Fersen, near Maciejowice. The battle was bloody and fatal to the patriots; victory was wavering, and Poninski, who was expected every minute with a reinforcement, not arriving, Kosciuszko, at the head of his principal officers, made a grand charge into the midst of the enemy. He fell covered with wounds, and all his companions were killed or taken prisoners. His inseparable friend, the amiable poet, Niemcewicz, was among the latter number. The great man lay senseless among the dead; but at length he was recognised notwithstanding the plainness of his uniform, and was found still breathing. His name even now commanded respect from the Cossacks, some of whom had been going to plunder him; they immediately formed a litter with their lances to carry him to the general, who ordered his wounds to be dressed, and treated him with the respect he merited. As soon as he was able to travel he was conveyed to Petersburg, where Catherine condemned this noble patriot to end his days in prison. Clemency, indeed, was not to be expected from a woman who had murdered her husband.

Such was the termination of Kosciuszko's glorious career. The news of his captivity spread like lightning to Warsaw, and everyone received it as the announcement of the country's fall. "It may appear incredible," says Count Oginski,^b "but I can attest what I have seen, and what a number of witnesses can certify with me, that many women miscarried at the tidings; many invalids were seized with burning fevers; some fell into fits of madness which never after left them; and men and women were seen in the streets wringing their hands, beating their heads against the walls, and exclaiming in tones of despair, 'Kosciuszko is no more; the country is lost!'"

In fact the Poles seemed all paralysed by this blow; the national council, indeed, appointed Wawrzecki successor to Kosciuszko, but they despaired of being able to withstand the Russians, and limited their hopes and exertions to prevent Warsaw from being taken by assault, for which purpose they ordered the troops to concentrate near the city. They fortified Praga, one of the suburbs of Warsaw, which was separated from the city by the Vistula, and was most exposed to attack. Every individual, indiscriminately, was employed in the works. Suvarov, hearing that the king of Prussia was advancing towards Warsaw, did not choose to have his prey taken out of his mouth, and hastened with forced marches, joined Fersen, attacked the Poles on the 26th of October before Praga, and drove them into their intrenchments.

The batteries of Praga mounted more than one hundred cannon, and the garrison was composed of the flower of the Polish army. On the 4th of November Suvarov ordered an assault, and the fortification was carried

[1794-1795 A.D.]

after some hours' hard fighting. Suvarov, the butcher of Ismail, a fit general for an imperial assassin, was at the head of the assailants, and his very name announces a barbarous carnage. Eight thousand Poles perished sword in hand, and the Russians having set fire to the bridge, cut off the retreat of the inhabitants. Above twelve thousand townspeople, old men, women, and children, were murdered in cold blood, and to fill the measure of their iniquity and barbarity, the Russians fired the place in four different parts, and in a few hours the whole of Praga, inhabitants as well as houses, was a heap of ashes.

The council, finding that Warsaw could not be defended any longer, capitulated on the 6th of November; many of the soldiers were obliged to lay down their arms, and the Russian troops entered the city. The authors of the revolution, the generals and soldiers who refused to disarm, had quitted Warsaw, but, being pursued by Fersen, many were killed or dispersed, and the rest surrendered on the 18th.

All the patriots of consequence who fell into the hands of the Russians were immured in the prisons of Petersburg, or sent to Siberia. Ignatius Potocki, Mostowski, Kapustas, and Kalinski were among the captives. Their treatment, however, was not so cruel as it has been frequently represented; Kosciuszko's prison, for instance, was a comfortable suite of rooms, where he beguiled his time with reading and drawing; Potocki was equally well lodged, and amused himself with gazing at the passers-by from his windows. This was not, indeed, an exact observance of the article of capitulation, "We promise a general amnesty for all that is passed,"¹ but it was the very acme of honour, compared with the general tenor of Russia's conduct towards Poland.

THE FINAL PARTITION OF POLAND

The king of Prussia, as vengeful as the weak and bad generally are when in power, was less merciful even than Suvarov. He appointed a commission to judge and punish those who had been concerned in the insurrection, as if they were *bona fide* his own subjects. Many patriots, too, who were so unfortunate as to fall into the Prussian's hands, were doomed to pine in the fortresses of Glogau, Magdeburg, Breslau, etc., and Madalinski was one of these. Austria buried some of the patriots in her prisons of Olmutz, thus consummating the triumph of barbarism.

On the 24th of October, 1795, the treaty for the third partition of Poland was concluded, but the arrangement between Prussia and Austria, as to the limits of the palatinate of Cracow, was not settled till the 21st of October, 1796.

By this third and last partition Russia acquired the remaining portion of Lithuania and a great part of Samogitia, part of Kulm on the right of the Bug, and the rest of Volhinia. Austria obtained the greater part of the palatinate of Cracow, the palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, with a part of the district of Kulm, and the parts of the palatinates of Brest, Polachia, and Masovia which lay along the left bank of the Bug. Prussia had the portions of the palatinates of Masovia and Polachia on the right bank of the Bug; in Lithuania, part of the palatinate of Troki and Samogitia, which is on the left bank of the Niemen; and a district of Little Poland forming part of the palatinate of Cracow. Thus the banks of the Piliça, the Vistula, the Bug, and the Niemen marked out the frontiers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.^b

The republic was thus erased from the list of nations after an existence of

¹ Sixth article of the capitulation.

near ten centuries. Perhaps no people on earth have shown more personal bravery than the Poles; their history is full of wonderful victories. But how little the most chivalrous valour or the most splendid military successes could avail with such a vicious frame of society has been but too well seen. That a country without government (for Poland had none, properly so called, after the extinction of the Jagellos), without finances, without army, and depending for its existence year after year on tumultuous levies, ill disciplined, ill armed, and worse paid, should so long have preserved its independence—in defiance, too, of the powerful nations around, and with a great portion of its own inhabitants, whom ages of tyranny had exasperated, hostile to its success—is one of the most astonishing facts in all history.^c

A KING WITHOUT A COUNTRY

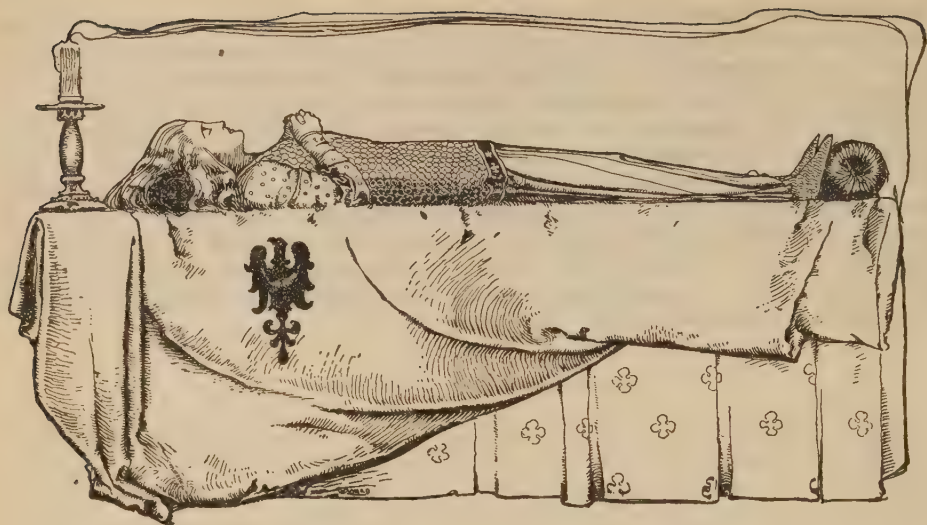
Stanislaus Augustus was thus left without a kingdom; the Russian ambassador obliged him to go to Grodno, where he signed a formal act of abdication on the 25th of November, and accepted an annual pension of two hundred thousand ducats, which was insured to him by the three powers, with the promise that his debts also should be paid. On the death of Catherine, which happened in November 1796, he went to Petersburg, where he ended his unhappy and dishonourable life on the 12th of February 1798.

Harsh and uncharitable as the world is, even the most unworthy and degenerate generally find some few so merciful as, either from warmth of heart or fellow feeling, to defend them; and it would be strange if Stanislaus had not some panegyrists. But disagreeable as is the office of the moral censor, the character of Stanislaus, being bound up with the destinies of a nation, ought not to pass by unnoticed. Stanislaus stands in the usual predicament of kings and prominent personages, between flattering admirers and severe detractors. The usual course, in such a case, is to measure the evil with the good and take the mean between them; but this, though the readiest mode of arriving at a result, is not the surest, since it proceeds on the presumption of the truth both of the favourable and unfavourable statements. In the present instance the estimate need not be merely speculative, since there are abundant data on which to calculate. The warmest panegyrists of this unfortunate king venture no further in their praises than to give him credit for good intentions in policy, and to plead his patronage of learning and the arts as a palliation for his political errors. With regard to the first excuse, it may be remarked that moral weakness or imbecility is no more admissible as an excuse for error than recklessness of character, since the latter is equally constitutional as the former. The second plea requires more investigation. It is customary to attribute to Stanislaus the advance in learning and education which decidedly evinced itself in his reign; but while we admit his talent and taste for the trifles of literature and art, which is the utmost that can be proved, we must observe that the grand impetus to intellectual improvement was not given by Stanislaus. He certainly spent not only his revenue, which was considerable, but contracted great debts, which were twice paid by the state; but it was mostly on frivolous writers, bad painters, and loose women that those sums were expended. The progress of education and liberal inquiry is to be attributed to Konarski and his coadjutors, and the commission of education also, which was appointed by the diet, comes in for a share of the credit. Poniatowski, indeed, patronised great men in literature and the arts; but the effect of such patronage is at best of

[1798 A.D.]

doubtful benefit, and the merit of the patron is of a negative character, being so mixed up with vanity and love of notoriety. It has been said by Rulhière^d that "no magnanimity, no strength appeared in his character; that he only thought of becoming a patron of all the arts of luxury, and particularly to cultivate little objects of this nature, to which he attached the highest consequence." His panegyrist could only assume that he was not one of the chief causes of his country's annihilation, but cannot deny that no monarch could have been more suited to produce such an unfortunate effect; and though his censor might admit the truth of his assertion, as recorded by Oginski,^h "I have always wished for the happiness of my country, and I have only caused it misfortune!" he would remind the royal criminal that even "hell is paved with good intentions."^b





CHAPTER IV

PARTIAL RESTORATION AND FINAL DISSOLUTION

[1796-1863 A.D.]

THE extinction of the Polish republic afforded ample scope for the exercise of political declamation: the tribunes of France, the parliament of England, and the press of both countries abounded with eloquent invectives against the perfidious violence of the partitioning powers. The troubled state of affairs, however, throughout Europe did not permit any power to interfere in behalf of the oppressed. Every prince was too intent on securing his own preservation to dream of breaking a lance for another. Hence the impunity with which the three potentates proceeded to fill their prisons with not only those who had distinguished themselves during the recent struggle but with such as either ventured to complain, or were even suspected of dissatisfaction at the new state of things. The inhabitants of the great towns, especially of the three most influential, Warsaw, Cracow, and Vilna, were rigorously disarmed, and formidable garrisons of foreign troops were everywhere ready to crush all attempts at insurrection.

But if the cry of vengeance was smothered where the conquerors were present, other countries were soon made to resound with it. If Turkey and Sweden, two powers equally alarmed at the aggrandisement of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, felt their own feebleness too sensibly to oppose it by arms, France and the countries which French influence pervaded were ready to combine in any measure that might distract the enemies of the revolution. To France and Italy, therefore, the eyes of the Poles were now turned for aid, both to recover their independence and to gratify their resistless feeling of revenge. A secret confederation was formed at Cracow, the members of which offered to the French directory to sacrifice their fortunes and lives at the first call of the republic. This was not a vain offer: hundreds of the warlike nobles con-

[1796-1801 A.D.]

tinued, notwithstanding the strict surveillance observed by their new masters, to escape from their bondage, and proceed to Venice or to Paris. In pursuance of the compact made between their leader, Dombrowski, and the directory, Polish legions were formed in aid of the new Italian republics, and ready to act wherever the French government might require. Their pay and subsistence were to be furnished by the Italian states; that of Lombardy was the first to hire their services. They preserved their native uniform and arms, but assumed the revolutionary cockade; and their motto of "*Gli uomini liberi sono fratelli*" showed how completely they harmonised with the spirit which shook Europe to its centre. That both the directors and Bonaparte held out to them the prospect of their country's restoration is well known; but their credulity must have been equal at least to their hopes, or they would never have placed the shadow of reliance on the promises of a people by whom they had been so often betrayed. Their martial prowess—confined chiefly to Italy—contributed greatly to the success of the republican cause. Their number amounted to some thousands, and their valour was unabated. But they were soon taught to distrust the fair professions of the republican hero. When anxious to preserve, by his influence, an entrance to the congress of Rastatt for a Polish representative, they were coolly answered, "that the hearts of all friends of liberty were for the brave Poles; but time and destiny alone could restore them as a nation." Hope seldom reasons well; if the time of regeneration was deferred, might it not arrive—perhaps at no distant period—when a more favourable conjuncture of circumstances would render it impossible that the French government should refuse to urge their claims? So thought the Poles, who still continued under the banners of the republic.

The same unvaried picture of services performed, and of hopes deceived, is exhibited throughout the connection of the Polish legions with France. Their adherence to a foreign cause—for in no sense could it be called their own—so steadfastly and devotedly maintained, can be explained only by the resistless passion of the Poles for military fame: to them the battle-field is as much a home as the deep to the Englishman. Though, during the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, they were literally exterminated by the Austrians and Russians, they repaired their losses with astonishing promptitude: in 1801 they amounted to fifteen thousand. Their blood flowed in vain: in every treaty which their valour had been so instrumental in winning, themselves and country were forgotten. Seeing the disappointment of their hopes, many of them, after the peace of Lunéville (1801), bade adieu to the French service, and returned to their own country, where an amnesty had been recently proclaimed. A considerable number, indeed, remained: some entered into the service of the king of Etruria; others departed on the ill-starred expedition to St. Domingo; and the few who survived returned to their country after the formation of the grand duchy.

While the Polish soldiers were thus exhibiting a useless valour in foreign climes, their countrymen at home must not be overlooked. The condition of the inhabitants varied according to the characters of the sovereigns under whom they were placed. The aim of Prussia and Austria was to Germanise their respective portions, and gradually to obliterate every trace of nationality. Each, accordingly, introduced German laws and usages; the language of the public schools and of the public acts was German; Germans alone were intrusted with public employments. Russia pursued a more politic or a more generous policy: with the view, perhaps, of one day extending her Polish possessions, she strove to attach the inhabitants to her government. The preservation of the Lithuanian statutes, the influence in the general administration

possessed by the native marshals elected in the dietines of the nobles, the publication of the acts of government in the native tongue, and the admission of the people to the highest dignities, rendered the condition of Russian Poland much less galling than that of the portion subjected to either of the two other powers. Since the accession of Alexander, especially, great encouragement had been given both to the great branches of national industry and to the diffusion of education. An imperial ukase of April 4th, 1803, had conferred extraordinary privileges on the University of Vilna; and in no case had the czar neglected any opportunity of improving the temporal or moral condition of his new subjects. The conduct of Austria in this respect was less liberal. Under the plea—a true one, no doubt, but not sufficient to justify so arbitrary a measure—that the spirit of the students of Cracow was too revolutionary to consist with a monarchical government, she destroyed that venerable seat of learning, which during more than four centuries had supported the religion and the civilisation of Poland; and though in lieu of it she founded a college at Leopold, the jealous regulations and vigorous surveillance introduced into that seminary were not likely to fill its halls with native students. Nor were the circumstances of the people in other respects more enviable. Galicia, which had served as a granary to Austria in her endless wars with the French, and where her losses of men had been repaired, was now exhausted; so that the nobles of this province—the richest, perhaps, in Poland—have not even yet been able to recover from the misery into which they were plunged by the exactions of the government. Those of Polish Prussia were scarcely treated with more indulgence; but though the state was rapacious, their enterprising spirit and the superior facilities they enjoyed for commerce neutralised the severity of their imposts, and rendered their condition one of comparative comfort. In all the three, the minds of the inhabitants were freed from all apprehension on political accounts; government prosecutions had long ceased; the general amnesty had covered all anterior events with the veil of oblivion.

NAPOLEON'S POLICY TOWARDS POLAND

Such was the condition of the Poles when the French emperor endeavoured to attach them to his interests by loudly proclaiming himself their restorer—the breaker of the yoke under which they groaned. That sickness of heart occasioned by hope deferred caused many to turn a deaf ear to his summons; but the majority, electrified at the promise of approaching freedom, flew eagerly to arms, and devoted themselves, with heart and hand, to the will of Napoleon. The brilliant campaign of 1806—the victory of Jena and the advance of the French into Poland to oppose the formidable masses of Russians, who appeared as the allies of Prussia—seemed an earnest of future success, a sure pledge of approaching restoration. Polish regiments were organised with amazing rapidity. To increase the general enthusiasm, Napoleon was unscrupulous enough to proclaim the near approach of Kosciuszko; though, but a few months before, that general, who knew his character, had refused to espouse his views—in other words, to deceive the still confiding Poles. On the 27th of November he entered Posen in triumph; the following month Warsaw received him with no less enthusiasm. The inhabitants of the latter were still more overjoyed when he proceeded to organise a supreme commission of government—a measure which they hailed as the discovering of the last link that bound them to Prussia. His purpose was announced; his armies

[1807-1809 A. D.]

were recruited by thousands of the bravest troops in Europe; Friedland bore witness to the talents and valour of Dombrowski and the heroes he commanded; and the opening of negotiations at Tilsit was hailed by the Poles as the dawning of a bright futurity. Will posterity readily believe that this very man, in his celebrated interview on the Niemen with the emperor Alexander, seriously proposed to unite Warsaw, and the conquests which the Poles had assisted him to wrest from Prussia, with the Russian empire, and that the czar refused to accept them? It was only when Napoleon found the czar too moderate or too conscientious to receive the overture that he formed a small portion of his conquests into the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he united with Saxony!

The duchy of Warsaw consisted of six departments: Posen, Kalish, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza, and Bromberg; its population somewhat exceeded two millions. The Poles were highly dissatisfied with "this mockery of a country," as they called it. They had been taught to regard the ancient kingdom, if not Lithuania itself, as about to become inevitably their own; and their mortification may be conceived on finding not only that Prussia was allowed to retain several palatinates, that Austria was guaranteed in her Polish possessions, that the provinces east of the Bug were to remain in the power of Russia, but that a considerable portion of the ancient republic on this side that river was ceded, as the department of Bielostok, in perpetual sovereignty to the czar. The Peace of Tilsit they regarded as the grave of their hopes.

According to the new constitution granted by Napoleon, the virtual master of the duchy, the Catholic religion was properly declared the religion of the state; but ample toleration, and even a community of civil rights, were wisely allowed to the dissidents. Serfage was abolished. The power of the Saxon king, as grand duke of Warsaw, was more extensive than had been enjoyed by his royal predecessors since the time of the Jagellos. With him rested the initiative of all projects of law; the nomination not only of the senators, but the presidents of the dietines, and of the communal assemblies; and the appointment of all officers, civil and military. The code Napoleon was subsequently admitted as the basis of judicial proceedings.

The duchy soon felt the might of its new existence. The exertions of the government of Napoleon, who retained military possession of the country, and whose lieutenant, Davout, occupied Warsaw as headquarters, added to the inevitable expenses of the civil list, and impoverished the small proprietors. Many, wisely preferring easy circumstances under an absolute but paternal government to ruin with nominal freedom, removed into the Polish provinces subjected to Russia or Austria; for, even in the latter, rapacity was yielding to moderation and mildness. Those who remained consoled themselves with the belief that eventually Poland would be recalled into existence, and her independence re-established on sure foundations. That they should have been made dupes to the emissaries of a man who had never promised but to betray them can be explained only by the well-known truth, How easily do we believe what we hope! For this reason many native regiments continued in the alliance of France. In the Austrian war of 1809 they covered themselves with renown, and rendered the greatest benefits to the cause of their imperial ally. They conquered Galicia without the smallest aid from France, while the emperor was proceeding elsewhere in his splendid career of victory. They reduced Cracow and the adjacent territory; and though for forty days—days during which the Polish leaders were arrayed in mourning—they were compelled to abandon Warsaw to the archduke Ferdinand, they

regained triumphant possession of that capital, and humbled their enemies on every side. They considered that what their own arms had won they had a right to retain, and they regarded as inevitable the incorporation of these conquests with their infant state. They were soon undeceived; they were not allowed to retain a foot of Galicia, and half of their other conquests, between Warsaw and the Austrian frontier, was wrested from them. Four departments—Cracow, Radom, Lublin, and Siedlce—were indeed incorporated with the grand duchy; but this advantage was a poor compensation for the immense sacrifices which had been made—for the loans which had been forcibly raised, for the lives which had been wasted, and for the misery which afflicted every class of the inhabitants. Military conscription had depopulated their towns; the stern agents of despotism—the despotism not of the Saxon king, but of Napoleon—had carried away the produce of the soil, and hostile armies had laid waste their plains. So utterly exhausted was the country that the state could not reckon on the usual contributions, and a royal decree exempted from them the agricultural and mechanical classes.

Previous to opening the Russian campaign, Napoleon, with the view of interesting the Poles in his behalf, had recourse to his usual arts, and, strange to say, with his usual success. The reflecting portion, indeed—but, alas! how few are they in any nation!—scorned to be deluded again. “We are flattered,” said a rough old soldier, “when our services are required. Is Poland always to be fed on hope alone?” But the mob—such as do not think, be they high or low—were persuaded, from the representations of the imperial agents, that their ancient republic was speedily to be restored in all its glory; that Lithuania was to be wrested from the czar, and Galicia exchanged by Austria for Illyria. Yet, while the deluded people were meeting at Warsaw to prepare for their approaching high destinies; while the French emperor was enthusiastically hailed as their regenerator; while the abbé de Pradt, by his authority, added fuel to the patriotic flame, a secret treaty with the emperor Francis had again guaranteed the integrity of the Austrian possessions in Poland. But it was secret, and his purpose was realised: at his voice more than eighty thousand Poles took the field, while a general confederation of the nobles declared the republic restored, the act of declaration being signed by the Saxon king, in whose house the hereditary monarchy was to be vested. At the same time all Poles in the Russian service were recalled to participate in the joyful event, and, if need were, to seal their new liberties with their blood. This intoxication, however, was of short duration; the reply of Napoleon to the Polish deputation, which had followed him to Vilna, left them no room to hope for his aid. He exhorted them to fight for their own independence, assured them that if all the palatinates combined they might reasonably expect to attain their object, and added, “I must, however, inform you that I have guaranteed to the Austrian emperor the integrity of his states, and that I cannot sanction any project or movement tending to disturb him in the possession of the Polish provinces which remain to him.” So much for Galicia. As to Lithuania, which he was expected to treat as an ally, and to unite with the ancient republic, he not only considered it, but proclaimed it, a hostile country, and ravaged it with impunity. Thus the Lithuanians received an avowedly open enemy, instead of an ally and a friend. Both people had abundant reason to curse their blind credulity. This perfidy was unknown to the Polish troops, who were advancing on the ancient frontiers of Muscovy, or they would surely have forsaken the cause.

It is useless to dwell on the valour displayed by the deluded Poles in this disastrous expedition. The work of Bonaparte—the formation of the grand

[1812-1815 A.D.]

duchy—was destroyed; the king of Saxony, who had adhered to his cause with extraordinary fidelity, was stripped at once both of it and a portion of his hereditary dominions; the three powers again took possession of the towns which they had held previous to the invasions of Bonaparte, until a congress of all the sovereigns who had taken a prominent part in the war against the common enemy of Europe should assemble, to decide, among other matters, on the fate of the country.

THE ALLIES AND POLAND

After the fall of Bonaparte the attention of the allied sovereigns was urgently demanded by the state of Poland. The re-establishment of the kingdom in all its ancient integrity was not merely an act of justice to a people whose fall is one of the darkest pages in the history of the world, but it was, of all objects, the one most desirable towards the security of central Europe against the ambition of the czars. But for Poland, a great portion of Christendom might have been subject to the misbelievers; but for her, the northern emperors would probably long ago have poured their wild hordes into the very heart of Germany; the nation which had been, and might again become, the bulwark alike of civil and religious freedom, could not fail to be invested with interest of the very highest order. Public opinion, the interest of rulers, and the sympathy of the governed called for the restoration of injured Sarmatia. The side of humanity, of justice, and of policy was powerfully advocated by France and England; their able plenipotentiaries, Talleyrand and Castlereagh, did all that could be done, short of having recourse to actual hostilities, to attain this European object. But neither power, nor both combined, could contend with success against those which were interested in the partition. France was exhausted by her long wars, and weakened by a restriction within her ancient limits; England could have furnished no more than a handful of troops, nor could all her wealth have hired mercenaries sufficiently numerous or brave to justify her in throwing down the gauntlet of defiance to two such military nations as Prussia and Muscovy. To the honour of the Austrian emperor, he not only disapproved the projected union of the late duchy with Russia, but he expressed his desire for Polish independence, and even his willingness to surrender a portion of his own territories to make the new kingdom more respectable. At this juncture, however, Napoleon escaped from Elba; and Alexander, finding that his aid was indispensable in the approaching contest, was able, not indeed to make his own terms, but to insist on a measure he had long meditated: the union of the grand duchy, as a separate kingdom, with his empire. Not less effectual was his policy with the Poles themselves. By persuading them that his great object was to confer on them a national existence and liberal institutions, he interested them so far in his views, that they would willingly have armed to support those views as they had so often done those of Napoleon. In this state of things, all that France and England could do was to claim a national existence for the whole body of Poles, and to stipulate for their political freedom. Their representations were powerfully supported by the emperor Francis, who again expressed regret that Poland could not be re-established as an independent state with a national representation of its own. Owing to these energetic appeals to his liberality, and to the influence of public opinion so widely diffused by the political press, the autocrat showed no reluctance to make the concessions required. Prussia was no less willing. The result was a solemn engagement formed by the three

partitioning powers in concert to confer on their respective Polish subjects a national representation, and national institutions regulated after the form of political existence which each of the respective governments might think proper to grant them.

By the celebrated Treaty of Vienna the following bases were solemnly sanctioned:

1. Galicia and the salt mines of Wieliczka were restored to Austria.
2. The grand duchy of Posen, forming the western palatinates bordering on Silesia, and containing a population of about eight hundred thousand souls, was surrendered to Prussia. This power was also confirmed in its conquests made at the period of the first partition.
3. The city and district of Cracow was to belong to none of the three powers, but to be formed into a free and independent republic, under the guarantee of the three. Its extent is nineteen and one-half geographical miles, inhabited at that time by a population of sixty-one thousand souls.
4. The remainder of ancient Poland, comprising the chief part of the recent grand duchy of Warsaw (embracing a country bounded by a line drawn from Thorn to near Cracow in the west, to the Bug and the Niemen in the east), reverted to Russia, and was to form a kingdom forever subject to the czars. Population about four millions.

POLISH DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE NEW CHARTER

The new kingdom of Poland was proclaimed June 20th, 1815; and on December 24th, in the same year, a constitutional charter was granted to the Poles.

The articles of this charter (in number 165) were of so liberal a description as to astonish all Europe. They abundantly prove that at the time of their promulgation Alexander was no enemy of liberal institutions. Though the charter in question has probably forever passed away, the nature of the dispute between the Poles and their monarch cannot be understood without adverting to some of its provisions.

Though the Catholic religion was declared the religion of the state, all dissidents were placed on a footing of perfect equality, as to civil rights, with the professors of the established faith (Art. 11). The liberty of the press was recognised in its fullest extent (16). No subject could be arrested prior to judicial conviction (18). The inviolability of person and property, in the strictest sense, was guaranteed (23 to 26). All public business to be transacted in the Polish language (28); and all offices, civil or military, to be held by natives alone (29).¹ The national representation to be vested in two chambers: senators and deputies (31). The power of the crown (35 to 47) was not more than sufficient to give due weight to the executive; all kings to be crowned at Warsaw, after swearing to the observance of the charter; during his absence, the chief authority to be vested in a lieutenant and council of state (63 to 75). The great public departments to be presided over by responsible ministers (76 to 82). The legislative power to rest with the king and the two chambers: an ordinary diet to be held every two years, and sit thirty days; an extraordinary diet whenever judged necessary by the king

¹ Strangers, however, might be naturalised and admissible to public employments after five years' residence, if in the interim they should acquire the Polish language (33); and the king reserved to himself the privilege of appointing distinguished foreigners to certain employments (34).

[1815-1816 A.D.]

(86 to 88). No member could be arrested during a session, except for great offences, and not even then without the consent of the assembly (89). The deliberations of the diet extended to all projects submitted to it by the ministry affecting the laws and the whole routine of internal administration (90 to 94). All deliberations to be public, except when committees were sitting (95). All projects of law to originate with the council of state, and to be laid before the chambers by command of the king; such projects, however, being previously examined by committees of both houses (96 to 98). All measures to be passed by a majority of votes (102). The senators to be nominated by the king, and to exercise their functions for life (110). The deputies (128 in number, or about double that of the senators) were 77 for districts (one for each), and 51 for so many communes (118 and 119). To become a member of this chamber the qualifications were: citizenship; the age of thirty; possession of some portion, however small, of landed property; and the payment, in annual contributions, of one hundred Polish florins (121). No public functionary eligible to sit without the consent of the head of his department (122). The nobles of each district to meet in dietines, for the purpose of electing one of their body to the general diet, and of returning two members to the palatine assemblies (125), all dietines being convoked by the king (126). The class of electors was numerous, comprising: (1) All land-owners, however small, who paid any contribution whatever towards the support of the state; (2) every manufacturer or shopkeeper possessing a capital of ten thousand florins; (3) all rectors and vicars; (4) all professors and teachers; (5) all artists or mechanics distinguished for talent (131). Every elector to be enrolled, and to have reached twenty-one years (132). The tribunals to be filled with judges, part nominated by the king and part elected by the palatinates (140); the former being appointed for life, and immovable (141).

Such were the chief provisions of this remarkable charter, which left only two things to be desired: the trial by jury, and the competency of either chamber to propose laws; the initiative was confined to the executive, consisting of the king and the council of state.

The enthusiasm of the Poles towards their sovereign, for some time after the promulgation of this charter, was almost boundless. His lieutenant, Zaionczek, imitated his example, and strove with success to attach the Poles to his sway. Prosperity, the result of a settled and an enlightened government, followed in the train of peace. Innumerable improvements introduced into the public education, the establishment of a university at Warsaw and of an agricultural society at Mount Maria, the rapid increase of trade, the diffusion of wealth, and the consequent advance towards happiness by the nation at large, might well render his government popular. That prosperity, indeed, is his noblest monument. On taking possession of the country he found nothing but desolation and misery. So enormous had been the force which the grand duchy had been compelled to maintain, so heavy the exactions of the treasury, that no country could have borne them, much less one whose two chief outlets for her produce, Dantzic and Odessa, were long closed by the continental system of Napoleon and by the Turkish war. The finances of the duchy, indeed, were unable to pay more than an insignificant portion of the troops; either the remainder was raised by forced loans, or the men went unpaid. Twelve millions of francs, in addition, were borrowed at Paris, on the security of the mines of Wieliczka. Still all would not do; the revenue did not reach one-half of the expenditure; in time, no functionary, civil or ecclesiastical, and scarcely any soldier, was paid. The contractors fled; troops

traversed the country at pleasure, plundering indiscriminately all who fell in their way. In short, there was little money or food anywhere, and a total stop was put to all branches of industry. To repair these evils was the emperor's first object. By opening the country to foreign merchants, by providing the husbandmen with oxen and horses, by suspending the payment of some taxes and suppressing others, and by providing for the support of his army from his hereditary dominions, he revived industry and the means of subsistence.

So satisfied was the Polish nation with its new situation in the year 1818—nearly three years after its union with Russia—that the opposition to ministers in the chamber of deputies was utterly insignificant. The benefits of the government had disarmed the prejudices and antipathies of the people. The emperor himself appears, at this time, to have been no less satisfied; he congratulated himself on the liberal policy he had adopted towards his new subjects, and declared in full senate at Warsaw that he was only waiting to see the effect of the free institutions he had given them, before extending those institutions over all the regions which Providence had confided to his care.

Having now reached the term of the good understanding between the Poles and their monarch, it is necessary to advert to the causes which led first to mistrust, then to hatred, and lastly to open hostility between the two parties.

On the first view of the case, it could not rationally be expected that any considerable degree of harmony could subsist between people who during eight centuries had been at war with each other, and between whom, consequently, a strong national antipathy had been long fostered. And even had they always lived in peace, they were too dissimilar in manners, habits, sentiments, and religion ever cordially to coalesce. For ages the Pole had idolised a liberty unexampled in any country under heaven; the Muscovite had no will of his own, but depended entirely on God and the czar. The one was the maker and master of kings; the other obeyed, as implicitly as the voice of fate, the most arbitrary orders of his monarch, whom he considered heaven's favourite vicegerent. The one was enlightened by education and by intercourse with the polished nations of Europe; the other, who long thought it a crime to leave home, was brutified by superstition and ignorance. Each cursed the other as schismatic—as out of the pale of God's visible church and doomed to perdition. The antipathy which ages had nourished had been intensely aggravated by late events. The unprovoked violence of Catherine, the haughtiness of her troops, the excesses accompanying the elevation and fall of Stanislaus; the keen sense of humiliation—so keen as to become intolerable to a proud people—were causes more than sufficient to neutralise the greatest benefits conferred by the czars.

Another and, if possible, weightier consideration arises. How could the most arbitrary monarch in Europe—one whose will had never been trammelled by either the spirit or the forms of freedom, whose nod was all but omnipotent—be expected to guide the delicately complicated machine of a popular government? Would he be very likely to pay much regard to the apparently insignificant, however necessary, springs which kept it in motion? Would the lord of fifty legions, whose empire extended over half the Old World, be likely to hear with patience the bold voice of freedom in a distant and (as to territory) insignificant corner of his vast heritage?

Under no state of things, however, would the Poles, as long as they were subject to foreign ascendancy, have remained satisfied. The recollections of their ancient glory would give a more bitter pang to the consciousness of present

[1818-1819 A.D.]

degradation. Alexander, indeed, had held out to them the hope of uniting Lithuania under the same form of government; but even in this case, would either Poles or Lithuanians be less subject to the autocrat? Besides, what guarantee had they that even their present advantages would be continued to them? None, surely, but the personal character of the autocrat, who, with the best intentions, was somewhat fickle, and who might any day abandon the reins of empire to a more rigorous or less scrupulous hand. "What have we to hope," exclaimed the celebrated Dombrowski at the period at which this compendium is arrived; "what have we not to fear? This very day might we not tremble for the fate which may await us to-morrow?" The general expressed his conviction that if the Poles, instead of being disunited, would cordially combine, they would recover their lost greatness. "Let them," added he, "retrieve their ancient nationality; let them combine their opinions, their desires, their wishes!" In other words, he meant that the whole nation should enter into an understanding to permit the existence of the present order of things no longer than they could help. "If the same fortune," he concluded, "which has given us a sovereign should one day turn round on him, Poland may recover her liberty and independence, and acknowledge no king but the one of her own choice."

Words like these, and from such a quarter, could not fail to produce their effect. They flew from mouth to mouth; the press began to echo them. The opposition in the chamber of deputies assumed a more formidable appearance. The success, however transient, of the liberal party in Spain and Italy was hailed with transport. Were the Poles to despond at such a crisis? The anti-Russian party, comprising the army, the students in the public schools, the populace of the capital, began to act with greater boldness and decision; no very obscure hints were thrown out that the glorious example of other countries would not be lost nearer home. The newspapers, which followed the current of public opinion, however changing, as inevitably as the shadow does the substance, adopted the same resolute if not menacing tone. It was evident that a revolution was meditated, and that the minds of the people, not merely of the kingdom, but of the countries under the sway of Austria and Prussia, as well as those of the grand duchy, were to be prepared for it by sure though apparently insensible degrees. Privileges were now claimed and principles promulgated of a tendency too democratic to consort with the existing frame of society. That Russia should take alarm at the fearless activity of the press was naturally to be expected. Accordingly, by an ordinance of July 31st, 1819, the censorship was established, in violation of Art. 16.

Infractions of the Charter

If men have no opportunity of expressing their opinions publicly, they will do so privately. When the journals, the legitimate outlets of popular feeling, were thus arbitrarily and impolitically closed, secret societies began to multiply. A sort of political freemasonry connected the leaders of the meditated movement, and its ramifications extended as far as Vilna. Their avowed object was not merely to free their country and the grand duchy from the Russian yoke, but to unite their brethren of Galicia and Posen in one common cause, and then openly to strike a blow for their dearest rights. But however secret their meetings and purposes, neither could long escape the vigilance of the police, which, since the arrival of Constantine as commander-in-chief of the Polish army, had acquired alarming activity. Why this personage should have interfered in a branch of administration beyond his province—why he

should have stepped out of his own peculiar sphere to hire spies, to collect information, and to influence the proceedings of the tribunals against the suspected or the accused—has been matter of much conjecture. Perhaps he proposed to render himself necessary to his imperial brother; perhaps he could not live without some bustle to excite him; perhaps his mind was congenially occupied in the discovery and punishment of treason. However this be, he acted with amazing impolicy. His wisest course—and the Poles themselves once hoped that he would adopt it—was to cultivate the attachment of the people among whom he resided, and thereby prepare their minds for one day seconding his views on the crown. Instead of this, he conducted himself towards all whom he suspected of liberal opinions—and few there were who did not entertain them—with violence, often with brutality. At his instigation the secret police pursued its fatal career; arbitrary arrests, hidden condemnations, the banishment of many, the imprisonment of more, signalised his baneful activity. That amidst so many sentences some should be passed on individuals wholly innocent need not surprise us. Where spies are hired to mix with society for the purpose of detecting the disaffected, if they do not find treason, they will make it; private malignity and a desire of being thought useful, if not indispensable, to their employers, and of enjoying the rewards due to success in procuring informations, would make them vigilant enough. As this is a profession which none but the basest and most unprincipled of men would follow, we cannot expect that they would always exercise it with much regard to justice. In such men revenge or avarice would be all-powerful.

The University of Vilna was visited with some severity by the agents of this dreaded institution. Twenty of its students were seized and sentenced to different punishments—none, however, very rigorous. Those of Warsaw were not used more indulgently. A state prison was erected in the capital, and its dungeons were soon crowded with inmates—many, no doubt, not undeserving their fate, but not a few the victims of an execrable system. The proceedings, however, which are dark must always be suspected; of the hundreds who were dragged from the bosom of their families and consigned to various fortresses, all would be thought innocent, since none had been legally convicted.

By Art. 10 of the constitutional charter, the Russian troops, when required to pass through Poland, were to be at the entire charge of the czar's treasury; for years, however, they were stationed at Warsaw—evidently to overawe the population—at the expense of the inhabitants. Then the violations of individual liberty (in opposition to Arts. 18 to 21); the difficulty of procuring passports; the misapplication of the revenue to objects other than those for which it was raised—to the reimbursement of the secret police, for instance; the nomination of men as senators without the necessary qualifications, and who had no other merit than that of being creatures of the government, were infractions of the charter, as wanton as they were intended to be humiliating.

The army was as much dissatisfied as the nation. The ungovernable temper, and the consequent excesses, of Constantine; the useless but vexatious manœuvres which he introduced; his rigorous mode of exercise, fitted for no other than frames of adamant; and, above all, his overbearing manner towards the best and highest officers in the service, raised him enemies on every side. His good qualities—and he had many—were wholly overlooked amidst his ebullitions of fury, and the unjustifiable, often cruel, acts he committed while under their influence. On ordinary occasions, when his temper

[1820-1830 A.D.]

was not ruffled, no man could make himself more agreeable; no man could exhibit more—not courtesy, for he was too rough for it—warm-heartedness, and his generosity in pecuniary matters was almost boundless.

But the worst remains yet to be told. Russian money and influence were unblushingly employed in the dietines to procure the return to the general diet of such members only as were known to care less for their country than for their own fortunes. Then, instead of a diet being held every two years (in accordance with Art. 87), none was convoked from 1820 to 1825, and only one after the accession of Nicholas. Finally, an ordinance (issued in 1825) abolished the publicity of the debates in the two chambers, and the most distinguished members of the opposition were forcibly removed from Warsaw the night preceding the opening of the diet.

In examining these and a few minor complaints urged with much force by the Polish organs, no one will hesitate to admit that, however the colouring in this painful picture may be overcharged—and overcharged it unquestionably is—the nation had but too much cause for discontent. No wonder that the government and the people should regard each other first with distrust, then with hatred; that the former could not behold with much favour institutions which, however liberal, were not considered sufficiently so by those on whom they had been conferred, or that the latter should have much confidence in a power which had violated the most solemn engagements, and might violate them again. The conflict—long a moral one—between the two was too stormy to be hushed. It was vain to whisper peace, to remind the one party that if wrongs had been endured they had not been wholly unprovoked, or the other, that necessary caution had degenerated into an intolerable, inquisitorial surveillance, and justice into revenge.

Yet with all this irritation it may be doubted whether the majority of the nation were at any time inclined to proceed to extremities. The condition of the country had continued to improve beyond all precedent; at no former period of her history was the public wealth so great or so generally diffused. Bridges and public roads constructed at an enormous expense, frequently at the expense of the czar's treasury; the multitude of new habitations, remarkable for a neatness and a regard to domestic comfort never before observed; the embellishments introduced into the buildings not merely of the rich, but of tradesmen and mechanics; the encouragement afforded, and eagerly afforded, by the government to every useful branch of industry; the progress made by agriculture in particular, the foundation of Polish prosperity; the accumulation on all sides of national and individual wealth; and, above all, the happy countenances of the inferior classes of society, exhibited a wonderful contrast to what had lately been. The most immense of markets, Russia—a market all but closed to the rest of Europe—afforded constant activity to the manufacturer. To prove this astonishing progress from deplorable, hopeless poverty to successful enterprise, let one fact suffice. In 1815 there were scarcely one hundred looms for coarse woollen cloths; at the commencement of the insurrection of 1830 there were six thousand.

In contemplating the history of Poland, it cannot but be matter of regret to the philanthropic mind that the nation should, so soon after its union with Russia, have brought on itself the ill-will of that power. Though some slight infractions were made on the spirit rather than the letter of the charter during the first four years of the connection, these might have been remedied by an appeal to the emperor. On the part neither of Alexander nor of his lieutenant did there exist the slightest wish to violate its provisions, until experience had taught both that individual freedom was not so much the object in

pursuit as a total separation from the empire. Then it was that liberal institutions became odious in the cabinet of St. Petersburg; that the czar resolved to prevent their extension, on the plea—a mistaken but not unnatural plea—that they were inconsistent with a settled monarchy, and consequently with long-continued social security; then it was that the imperial ministers and their underlings commenced their unwise system—a system but partially known to the czar, and one that would never have been approved by him—of exasperating the Poles, first by petty annoyances, next by depriving them of privileges to which they had a sacred right—of adding fuel to a fire already too intense to continue long harmless.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AGAINST RUSSIA (1830 A.D.)

The seeds of hatred, thus unfortunately sown, germinated with silent but fatal rapidity. A vast number of soldiers (especially of unemployed officers); of ardent patriots and students; of all whom Russian haughtiness had provoked or Russian liberality had failed to visit; and, more than all, of that fickle and numerically speaking imposing class so prone to change, were gradually initiated into the great plot destined to concentrate the scattered elements of resistance to imperial violence, and to sweep its framers and abettors from the face of the kingdom. The society, numerous as were its ramifications, was well organised, and its proceedings were wrapped in more than masonic mystery. That not a few of its members were implicated in the conspiracy which exploded on the accession of Nicholas—utterly unknown at present as were the subjects and nature of that conspiracy—appears both from the numerous arrests on that occasion (no fewer than two hundred took place in Poland and Lithuania), and from the very admission of their organs. Though the commission of inquiry, consisting chiefly of Poles, failed to discover the clue to that dark transaction, evidence enough was adduced to prove the existence of a formidable national association. Two years afterwards (in 1828) that association gained over the great body of Polish officers, and silently waited the progress of events to watch for an opportunity of striking the blow.

It has often been matter of surprise to most thinking foreigners that the Poles did not take advantage of the Turkish war to erect the standard of independence. Evidently, however, their plan was not at that period sufficiently matured. That it was so even in 1830 may be reasonably doubted. But the French insurrection—which appears not to have been wholly unexpected in the Polish capital—its daring character, its splendid success, had an electric effect on the whole nation, and disposed the initiated to anticipate the time of their rising. It is well known—it has, indeed, been admitted by both Poles and Frenchmen, including the political organs of the latter—that emissaries from Warsaw held confidential meetings with the leaders of the revolution of July, and were instigated to rouse their countrymen by the promise of immediate aid from the government of the citizen king. That such aid was relied on with the fullest confidence by the Polish patriots themselves is known.

Two other circumstances powerfully contributed to hasten the long-meditated catastrophe. The army began to entertain the notion that it was to be removed to the south of Europe to assist in extirpating the alarming doctrines of the French politicians, and that its place was to be supplied by an army of Russians. The youths of the military school, too, found or fancied

[1830-1831 A.D.]

excuse for apprehension. That their design of rising was not unknown to the authorities appears from the eagerness with which one of the hired agents of police endeavoured to win their confidence, professing his devotion to their cause, and imploring permission to share in the execution of their project. Though this fellow overshot his mark; though his eagerness caused him to be suspected and shunned; he learned enough to be convinced not only that an insurrection was resolved on, but that it was actually at hand.

The apprehensions of the army and the students—of whom the latter had everything to fear from the grand duke should he, as he was believed to have threatened, arrest and try them by martial law—the conviction that the whole populace of the capital were friendly to the project, the secret encouragement of France, the eagerness of the enterprising to court danger for its very sake, the assumed approbation of the free towards the cause at least, if not towards the time and circumstances, of the insurrection—hastened the opening of the great tragedy. The first object of its actors was to seize on the person of the grand duke, their most obnoxious enemy—to use him, perhaps, as a hostage for their safety, should fortune prove unpropitious. The students—as the young and the rash will always be in such cases—were the authorised leaders of the movement. On the evening of November 29th one of them, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, entered the school and called his comrades to arms. The call was instantly obeyed. On their way to the residence of Constantine, which stands about two miles from the city, their number was increased by the students of the university and public schools. Two or three companies—not a regiment, as has been usually stated—of Russian cavalry they furiously assailed and overpowered. This first success they did not use with much moderation; towards a few of the officers, who appear to have been personally obnoxious, they exhibited great animosity; three or four were cruelly massacred after the conflict was over. They forced the palace, flew to the grand duke's apartments, but had the mortification of finding their victim fled; the intrepid fidelity of a servant had first concealed, then assisted him to escape. As their first object had thus unexpectedly failed, the conspirators now resolved to gain the city. Their retreat was opposed by the Russian guards; but such was the spirit which animated them, such were the skill and courage they displayed, that after a struggle continued over a space of two miles they accomplished their purpose.

During this desperate affray the efforts of another party within the city were more successful. A considerable body of cadets and students paraded the streets, calling on the inhabitants to arm for their country's freedom. They were joined, as had been previously arranged, not by hundreds, but by thousands, of native troops, and their force was augmented by several pieces of cannon. The Russian posts, which were now attacked, were carried; the prison doors were opened, and criminals as well as debtors invited to swell the assailants; the theatre was speedily emptied of its spectators; and the great body of citizens were provided with arms from the public arsenal. In the excitement consequent on this extraordinary commotion, every part of which was conducted with a regularity that could only be the result of a maturely formed design, no reader will be surprised, how much soever he may lament, to find that several excesses were committed. Many Russians were massacred; many Poles, known to have been on terms of intimacy with the grand duke, shared the same fate. But some dark deeds were done for which no excitement can apologise—some which will forever disgrace this memorable night. While a number of Russian and a few Polish superior officers were laudably exerting themselves to calm the ferocity of the people; while they

fearlessly rode among them, and urged them to desist from their violent proceedings, to lay their grievances before the emperor, who would readily redress them, and, above all, to remember that the Russians and themselves were fellow-subjects, and refrain from bloodshed—these very peacemakers, whose heroism should have commanded the respect and whose kind-hearted intentions should have won the affections of the populace, were barbarously massacred. Some other officers of rank—all Russians, except one—were made prisoners.

By the morning of the 30th all the Polish troops, with the exception of one regiment and a few companies who held for Constantine and remained with him, had joined the insurgents. Nearly thirty thousand armed citizens swelled their dense ranks. To oppose so formidable a mass would have been madness. In twelve hours the revolution was begun and completed. In vain did the grand duke, who lay without the walls, meditate the recovery of the intrenchments and fortifications. His isolated though desperate efforts to re-enter the city were repulsed with serious loss; and when he became acquainted with the number of his antagonists he wisely desisted from his purpose. He removed to a greater distance from the walls, as if uncertain what steps to take in so extraordinary an emergency.

In a few hours an administrative council was formed to preside over the destinies of the infant state. It was composed of men distinguished for their talents, character, or services. At first they evidently entertained no intention of throwing off their allegiance to the czar; all their proclamations were in his name, and all their claims bounded to a due execution of the charter. As their ambition or their patriotism rose with their success, they insisted on an incorporation of Lithuania, and the other Polish provinces subject to Russia, with the kingdom. Some months after they declared the throne vacant—a declaration highly rash and impolitic.

The behaviour of Constantine in his retreat was not without generosity. At the request of the provisional government, he agreed to send back the Polish troops who still remained faithful to him, and proposed that if the people would submit he would endeavour not only to procure an amnesty for all, but the redress of their alleged grievances. It was too late, however, to think of such submission or such security; the die was irrevocably cast. If the Poles were guilty of rashness in what they had just effected, they were not likely to commit the folly of undoing it. On the 3rd of December his imperial highness evacuated the vicinity of the capital; about the middle of the month he crossed the Bug. He was unmolested in his retreat.^b

The Polish aristocracy now set up a dictatorship under Gen. Jos. Chłypicki, whereupon the court of St. Petersburg opened hostile negotiations. Nicholas declined to recognise the dictatorship and demanded an unconditional surrender. On January 25th Poland declared at an end the succession of the Russian imperial house to the throne of Poland and confirmed the national government. Against the Russian army under Diebitsch the Poles sent an army commanded by Dzierżynski. This army won several skirmishes, and on February 19th, 1831, besieged Grochow.^c The Russians lost seven thousand men in this battle, and the Poles, who kept the field, two thousand. The Russians were again defeated at Zelicho (April 6th), at Siedlce (April 10th); and at Austrolensa (May 26th); on June 10th Diebitsch died of cholera. On June 19th, however, the Poles suffered a decided defeat at Vilna, and on September 8th Warsaw was taken by the Russians. In the following month the insurrection was suppressed and a ukase known as the organic statute issued by the czar, by which Poland became an integral part of the Russian empire.^a

[1817-1818 A.D.]

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE INSURRECTION OF 1846

The condition of the native Poles since the last partition in 1794 had been very different in the portions allotted to the three partitioning powers. The Russians, aware that the nobles were the class in which the hostility to them was strongest, and fearful of the effects of a national revolution on the extreme frontier of their immense empire, had made the greatest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the peasants. The condition of the peasants became greatly superior to what it had ever been under the old national government and their stormy *Comitia*. The peasants were all emancipated, and put on the footing of farmers, entitled to the whole fruits of their toil, after satisfying the rent of the landlord.

In Prussian Poland, styled the grand duchy of Posen, the changes were still more radical, and perhaps erred on the side of undue concession to the popular demands. In 1817 the Prussian government, under the direction of the able and patriotic Baron Stein, had adopted a change which a revolutionary government would hardly have ventured to promulgate; they established to a certain extent an agrarian law. In lieu of the services in kind, which by the old law they were bound to give to their landlords in consideration of being maintained by them, the peasants received a third of the land they cultivated in property to themselves, and they were left to provide for their own subsistence. The old prohibition against the sale of lands on the part of the nobles was taken away, and facilities given for the purchase of the remaining two-thirds by the peasants, by permitting twenty-five years for paying up the price. This was a very great change, which at first sight seemed to be fraught with the dangers of revolutionary innovation; but being free of the most dangerous element in such changes—the excited passions of the people—it was not attended with any such effects. The nobles, who were to appearance despoiled of a third of their land, ere long found that, from the enhanced value of the remainder, and being freed from the obligation of maintaining their peasants, they were in effect gainers by the change, and they were perfectly contented with it.

In Austrian Poland, on the other hand, and especially in that large portion of it called Galicia, although certain changes had been introduced with a view to ameliorating the condition of the peasants, they had not been so well considered, and had by no means been attended by the same beneficial results. The serfs were in form emancipated, and the proprietor was even bound to furnish them with pieces of land adequate to the maintenance of themselves and their families. If matters had stopped here all would have been well; the insurrection which followed would have been prevented, and the frightful calamities which followed in its train would have been spared to humanity. But unfortunately the peasants, instead of being left in the undisturbed possession of their patches of ground, were subjected to a great variety of feudal services and restrictions, which being novel, and such as they had never previously been accustomed to, excited very great discontent. The cultivators, though entitled to the fruits of their little bit of ground, were not, properly speaking, proprietors; they could neither alienate them nor acquire other domains; and if any of them abandoned his possession, it devolved, as a matter of course, to another peasant, who became subjected to the *corvées* and seigniorial rights exigible from every occupant of the land. On the other hand, the nobles, who alone could hold lands in fee-simple, were not entitled to sell them, and this reduced almost to nothing the value of

such estates as were charged with debt. So strongly was this grievance felt that numerous petitions were presented to the Aulic Council, praying for deliverance from the onerous exclusive privilege of holding lands. At length the government yielded, and the sale of lands was authorised. Immediately a class of small proprietors began to arise, who promised, by the possession of a little capital and habits of industry, to be of the utmost service to the country. But Metternich and the government ere long took alarm at the democratic ideas prevalent among these new landholders, especially in the year 1819, when all Europe was in commotion; and by an imperial edict, published in 1819, the perilous privilege of exclusively holding land was generally re-established. The only exception was in favour of the burghers of Leopold, who were almost entirely of German origin, and were permitted to acquire and hold lands.

The *corvée* also, or legal obligation on the part of the peasants to pay the rent of their lands in the form of labour rendered to their landlords, either on that portion of the estate which remained in his natural possession, or on the public roads, excited great discontent. Nothing could be more reasonable than such an arrangement. In truth, it is the only way in which rent *can* be paid in those remote districts where the sale of produce is difficult or impossible, and the cultivator has no other way of discharging what he owes to his landlord but by services in kind. Both parties, however, in Galicia expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at this state of things. The landlords sighed for payments in money, which might enable them to join the gaieties or share in the pleasures of Vienna or Warsaw; while the peasants anxiously desired to be delivered from all obligations to render personal service to their landlords, and allowed to exert their whole industry on their possessions for their own behoof. So numerous were the petitions on the subject presented to government that they laid down certain regulations for the commutation of services in kind into money payments; but the formalities required were so onerous and minute that they remained generally inoperative, and the services in kind continued to be rendered as before. At length the whole states of Galicia presented a formal demand to the government for the entire abolition of *corvées* in that province; but the cabinet of Vienna eluded the demand, alleging that, before it could be carried into effect, a regular survey would require to be made of the whole province, and that they had no funds to meet the expenses of such an undertaking. Upon this the nobles formally declared, in a general assembly of the four estates, that they would themselves bear the whole expense of the survey; but with their characteristic habits of procrastination the Austrian government allowed the offer to remain without an answer. Meanwhile, as the cognisance of all disputes between the landlords and their peasants was devolved upon the Austrian authorities, and as the taxes were progressively rising, the government shared in the whole unpopularity accruing from the vexed question of the *corvées*, and the discontent, both among the nobles and peasants of the country, became universal.

These causes of difference were in themselves sufficiently alarming; but they would have passed over without serious commotion had it not been for the efforts of the Socialists, who seized upon the rude, unlettered peasants of this province, who in every age have shown themselves in an especial manner prone to illusion and superstition, and propagated among them the dangerous doctrine that their only masters were "God and the emperor"; that the landlords had no right to any portion of the fruits of their toil; and that, on the contrary, their whole property belonged of right to themselves. These

[1819-1845 A.D.]

doctrines speedily spread among the enthusiastic and illiterate peasants of Galicia. The principal instruments of excitement employed among the peasants were emissaries who went from village to village as the missionaries had formerly done in some parts of the West Indies, who inculcated the doctrine that the *corvée* had been abolished by the emperor seven years before, and was illegally kept up by the seigneurs, who refused to carry his paternal intentions into effect. Thus the Galician insurrection acquires an importance in general history which would not otherwise have belonged to it; for it was the first practical application of the doctrines of the socialists.

Two peculiar circumstances existed in Galicia which aggravated in a most serious degree the dangers, already sufficiently great, arising from the spread of such dangerous doctrines among an ignorant and excitable peasantry. The first of these was the multitude of Jews who were there, as elsewhere in Poland, settled in the chief towns and villages, and who monopolised nearly every situation of profit or importance in them. The greater part of their emoluments were derived from the sale of spirits and other intoxicating liquors, to which the Poles, like all northern nations, were immoderately addicted. The proprietors and the priests had long endeavoured to check this propensity, which there, as elsewhere, consumed nearly the whole substance of the working classes in debasing pleasures, and considerable success had attended their efforts. This was sufficient to set against them the whole body of the Jews.

The second circumstance which aggravated the hostile passions and increased the dangers of Galicia was the number of disbanded soldiers spread through the province, who were secretly retained as a sort of disguised police by the government. As the troops for the public service were levied in Galicia, as in Russia, not by ballot, but by a requisition of a certain number from each landlord, they were composed, for the most part, of the most restless and dangerous characters, whom it was deemed advisable to get quit of in this manner. Eight thousand of these unscrupulous persons had been disbanded in the end of 1845; but the government, aware of the dangers which threatened the province, and secretly dreading both the nobles and the peasants, retained them in their pay, and authorised them to seize and hand over to the Austrian authorities any persons belonging to either party who might be the first to threaten the public tranquillity. Deeming the nobles the more formidable, and likely most to embarrass the government, these agents inculcated on the peasants the belief that a general massacre of them was in contemplation, and to keep themselves well on their guard against the first aggressive movement on the part of the landlords. Thus the conflict which was approaching in Galicia was not between the government and the people.

Under these circumstances a collision at no distant period was inevitable; but the first blow was struck by the nobles. Driven to despair by the knowledge of an approaching socialist insurrection among the peasants, they organised a *coup-de-main* against Zarnow, the chief place of the Communists, where they hoped to be joined by the whole artisans, mechanics, and bourgeois of the province. The means at their disposal, however, to effect this object were miserably inadequate; the forces at their command were only two hundred, and the Austrian garrison of Zarnow was two thousand strong. The national party at Cracow strongly sympathised with these movements, and did their utmost to expand them into a general insurrection, extending over the whole of Old Poland, and which might terminate in the re-establishment of the national independence. Thus was the country at the same time threat-

ened with a double insurrection, and yet so strangely were the leaders of the two movements ignorant of each other, that not only was there no concert, but there existed the most deadly enmity between them. The nobles and superior classes were not more exasperated against the Austrian government, which had so long evaded their petitions and refused to redress their grievances, than the peasantry were against the nobles, by whom they had been led to believe the prodigal gifts of the emperor to them had been intercepted or concealed. Both parties were prepared to take up arms; but the two classes of insurgents were not prepared to fight in common against the government, but to massacre each other!

The *seignorial* insurgents appointed their rendezvous at the village of Lysagora, three leagues from Żarnów, where one hundred of them met on the night of the 19th of February. The cold was excessive, the ground covered with snow, and the conspirators, who for the most part arrived in sledges, were already almost frozen to death when they arrived, with their arms falling from their hands, at the place of rendezvous. But the government authorities were aware of what was going on, and at daybreak on the following morning the little band was surrounded by a greatly superior force composed of Austrian soldiers and armed peasants. The conspirators, ignorant of the intentions of the band by whom they were surrounded, laid down their arms, calling upon their comrades to fraternise with them; but no sooner had they done so than the peasants threw themselves upon them, bound them hand and foot and thrust them into a cellar, from whence they were conveyed in wagons to Żarnów. Hearing of this disaster, another band of conspirators near Ulików threw away their arms and dispersed; but they were pursued with unrelenting fury by peasants, by whom the greater part were tracked out and cut down. These events, inconsiderable in themselves, became the source from which calamities unnumbered ensued to the whole province. Everywhere, when the news was received, which it generally was with great exaggeration, the peasants flew to arms, and commenced an attack on the châteaux of the seigneurs in their vicinity. By a refinement in cruelty which indicated too clearly the infernal agency at work among them, the peasants of each estate were directed, not against the château of their own landlord, but against that of the neighbouring one, in order that no lingering feelings of humanity might interfere with the work of destruction. Under such direction it proceeded with a rapidity, and terminated in a completeness, which might satisfy the most demoniacal spirit.

During these horrors the effervescence in Cracow reached its climax. That free town had long been the centre in which a general Polish insurrection was organised, and from which the revolutionary emissaries were despatched in every direction throughout Lithuania and Poland. The original movement, which terminated so disastrously in Galicia, was concerted with the leaders of the committee there, who had been formally installed in power by the committees in all parts of Poland on the 24th of January, and the insurrection was definitely fixed for the 24th of February. These preparations, and the general effervescence which prevailed, did not escape the notice of the consuls of the three powers resident in Cracow, and so early as the 16th of February they formally demanded of the senate whether they could guarantee the public tranquillity. They replied that they could do so from all internal dangers, but not from such as came from without; and that if danger threatened from that quarter, they abandoned themselves to the prudence of the three residents. Upon this a body of Austrian troops, under General Collin, marched towards the town, and entered it on the 18th. The conspirators

[1846-1856 A.D.]

were surprised by this sudden inroad, which took place before the day fixed for the insurrection, and made very little resistance. Two days afterwards, however, a serious attack was made on the Imperialists by a body of insurgents who came from without, in which the Poles were unsuccessful. But the accounts received next day of the progress of the insurrection in Galicia and its ramifications in every part of Poland, and the magnitude of the forces which were accumulating round Cracow, were so formidable that Collin deemed his position untenable, and two days afterwards evacuated the place, taking with him the officers of government, senate, urban militia, and police, and made a precipitate retreat towards Galicia, abandoning the whole state of Cracow to the insurgents, by whom a provisional government was immediately appointed as for the whole of Poland. The first step of the new authorities was to publish a manifesto, in which, after stating that "all Poland was up in arms," it was declared that the order of nobility was abolished, *all property was to be divided* among the peasants occupying it, and the slightest resistance to the revolutionary authorities was punished with instant death.

Even if the insurrection had ever had any chances of success, they were utterly destroyed by this violent and ill-judged proclamation. Everyone saw that a democratic despotism was about to arise, endangering life, destructive to property, and fatal to all the ends of the social union. The insurgents increased considerably in strength, and in a few days twenty-five hundred bold and ardent spirits were concentrated in Cracow, chiefly from the neighbouring provinces. But the end was approaching. The alarm had now spread to all the partitioning powers, and orders were given to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces to advance against the city. All was soon accomplished. The Austrian general, Collin, stopped his retreat, and retook Wieluzka and Podgorze, which he had evacuated in the first alarm consequent on the insurrection, while large bodies of Prussian and Austrian troops also advanced against the insurgents. Resistance in such circumstances was hopeless; and in the night of the 2nd of March the insurgents, still twenty-five hundred strong, evacuated the town, and the whole soon after capitulated to the Prussians. Meanwhile a Russian battalion and some Cossacks penetrated into Cracow, which was immediately declared in a state of siege, and next day jointly occupied by the forces of the three partitioning powers.

After a long deliberation it was resolved to repeal the treaties of April 21st, 1815, which established the republic of Cracow, and to restore it to the Austrian government, from whose dominions it had been originally taken. This was accordingly done by the treaty of November 16th, 1846, which, after narrating the repeated conspiracies of which the republic of Cracow had been the theatre, and the open insurrection and attempt to revolutionise Poland which had just been organised in its bosom, declared the existence of the republic terminated, and itself, with its whole territory, restored to Austria, as it stood before 1809. Thus the last relic of Polish nationality seemed finally extinguished.^d

THE INSURRECTION OF 1863

The national spirit was by no means altogether subdued, however, as later events were to show. Yet for a long time there was no outward manifestation of its existence.^a

During the Crimean war Poland gave no sign of life, and not the faintest whisper arose from her cities, or her silent plains, which told the world she was resolved to reassert her ancient freedom. Perhaps in secret she cherished

dreams of winning back again her fallen independence; but if she did, those visions found no expression, and there was nothing to indicate to the world that her ancient spirit yet survived. A few regiments of militia, a few reserved battalions of inferior soldiery had kept in check the land which, twenty-five years before, had haughtily challenged Russian supremacy on the battlefield of Grochow. It seemed as though a quarter of a century of servitude had trampled out all hope and expectation for the future, and as though Russia had at length succeeded in incorporating Poland virtually, as well as in name, in her vast empire. Neither had Poland shown any indication of political life when in 1848 almost every European nation was in arms; then when the wildest visions of political enthusiasts found a momentary realisation, when dormant nationalities were everywhere rousing themselves, the champions of freedom listened for the battle-cry of Poland; but Poland gave no sign. At her very gates the war was raging, and she made no effort when the struggling liberties of Hungary were being trampled out to save a people whose cause, she might well have thought, was intimately connected with her own. The Polish soldier was seen marching in the Russian army when Kossuth fled and Görgey capitulated.

In the Crimea the valour of the Polish soldiers had been very remarkable, and no whisper of disaffection had escaped them, nor was there any reason to believe that they hoped for a revival of national independence.^e

But an insurrection broke out at the beginning of 1863. The establishment of Italian independence, coinciding in time with the general unsettlement and expectation of change which marked the first years of Alexander's reign, had stirred once more the ill-fated hopes of the Polish national leaders. From the beginning of the year 1861 Warsaw was the scene of repeated tumults. The czar was inclined, within certain limits, to a policy of conciliation. The separate legislature and separate army which Poland had possessed from 1815 to 1830 he was determined not to restore; but he was willing to give Poland a large degree of administrative autonomy, to confide the principal offices in its government to natives, and generally to relax something of that close union with Russia which had been enforced by Nicholas since the rebellion of 1831. But the concessions of the czar, accompanied as they were by acts of repression and severity, were far from satisfying the demands of Polish patriotism. It was in vain that Alexander in the summer of 1862 sent his brother Constantine as viceroy to Warsaw, established a Polish council of state, placed a Pole, Wielopolski, at the head of the administration, superseded all the Russian governors of Polish provinces by natives, and gave to the municipalities and the districts the right of electing local councils; these concessions seemed nothing, and were in fact nothing, in comparison with the national independence which the Polish leaders claimed. The situation grew worse and worse. An attempt made on the life of the grand duke Constantine during his entry into Warsaw was but one among a series of similar acts which discredited the Polish cause and strengthened those who at St. Petersburg had from the first condemned the czar's attempts at conciliation. At length the Russian government took the step which precipitated revolt. A levy of one in every two hundred of the population throughout the empire had been ordered in the autumn of 1862. Instructions were sent from St. Petersburg to the effect that in raising the levy in Poland the country population were to be spared, and that all persons who were known to be connected with the disorders in the towns were to be seized as soldiers. This terrible sentence against an entire political class was carried out, so far as it lay within the power of the authorities, on the night of

[1862-1863 A. D.]

January 14th, 1863. But before the imperial press-gang surrounded the houses of its victims a rumour of the intended blow had gone abroad. In the preceding hours, and during the night of the 14th, thousands fled from Warsaw and the other Polish towns into the forests. There they formed themselves into armed bands, and in the course of the next few days a guerilla warfare broke out wherever Russian troops were found in sufficient strength or off their guard.^f

In the end, however, the mutineers were utterly vanquished. The measures taken by Russia leading to the final incorporation of Poland with the empire belong properly to Russian history, and have been sufficiently detailed in an earlier volume (XVII). National feeling still exists in Poland, but the once powerful principality no longer exists as an autonomous body politic.^a

"By the side of its life-giving and beneficent agrarian policy," says Fyffe, "Russia has pursued the odious system of debarring Poland from all means of culture and improvement associated with the use of its own language, and has aimed at eventually turning the Poles into Russians by the systematic impoverishment and extinction of all that is essentially Polish in thought, in sentiment, and in expression. The work may prove to be one not beyond its power, and no common perversity on the part of its government would be necessary to turn against Russia the millions who in Poland owe all they have of prosperity and independence to the czar; but should the excess of Russian propagandism, or the hostility of church to church, at some distant date engender a new struggle for Polish independence, this struggle will be one governed by other conditions than those of 1831 or 1863, and Russia will, for the first time, have to conquer on the Vistula not a class nor a city, but a nation."^f



THE HISTORY OF POLAND

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

CHAPTER I. THE EARLIEST YEARS (TILL 1385 A.D.)

^b S. A. DUNHAM, *History of Poland*.—^c J. FLETCHER, *The History of Poland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*.—^d R. RÖPEL, *Geschichte Polens*.

CHAPTER II. ZENITH AND DECLINE (1386-1696 A.D.)

^b J. FLETCHER, *History of Poland*.—^c C. C. DE RULHIÈRE, *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*.—^d J. A. DE THOU, *Historia sui Temporis*.—^e S. A. DUNHAM, *History of Poland*.—^f JAMES SOBIESKI, *Commentariorum Chotinensis Belli libri tres*.

CHAPTER III. THE EXTINCTION OF A KINGDOM (1696-1796 A.D.)

^b J. FLETCHER, *History of Poland*.—^c S. A. DUNHAM, *History of Poland*.—^d C. C. DE RULHIÈRE, *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*.—^e RICHARD RÖPEL, *Polen um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*.—^f ADOLPHE BEER, *Die Erste Theilung Polens*.—^g GEORGE WEBER, *Weltgeschichte*.—^h OGINSKI, *Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1788; jusqu'à la fin de 1815*.

CHAPTER IV. PARTIAL RESTORATION AND FINAL DISSOLUTION (1796-1863 A.D.)

^b S. A. DUNHAM, *History of Poland*.—^c Meyer's *Konversations Lexicon*.—^d A. ALISON, *History of Europe*.—^e W. A. DAY, *The Russian Government in Poland, etc.*—^f C. A. FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe*.



BOOK II

THE BALKAN STATES AND MODERN GREECE

CHAPTER I

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUMANIA¹

ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF RUMANIA

THE possession by Rome of the country called Macedonia, to the south of the Balkans, and of the country called by them Mœsia, now Bulgaria, led them in time into conflict with the paramount people immediately across the Danube. These were the Dacians, who inhabited the country at present known by its tripartite designation Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, and who under the name of the Getæ were found to the south of the Danube. The people of the Balkans proper even during the Greek period had come in contact with them. The great Philip had captured their capital; but, impressed with the earnestness and the bravery of the inhabitants, he not only concluded a speedy peace and alliance with the nation, but married the daughter of the Getic king, Queen Meta. Lysimachus, who succeeded Alexander in Thrace, tried to punish them for aiding his rebel subjects in Mœsia. He was conquered, however, by the Getic king, and only on the payment of a heavy fine was he allowed to return to his own country. To-day the golden coin of Macedonia occasionally turns up to the Rumanian plough.^a

[¹ At a meeting of the Rumanian geographical society held at Bukharest on March 13, 1904, and presided over by King Charles, a protest was made against the inclusion of Rumania in the Balkan Peninsula and learned and scientific proofs were brought forward to show that neither geologically, ethnologically, nor politically does Rumania form one of the Balkan states. We include it in the present Book not with controversial intent, but as a matter of convenience.]

History has preserved little information concerning the Dacians and the Getæ. It represents them, however, as a people just, sober, as eminently religious and warlike, as a people renowned for love of liberty and for disdain of life. Ovid, the immortal and inconsolable exile of Tomi, describes them as follows: "Although the people of this country are a mixture of Greeks and Getæ, the race of the latter predominates. It is mostly Getan or Sarmatian cavaliers that one sees going and coming in the roads. There is not one of them who does not carry his quiver, his bow, and arrows dipped in the venom of the viper. They have rough voices, savage features, and are a striking image of the god Mars. They cut neither their hair nor their beards, and their hand is always prompt to use the murderous dagger, which every barbarian wears at his belt." The poet adds: "They have no laws which they respect; with them justice cedes to force, and the law bends and disappears under the sword." In another place he observes: "There are very few people here who dare to cultivate the fields, and those unfortunates hold the plough with one hand and the sword with the other; it is with a helmet on his head that the shepherd plays his pipes. The sword," he repeats, "is here the instrument of justice." One must remember, however, in order to moderate the severity of his judgment, that these are the complaints of an exile, who misses Rome and is trying to move Cæsar to pity his lot.

This people which regarded Mars as a common ancestor, which in its anger even defied heaven with arrows, believed in the migration of souls and in immortality; disciples of the rigid system of the stoics—a system which teaches the submission of the body to the mind and will, the consideration of virtue as the supreme good, and vice as the only evil—the Dacian people seemed to be cast in bronze. Zamolxis, the most celebrated of their sages and legislators, had taught them to regard death as the end of a miserable and transitory life, as the dawn of an eternal existence. This belief it was that caused them to shed tears on a cradle and to dance about a coffin. Scorn of life tended to make heroes of all the Dacians.^c

We next hear of the Getæ as being defeated by the Gauls, by whom many of them were sold as slaves to the Athenians and other Greeks. The Getæ gradually retire from the foreground of history, and give place to the Daci, or Daoui, as they were called in Greek, a cognate race, who seem to have migrated from Rhodope, and about 90–57 B.C. attained a stable settlement and extensive influence under their leader Burvista. It has been usual to identify the Getæ and Daci as one, but though they continued to occupy the same country, and were, at least for a time, politically united, the allusions of the ancient writers seem to point to an essential difference. Numerous traces of Roman occupation are found throughout the region, and in Rumania the people pride themselves on their supposed descent from the Roman colonists, and use a dialect which bears a strong similarity to Latin.^s

Mommsen^d gives some details as to the life and work of Zamolxis, who had travelled in Egypt and Greece, and had imbibed something of the wisdom of the Egyptian priests and of the Greek philosophers. Zamolxis seems to have held a place among his people comparable to that of Moses and Aaron among the Hebrews. Out of his teaching and example there came a great reform of the nation, which comprehended not merely political but religious institutions. The chief practical organisers of the reform were, according to Mommsen, the celebrated king Boerebistes "and the god Dekæneos." Tradition has it that the people were in a condition of unexampled moral degradation, drunkenness being the national vice. King Boerebistes introduced new ideals, and enforced them with such enthusiasm

[10-172 A.D.]

and firmness as to revolutionise the social conditions. His political reforms were so potent that his kingdom was extended along both banks of the Danube, reaching southward far into Thrace, Illyria, and Noricum.

Boerebistes took sides in the war between Cæsar and Antony, and Augustus upon becoming emperor was wise enough to make friends with this powerful people and conferred upon the successors of Boerebistes the title of "friend and ally of the Roman people." This title does not appear to have been taken very seriously by the Dacians, and we hear of various incursions made by them into the Roman province of Mœsia, which was across the river from them. In the year 69 A.D. they were repulsed by Vespasian. The nation entered upon a new path of material prosperity under a king called Decebalus. In the year 86 A.D. Decebalus invaded Mœsia and drove the Romans to the Balkans, until the emperor Domitian himself was forced to march against him. The campaign was intrusted to Julian, who defeated the Dacians at a place called Tappæ and besieged their capital, Sarmizegethusa, the modern Varhely. A treaty of peace was concluded, in which Domitian promised to pay an annual tribute to the Dacian king. In spite of this dishonourable treaty Domitian returned to Rome with the title king of Dacia and celebrated a triumph, which, however, did not deceive the people as to the true state of things.

THE ROMAN PERIOD

Trajan's accession to the throne in 98 A.D. marks a new era in the history of the Dacians. In another part of the history we have read of his expeditions against them resulting in the conversion of Dacia into a Roman province and in the erection of Trajan's Column. This column is one of our most reliable records of civilisation among the Dacians.^a

After the second defeat of Decebalus, this last king of the Dacians committed suicide. The event was followed by the dispersion or extermination of his people, which in its despair preferred death to captivity. About the year 106 of our era Trajan established his legions in the conquered country and repopled it with colonists taken from the different provinces of the empire. These divided the land among themselves "fraternally": the expression is historical. Trajan's work was one of regeneration, for he introduced into the new province Roman laws and civilisation. He founded schools and cities, constructed forts, aqueducts, streets, and military roads, the traces of which may still be seen and wondered at to-day. Never was a nation founded under happier or more favourable auspices. One should study Trajan's life in order to appreciate the liberal and progressive spirit which must have controlled the establishment and organisation of the new province. His reign, according to Tacitus, was that rare epoch in the empire when everyone could think what he pleased and say what he thought. Thus was Dacia colonised by the Latins. A large number of its ancient cities were restored and many new towns arose.

During the lifetime of its founder and during the reign of Adrian this province was one of the most flourishing in the empire. This state of things continued until the incessant incursions of barbarians finally compromised the existence of the Trajan colony. Gallienus was obliged to abandon it. If the testimony of Pomponius may be accepted, it was reconquered by the emperor Claudius, and this was probably the case, since under Aurelian it was still a part of the empire. Aurelian, being unable to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ever-increasing floods of barbarians, who were threatening to engulf the whole empire, and despairing of being able longer to retain the

province, decided to withdraw his legions definitively, together with a part of the colonists.

When the necessities of defence, says Amédée Thierry (*Histoire d'Attila et ses successeurs*, Paris, 1856, I, pp. 248, 249), obliged the emperor Aurelian to retract the Roman frontier to the Danube, he opened a place of refuge for the Daco-Roman colonists on the right bank of the river, in a provincial subdivision separated from Moesia, to which through a feeling of regret he gave the name of Dacia; but a large number of these trans-Danubian colonists refused to abandon their country. They remained as they could among the Gothic nations which were advancing towards the Danube from the banks of the Dniester.^c

Still proud of the glory of the ancient Roman conquerors, the least Wallachian peasant considers himself descended from the patricians of Rome. Several of his customs, those at the birth of children, at marriages, at funeral ceremonies, still recall those of the Romans; the dance of the *Caluchares*, he says, is nothing else than that of the Salian priests. The Wallachian likes to talk of his "father" Trajan, to whom he attributes whatever he finds that is great in his country—not only the ruins of bridge, of fortress, and road, but natural phenomena which other peoples might attribute to a Roland, a Fingal, or to divine or infernal powers. Many a defile in the mountains was opened by the sword of Trajan; the avalanche which breaks loose from the summit is the "thunder of Trajan"; even the Milky Way has become the "road of Trajan"; during the course of centuries the apotheosis has become complete. Having chosen the old emperor for the representative of his nation, the Rumanian refuses to consider the Getæ and Dacians as his ancestors; he knows not what the Goths were, and if it is true that he is related to them in origin, it is certain that he has ceased to resemble them, except perhaps in the mountains, where one frequently sees big men, such as the original inhabitants must have been, with blue eyes and long fair hair. But in their grace and suppleness the mountaineers as well as the inhabitants of the Danubian plains differ from northern peoples and approach more nearly the peoples of the south.^e

BARBARIAN INVASIONS (274-1250 A.D.)

For about a century after Dacia had been abandoned by Aurelian the country was overrun by one barbarian horde after another. During all this time, however, the descendants of the Roman colonists, in their mountain retreats, preserved their character and language. Some historians believe that all the colonists left the country at the time of Aurelian, and that they did not return to the region north of the Danube until the worst of the barbarian domination was over. The prevailing opinion, however, is that at least some representatives of those early settlers remained in the country during all the successive periods of invasion. The Rumanians especially insist upon this view; it must, however, be admitted that the question of nationality cannot be solved by their verdict. Their descent from those Roman colonists is better proved by their language, which, as one historian has it, "betrays its origin on every page of its grammar."

The first rulers in "Trajan's Dacia" after its abandonment by the Romans were the Goths, who remained until the year 376, or for about a century. The chief event during this period was the brief Roman occupation of the country under Constantine and the introduction of Christianity among the Goths. The latter were superseded by the Huns.^a

At the death of the greatest chief of the Huns (Attila, in 453) his exten-

[453-680 A.D.]

sive military and nomadic empire soon fell in pieces through the dissensions of his sons. The dominion of the Gepidæ, a Gothic stem, was established, and the land of Dacia was called Gepidia, which name lived longer than the power of the people who originated it.

In 576 the rule of the Gepidæ gave way to the attacks of the Lombards and Avars, and the latter, one of the wildest of Turkish tribes, gained possession of the land. Their rude sway extended from the Enns to the outer mountain wall of Transylvania.^f

The customs of the Avars, says Amédée Thierry, were a mixture of grossness and luxury. They delighted in beautiful clothes, in gold and silver plate, and their khakans (rulers) lay on carved beds of gold adorned with silk stuffs, which served them as both couch and throne. Above these beds or divans was sometimes placed a dais or pavilion, sparkling with precious stones. Drunkenness, debauchery, and theft were common vices among the Avars, and a cruel brutality was associated with their debauches. A tradition still current at the time of Nestor, the oldest Russian historian, says that they yoked the Slavic women to their carts like beasts of burden.^e

After the inroads of Attila the weakness of the Byzantine kingdom was no longer a secret to the Slavic inhabitants of the northeast of Europe. Moreover, the cultivator of cold, marshy forest districts was seized with an irresistible longing for the mild breezes of the south, for the fruitful territories of Thrace and Macedonia, with their magnificent forests, verdant pastures, and inviting valleys. Thus was prepared a migration into the great eastern peninsula of Europe, the so-called Illyrian triangle, which was much more destructive and enduring in its consequences than the one experienced in the south and west of the Roman Empire through the inroads of the Germans. The terrible incursions of the races living north of the Danube into the Eastern Roman Empire had already begun in the year 539 A.D. Huns, Antes, Gepidæ, Bulgars, and above all Slavs in immense numbers broke again and again into the unfortunate, unprotected lands. In the middle of the sixth century the racial character of the Eastern Roman Empire suffered a change. This change persisted during the seventh and eighth centuries, till from the bank of the Danube to the mountain walls of the Taygetus the country became wholly Slavic.

From about 590 A.D. the Slavs of southern Hungary became subject to the Avars; those in Moldavia and Wallachia, as it seems, remained free. But soon another tribe appears upon the scene, that of the Bulgars. This was a branch of the Finnish family, which had once lived on the banks of the middle Atel; this river took its name of Volga from them. In 678-680 A.D. the Bulgars crossed the Danube, conquered Varna, overpowered the Slavic tribes which lived between the Danube and the peaks of the Hæmus (Balkans), and put the emperor Constantine to flight. After this time the old Mœsia and little Scythia is called Bulgaria.



A TATAR COSTUME

Before the end of the eighth century the Avars succumbed to the weapons of the Franks. At the beginning of the ninth century a Finnish tribe, the Magyars or black Ugrians, being seized with the migratory impulse, advanced from the Ural towards the west, of which they were to be the scourge.^f In the pay of the Byzantines, they attacked the Bulgarians, whose lands they made the scene of their plundering raids, until the latter in desperation called on the old enemies of the Hungarians, the "wild Petchenegs," to aid them. These broke into the territory of the Magyars at a time when the latter were engaged upon a new raid, killed all the human beings they found, and took possession of their land and property. From now on the Petchenegs occupied the land from the Danube to the Don. The Hungarians, however, deprived of their country, fell upon Moravia and Pannonia with great destruction.^g

The Petchenegs were succeeded by the Kumani, a people of the same race as themselves, and speaking nearly the same language. We frequently hear of the latter in connection with the struggles between the Byzantines and Bulgarians. In 1239 they aided a French army marching to the assistance of Baldwin of Constantinople, and while their best troops were absent on this expedition their country was attacked and conquered by the Tatars. The latter did not remain long in these regions, and after their departure, the power of the Kumani being destroyed, the lands which were to form the future principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were at last free from foreign oppression.

FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

For about fifty years after the final departure of the barbarian invaders the country north of the Danube was ruled by petty chiefs, no one of whom acquired extended authority. The plains were at first occupied chiefly by Slavic peoples, for the descendants of the old Roman colonists were in the mountains. About 1290 Radlu Negru, or Rudolf the Black, came down from the mountains and founded the principality known as Wallachia, although that name is never used in the country itself, the natives calling their land Tsara Munteneasca ("land of mountains") or Tsara Romaneasca ("land of Rumans"). The name Walach or Vlach has the same origin as the English word Welsh, and represents the appellation given by the Teutons to the Roman provincials they found in the countries overrun by them, Walach being the Slavonic adaptation of the same word. According to Roesler, the Wallachian people is met with sporadically throughout the whole Balkan Peninsula.

Not long after the foundation of the Wallachian principality, a Rumanian colony, under the leadership of a chief called Dragosh, coming from the mountainous regions of Transylvania, whence they were driven by Hungarian oppression, founded the principality of Moldavia. These two principalities existed side by side, through all the vicissitudes of Turkish dominion, until 1859, when they were united under one king. They were governed by separate princes, called voyevods, who ruled absolutely. The manner of succession to the throne was the source of repeated civil strife. Any member of the reigning family had the right to succeed, subject to election by the nation. This election took place in an assembly of the chief nobles and clergy, and was afterwards submitted to ratification by the populace, who gave their vote by acclamation. If the prince left only one son all went well, but when the number was plural—the claim of natural sons was also admitted—the country

[1386-1391 A.D.]

was plunged into civil war. The boyars or nobles occupied a prominent position in the army and in the administration of government.^a

The name *boyar* signifies warrior, and that was the original character of the institution. The boyars were the proprietors—although not exclusively—of the soil, and the armed force of the nation; those inhabitants who were proprietors without making the carrying of arms their habitual profession were called *mosueni* in Wallachia and *medjasi* in Moldavia.^c

It would not be especially interesting or instructive for us to follow the varying fortunes of each successive prince who ruled in the two principalities. Only here and there does one rise above the level and attract our attention by personal exploits or by circumstances which brought him into prominence.

MIRCEA THE GREAT (1386-1418 A.D.)

Such a prince was Mircea the Great, who arose in 1386, and is celebrated for his wars with the Turks. The Rumanians had already come in contact with the latter at the battle on the Maritza, fought in 1364, for the recovery of Adrianople, when the Wallachians under their prince Alexander Bessaraba fought side by side with the Servians and Hungarians. The Christian army was at that time completely defeated. In 1389 Mircea allied himself with King Lazar of Serbia in the battle of Kosovo, where the Turks, although outnumbered by their Christian opponents, delivered them a crushing defeat. Two years later they crossed the Danube to punish Mircea for his participation in the battle. The Rumanian forces had been weakened by their losses at Kosovo; Mircea was taken captive and sent to Brusa in Asia Minor. From this time on Wallachia is entered on the registers of the Ottoman Porte as tributary to Turkey.

The treaty concluded between Sultan Bayazid and the principality shows that the latter still retained its independence. The first article in that treaty reads: "By our great clemency we consent that the principality recently conquered by our invincible force may govern itself after its own laws, and that the prince of Wallachia shall have the right to make war or peace and the right of life or death over his subjects. But," the treaty goes on to say (Article 5), "on account of this high clemency and because we have written this rajah prince on the list of our subjects, he shall be held to pay annually to our imperial treasury 3,000 red piasters of the country or 500 silver piasters of our money." The captivity of the prince was not of long duration, and upon his return he made an alliance with the king of Hungary, hitherto his enemy, but who now began to realise the danger to his own land from the Turkish advance. The alliance was for the purpose of defending the two countries in case of an attack by the Turks, and it was followed before long by the battle of Nikopoli.

Besides the Rumanians, Sigismund, king of Hungary, had for his support six thousand knights sent by Charles VI of France to fight against the Turks. The Christian knights felt so sure of success, that instead of preparing themselves for fighting they gave themselves up to enjoyment. Froissart says that "the Turks surprised them at table, whence they had to drag themselves painfully to their horses." They were completely routed, and Mircea, perceiving the hopelessness of the combat, left the field of battle and returned to Wallachia. He was followed by the Turks, but this time they were not so successful, Mircea forcing them to retreat with great slaughter. After the capture of Sultan Bayazid by Timur the Tatar, we find Mircea actively supporting the

claims to the throne of Musa, the second son of Bayazid. When, however, Musa was deposed and killed, and the empire reunited under his brother Muhammed, Mircea was obliged again to bend his neck to the Turkish yoke. Moldavia during this time had been in a position of dependency upon Poland, and before Mircea's alliance with Hungary he had made a treaty also with the king of Poland, through the intervention of a Moldavian prince. This treaty was altered when Mircea found it to his advantage to have the friendship of Hungary.

This first great prince of Wallachia died in 1418. The great Rumanian historian, Xenopol,^g says of him:^a "He is one of the most remarkable figures in the history of the Rumanian principalities. The country over which he reigned being still entire and intact, the position of this prince among the surrounding countries was very important. That is why we see him turning the great kingdom of Poland to suit his policy, concluding with his ancient suzerain, the king of Hungary, a treaty on terms of equality, and playing a preponderant rôle in the internal struggles of the Ottoman Empire. Mircea was not only a great captain, he was also a very skilful politician, whose relations extended from the sea of Marmora to the kingdom of Poland."

VLAD THE IMPALER AND STEPHEN THE GREAT

From 1418 until 1456 both the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were torn by internal wars and dissensions caused by rival claimants to the throne, which undid all the work of Mircea and his predecessors. The Turks, in addition to increasing the monetary tax, had imposed upon them the human tax of five hundred children for the corps of janissaries. But at the end of that time two princes arose whose characters stand out in bold relief. These were Stephen the Great in Moldavia and Vlad the Impaler in Wallachia, whose horrible cognomen, it appears, was only too well deserved.^a

His favourite amusement was impaling, and he liked best to dine with his court closely surrounded by impaled Turks. When Turkish ambassadors refused to salute him with bared head, he caused their turbans to be nailed to their heads with three nails, so that they should sit firmer, faithful to the custom of their fathers. He one day invited all the beggars in the country to a banquet, and after they had eaten and drunk he burned them all alive. His chief joy was to witness executions *en masse*. Four hundred young people from Hungary and Transylvania who had been sent to Wallachia to learn the language were burned together; six hundred merchants from Burzenland were spitted in the market-place; five hundred Wallachian nobles, of whom he had suspicions, were impaled, on the ground that they were not able to give correct statistical information concerning the number of inhabitants in their districts.^b

Vlad commenced hostilities with the Turks by refusing to pay the tribute of five hundred children. His first move was to impale a company of two thousand men sent by Muhammed II in the guise of an embassy, although the real object of their mission was to take Vlad by surprise if possible. Muhammed then marched against him in person, accompanied by an army of two hundred and fifty thousand, as large, it is said, as the one with which he conquered Constantinople. Vlad, having himself spied out the enemy's camp, attacked it by night, routing the Turks with great confusion. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, being attacked and deposed by Stephen of Moldavia, whom he himself had placed on the throne by helping him to overthrow Peter Aaron, who had killed Stephen's father. It is a curious feature

[1474-1475 A.D.]

in the history of the different Balkan states that their internal jealousies always prevented them from making a united front against the invading Turk, and we find them again and again expending their forces in fighting each other instead of joining against the common enemy. Stephen the Great came to the throne of Moldavia in 1457 and ruled for nearly fifty years, being engaged in repeated warfare. By deposing Radul, Vlad's successor on the throne of Wallachia, he drew upon himself the enmity of the Turks.^a

This bold move on the part of Stephen can be explained only by his war-like and enterprising character; he stopped at nothing, and his undertakings had until then been crowned with brilliant success. He had intimidated the Poles, beaten the Hungarians, Wallachians, and Tatars. Why should he not vanquish also the Turks? His first acts, beginning with his aggression against Vlad and the cruel treatment inflicted on the Tatars, whom he irritated against himself to no purpose, show that Stephen in his first years followed the voice of passion rather than that of reason. His future genius was at first manifested by his impulsiveness. He did not find his equilibrium until later, when mature age brought him lessons of experience, together with the calm of reason.

Knowing that he would be attacked by the Turks, he began to look about for allies, when an unexpected embassy came to find him at his capital of Sutchana. The Venetians, who were at war with the Turks, having sent Paul Omeubonum on a mission to the king of Persia, Uzun Hassan, the latter charged the Venetian ambassador on his return to Europe to go to the prince of Moldavia and give him a letter in which he begged Stephen to take the initiative in a Christian coalition against the Turks. Stephen seized the occasion to charge Omeubonum, in his turn, with a petition to the pope, asking him to form with him a holy alliance against the Ottomans, "in order that we may not be alone in fighting them." But Omeubonum had only reached Braila when an Ottoman army, one hundred and twenty thousand men strong, without counting the contingent of Laiote Bessaraba, whom Stephen had placed on the throne of Wallachia in place of Radul, flooded Moldavia, under the command of Solyman Pasha.

Stephen had only forty thousand Moldavians, aided by five thousand Szeklers, of whom only eighteen hundred had been sent by the king of Hungary, the rest being recruited as mercenaries in Transylvania, in addition to two thousand Poles sent by King Casimir IV. However, by a successful stratagem, he defeated the Turks on January 14th, 1475, at Rakova, near the river Berlad; he killed twenty thousand of them, and took one hundred flags; four pashas and a large number of prisoners fell into his hands. What was left of the vanquished did not even reach the Danube. Stephen celebrated his victory by building a church, prescribing a fast of forty days, and by impaling the prisoners. Their victory was a feat of arms hitherto unexampled



OFFICER OF THE JANISSARIES

in the fight between Turks and Christians. It was the first time that the Turks had lost a drawn battle of such importance; they felt its humiliation all the more keenly because their antagonists were simply peasants rudely armed. They well realised that their prestige had suffered. On all sides arose thanksgivings for the triumph of the Christian cause. The country and the senate of Venice, which heard the news of their brilliant victory from the lips of Paul Omeubonum, hastened to congratulate Stephen. Sixtus IV saluted him with the name Athlete of Christ.

In the concert of praise there resounded nevertheless a discordant note; it was that of Hungary, which did not wish to let its pretended vassal mount too high, and who could not forget its defeat at Baja and the cession of two fortresses to Transylvania. Hence Hungarian historians take sides with the Turks to attenuate the defeat of the latter. King Matthias did more: giving himself out to the pope as the suzerain of the prince of Moldavia, he obtained from the holy Chair an important subsidy for carrying on the war with the Turks, but used it all in the particular interests of his state.

Stephen, believing that he had acquired a title to the gratitude of the Christian world and the right to be aided, asked help from Hungary as well as from all countries which his request should reach. At the same time he sent special envoys to the pope and to Venice asking these two powers to aid with their subsidies. Venice excused herself on the ground of not being able for the moment to do so; the pope told Stephen's ambassadors that he had given the money to King Matthias, the suzerain of their prince. These ambassadors, two Catholic priests from Moldavia whom Stephen had taken into his council for the very purpose of gaining the good will of the pope, protested against their prince being considered a vassal, and gave the senate at Venice to understand that in case their master should not be assisted he would make peace with the infidels and would even ally himself against the Christians. The Venetian senate, alarmed at this prospect, sent a special ambassador to Stephen, called Emanuel Gerado, who was charged to follow every step of Stephen's, to fan his ardour with fine words, and to hinder him at any price from making an agreement with the sultan. The subtle diplomats of Vienna had understood Stephen's character perfectly and knew that he was inclined to listen with pleasure to words of praise, which he in fact merited; that he was prompt to take fire from fine words, of which the Venetian envoy was by no means sparing; and so fond of independence that he would rather perish than submit to a yoke.

The Turks, bent upon avenging their defeat, invaded Moldavia anew, with a still larger army, augmented as on the first occasion by the troops of Laiote Bessaraba and by the Tatars, who were to invade Moldavia at the very moment that the Turks crossed the Danube. As had been his fate with the pope and at Venice, everywhere he asked for aid Stephen found closed doors. Poland and Hungary feared for their pretensions to sovereignty over Moldavia in the event that Stephen should a second time succeed in defeating the Turks. The Moldavian prince was none the less determined to resist. He wished to oppose the crossing of the Danube, but the peasants in his army, fearing for their homes from an invasion of the Tatars, asked leave of Stephen to go and place their families in safety. They never returned. Stephen, left with only his cavalry, numbering ten thousand men, abandoned the defence of the river, and, after having devastated his own country to deprive the Turks of all means of subsistence, retired to a forest north of Moldavia, to Rasboeni, a clearing which he turned into an improvised fortress. The Turks pursued him, and, discovering the retreat of the Moldavians, after

[1476-1513 A.D.]

several desperate attacks succeeded in dislodging them (1476). Stephen was vanquished but not discouraged. He went to Poland, where he soon collected a new army with which he undertook a determined campaign against the Turks, who were decimated by famine and sickness. This campaign terminated, like the first one, in complete ruin of the Turkish forces; arrived near the Danube, Stephen attacked them with fury, threw them into confusion, and cast their remains into the river. Profiting by his victory, he advanced the same year into Wallachia, dethroned the faithless Laiote Bessaraba, and replaced him by Vlad the Impaler, who was living at the court of Matthias Corvinus; but Vlad died in 1477 after a reign of a few months.

Bayazid II, seeing that he could not conquer the Moldavian prince by a direct attack, decided to employ the system by means of which the Turks had succeeded with Mircea the Great. He desired to gain possession of the fortress of the lower Danube; to this end he seized Kilia and Cetatea Alba (Akierman), which were at the same time two great gates of Moldavia (1484). Stephen performed the impossible in his efforts to save them; but so many successive invasions had almost completely ruined the country. Stephen had to repulse nearly every year invasions of the Turks, who were supported by the place they had just conquered. In an attempt to drive them out he decided to yield personal homage to King Casimir of Poland, a thing which he had hitherto constantly avoided. At the moment when Stephen was kneeling on the ground before the king, the hangings of the tent fell and he was exposed to the view of the whole army in that humiliating position. As the price of this sacrifice he received only a derisive support of four thousand men, wholly insufficient for the reconquest of his fortresses.

Casimir's successor, John (I) Albert (1492-1501), shortly after his accession to the throne came to an understanding with Matthias Corvinus' successor, Ladislaus, to overthrow Stephen and to divide his country. Albert invaded Moldavia, but Stephen, who had many desertions, humiliations, and treacheries to avenge, attacked the Poles at the moment when they were crossing the forest of Gosinen, caused trees which had been half cut in advance to fall upon them, and completely routed their army (1497). He pursued the vanquished as far as Lemberg, filling the whole country with fire and blood, and taking one hundred thousand captives. The king proposed to make peace; all traces of vassaldom disappeared in the treaty (1499).

For Stephen, the great thought of his life had been the struggle against the Turks. The princes of the Occident had abandoned him to his fate; had attacked him behind while he was facing the common enemy. He turned towards the north, hoping to find there more eager support in forming a league against the Ottomans. To succeed it was necessary to establish concord between the Tatars and Russians and between the Russians and the Lithuanians. At the very moment when he believed he had succeeded, an intrigue at the court of Ivan the Great, grand prince of Moscow, whose son had married a daughter of Stephen, compromised the alliance between Moldavia and Moscow. Stephen's efforts were fruitless in this direction also.

The prince of Moldavia was seventy-one years old: his forces were spent; a wound which he had received at the siege of Kilia in 1462, and which he had never had time to care for, became gangrenous. Being so near death, he advised his son and successor, Bogdan, in view of the fact that the Christian princes had abandoned him and had showed him bad faith, to make his submission to the Turks (1504). He well knew that with him perished the only arm which might have saved Moldavian independence. Bogdan, in 1513 (a century after the submission of Wallachia), of his own free will sent

the logothete Tautu to Constantinople to offer his recognition of Ottoman suzerainty. In our days the Moldavians have erected at Jassy, the ancient capital of Moldavia, a statue to Stephen the Great; they were right in so doing, for Stephen was the highest incarnation of their nationality.

The two Rumanian states had fallen under the domination of the Turks. They had been swallowed up after an energetic resistance, as had been Servia, Bulgaria, the Byzantine Empire, Albania. The turn of Hungary was soon to come. But in these struggles the Turks had used up the youth of their empire and their first vigour. When they arrived before Vienna, in 1529, their nerve was weakened. If western civilisation escaped destruction, or at least the eclipse with which Turkey was threatening it, the fact was largely due to the victories won by the Christian people of the Orient, and especially to the Rumanians.

RUMANIA TRIBUTARY TO THE TURKS

The Rumanians were fortunate in not being upon the direct route of the Turkish invasions towards the north. In Wallachia, in Moldavia, they retained the benefits conferred by treaties of submission. With the exception of the investiture of their princes by the sultan they were governed only by national chiefs, were burdened only by a moderate tribute and a military contingent; they had neither to endure the presence of Turks nor the establishment of mosques in their country. When their princes did not mix in Polish, Transylvanian, or Hungarian intrigues, the sultan left them in peace. In the contrary event, they had everything to fear; for they were squeezed in between Turkish Bulgaria and the domain of the Crimean Tatars.

In 1521, at the same time that the sultan (Soleiman I) was taking Belgrade, he ordered Mahmud Bey to direct an expedition into Transylvania. As he was passing through Wallachia, the bey, by a ruse, got possession of Nagul Bessaraba, son of the last voyevod of Wallachia, a child of seven years, and sent him with all his family to Constantinople. The Wallachian boyars, having proceeded to the election of an old monk named Radul, sent envoys to the sultan, to demand the confirmation of their choice; the envoys were strangled, and the people of their suite sent back with noses and ears cut off. Mahmud Bey conquered Radul and took the title of *sandjak bey* of Wallachia. In the mean while the boyars had called to their aid John Zapolya of Transylvania, who was not yet a vassal of the Turks; and Mahmud Bey judged it prudent to treat with them and to guarantee their right to elect a prince and their rights to certain other privileges. Afterwards, when the Transylvanian peril had seemed to be averted, the newly elected prince went to receive the insignia of his command; the sultan's deputy instead of giving him his armour dealt him a blow which stunned him. This perfidy resulted in a revolt of the boyars and in an intervention on the part of Transylvania. John Zapolya fought five battles with Mahmud Bey, but perceiving that the Rumanians were depleted, he finally advised the new prince, another Radul, whom the boyars had just chosen, to make submission. The latter obtained the Ottoman investiture on nearly the same conditions as his predecessors (1524).

Although Moldavia had recognised the suzerainty of the Turks under Bogdan (1513), it continued none the less to pursue a rather independent policy, often even hostile to its new masters. It did so especially under Bogdan's son, Stephen the Young (1517-1527), and still more so under Bog-

[1527-1561 A.D.]

dan's brother, Peter Raresh or Rares (1527-1546). This prince, a natural son of Stephen the Great, who resembled his father in the boldness of his undertakings, had hardly ascended the throne when he wished to profit by the troubles of which Hungary had become the scene to extend his dominions in Transylvania. He there attacked King Ferdinand, at the very moment when Suleiman the Magnificent was besieging Vienna (1529). He pretended to be supporting the military action of the Turks, but soon he demanded from Zapolya the cession of several strongholds in Transylvania. Zapolya complained to the Porte. Raresh, commanded by the sultan to leave his vassal in peace, abandoned Transylvania; but he turned against Poland, which was then on good terms with the Turks. Fresh complaints ensued against Raresh, whose interference was again resented.

Suleiman sent one of his men, the Venetian Aloysio Gritti, to settle the differences between Poland and Moldavia. The Italian, perceiving that Raresh had lost the good graces of the Porte, imagined that he could dispossess him and place his son, Carlo Gritti, in his stead. Raresh, informed of Gritti's intrigues, had him put to death. At enmity with the Poles and with the Turks, he sought the alliance of another power. Not having succeeded in obtaining that of the grand prince of Moscow, he turned to Ferdinand, with whom he had formerly been at war, and entered into prolonged negotiations with him. One of his letters to Ferdinand was surprised by Zapolya and communicated to the sultan, who resolved to punish his faithless vassal. The reputation of power which Moldavia still enjoyed at that epoch is shown by the fact that Suleiman thought it necessary to put himself at the head of the expedition. The Ottoman army numbered fully one hundred and fifty thousand men. Besides, the sultan threw the Tatars of the Crimea upon Moldavia, while the Poles invaded the country from the north. The boyars and the people, seeing to what calamities Raresh had exposed Moldavia, abandoned him to make their submission to Suleiman. Raresh sought refuge in Transylvania, in his fortress of Cetatea. To remedy the fault he had committed he resolved to start for Constantinople with all his treasures, in order to procure his reinstatement by means of money. He succeeded; but Moldavia this time was really in the power of the Ottomans. Raresh none the less continued his intrigues. In 1541, Suleiman having instituted the pashalik of Buda, the Austrians organised a grand expedition against the Turks. They gained the prince of Moldavia, who promised in the thickest of the fight to pass from the ranks of the infidels to those of the Christians and to deliver up to them alive the sultan himself. The Austrian expedition perished miserably, and Raresh died shortly after (1546).

His successor Elias (1546-1551) accepted Islam. A curious instance of how succession to the throne could be accomplished is furnished during the reign of Alexander, in 1561. In that year appeared an adventurer of Greek origin by the name of Jacob Basilicus, a student and writer of some worth. Weary perhaps of his somewhat humdrum existence as a petty ruler in the Ægean Islands, which he had inherited from his adoptive father, the despot of Paros, he took a fancy to become ruler of Moldavia. With an invented pedigree which began with Hercules and ended with the Moldavian voyevods, and with the more substantial support of Hungarian arms, he succeeded in ousting the voyevod Alexander, while with his money he purchased Turkish recognition of his right to rule.

He appears on the whole to have been a model prince. He attempted to reform the morals of the country, and established a school at which all the children he could muster were educated at his own expense. His system of

taxation, however, gave dissatisfaction, and in 1563 a rising of the people resulted in his overthrow and death. Alexander was reinstated by the sultan, and the country fell back into its former condition. The native population at that time was divided into two main classes, boyars and serfs. The former owned the land and the latter tilled it, being obliged to pay a tax on what they produced as well as upon the land itself. Besides these taxes there were the poll tax and various extraordinary imposts and levies, which with the ravages of war frequently reduced the peasantry to the lowest depths of poverty. The authority of the prince was unchecked by any definite limits, although the power of the boyars was so great that they frequently succeeded in overthrowing a ruler who was not pleasing to them. There were various offices, all in the hands of the boyars. Mr. Samuelson has given a concise list of the principal officials, which may be convenient for reference: ^a

(1) The *ban* of Krajova was viceroy of little Wallachia, and his authority reached back, in all probability, to the foundation of the principality. (2) The *vel-vornic*, or minister of the interior, was governor of the Carpathians and of the neighbouring districts. (3) The great *vornic* was governor of the lowlands. (4) The *logothete*, or chancellor, was minister of justice. (5) The great *spathar* was minister of war. (6) The great *vestiar*, treasurer and master of the robes. (7) The great *postelnik*, master of the post. (8) The *paharnic*, chief butler and cup-bearer (this was a title of Hungarian origin). (9) The great *stolnik*, chief cook. (10) The great *comis*, master of the horse. (11) The *aga*, chief of police. (12) The great *pitar*, inspector of commissariat. (13) The *serdar*, general of infantry of three districts (three thousand men). In Moldavia the *spathar* was called the *hetman*; in both principalities there were minor offices, and in Stephen's time the first six¹ only formed the council of ministers.¹

JOHN THE TERRIBLE AND MICHAEL THE BRAVE

Nearly ten years after the death of the adventurer Jacob, Moldavia entered on a career of vigorous opposition to Turkish oppression under its ruler, John the Terrible, a descendant of Stephen the Great, who mounted the throne in 1572. In order to win money and influence, he had established himself as a dealer in precious stones at Constantinople, where he made money and became acquainted with important persons in the government. He was brought into conflict with the Ottomans through the political intrigues of Kiajna, a daughter of Peter Raresh, in Wallachia, who had succeeded in establishing one of her sons, Alexander, on the throne of Wallachia, and who now wanted the crown of Moldavia for the other, Peter the Lame. Consequently she offered 120,000 ducats tribute for Moldavia instead of the 60,000 which the country was then paying.

The Turks, always eager for money and just then needing it more than ever, in order to repair their losses at Lepanto, at once informed John the Terrible that unless he paid them 120,000 ducats they would no longer support him on the throne. John answered defiantly that he would rather use the money in raising troops to resist such extortionate demands. He then appealed to the peasants, who rallied around him enthusiastically. With their support and in spite of the hostility of the boyars, John gained several

¹ In later times the council was composed of twelve.

[1572-1594 A.D.]

victories over the Turks. He was so successful that the sultan Selim at Constantinople ordered public prayers in all the mosques. He then commanded the *beylerbey* of Rumelia to attack him with one hundred thousand men. But all John's bravery could avail nothing against the treachery in his own ranks. In the midst of the decisive battle his cavalry deserted to the side of the Turks. His artillery in addition having been put out of service by rainy weather, John was obliged to retreat to a neighbouring village, where he defended himself valiantly, refusing to desert his loyal peasants by flight. Lack of water finally forced him to surrender, and he was quartered by the Turks. The devotion of the peasants to John the Terrible and his care for them form a pleasant contrast to the perfidy and selfishness of the nobles. It is related that in the battle the peasants would not permit John to go among the nobles, suspecting their treachery and fearing that they might deliver him alive to the Turks.

After the death of John, Moldavia fell a prey to rival contestants for the throne, and the country had no other history but that of their intrigues, until a counterpart of John the Terrible arose in Wallachia, and for a brief space illuminated the cloudy sky of the Rumanian people. This was Michael the Brave, who ascended the throne of Wallachia in 1593. He had been chosen by the people to rescue them from the misery to which they had been reduced by the Turks and Tatars and by the corrupt rule of their voyevod Alexander. With the aid of Sigismund Báthori of Transylvania and a plentiful supply of borrowed money he succeeded in getting his election recognised at Constantinople. He first made an alliance with Moldavia and Transylvania, and then proceeded to rid himself of all Turks within the country by a general preconcerted massacre, which usually goes by the name of the Wallachian Vespers (1594). Michael assembled all his creditors on the pretence of paying them back their money, but instead they were burned alive, together with their account books. Michael next defeated in three separate battles a Turkish army which was sent against him, crossed the Danube on the ice, and plundered the provinces of the Ottomans. The Turkish general Hasan, rallying his forces for the third time, was again defeated. He lost his life, and his army was this time completely destroyed.

The booty which the Wallachians took home with them was immense. The large numbers of horses and cattle introduced into the country brought down the price of those animals, causing a proportionate scarcity of meat at Constantinople. In that city all was consternation. The Porte did not know whom to send against Michael. Finally, in a solemn divan held at Constantinople it was decided, in consideration of the fact that the war with Hungary could not be carried on so long as Wallachia was in revolt, to send an expedition under the grand vizir Sinan Pasha.^a

The campaign of Sinan in Wallachia commenced with reverses. The Turkish army after a long battle in the marshes of Kalugeran was completely destroyed. Sinan himself, half submerged in the marsh by his horse, owed his escape only to the vigour of a soldier in his suite called Hasan, who was ever after named Hasan of the Marsh, and who subsequently distinguished himself again for his bravery. A Wallachian prisoner gave up his life and exploded the powder of the Turkish army.

The grand vizir after recruiting his army marched upon Tirgovist. Michael drove him out after a siege of several days. Sinan doubled upon Bukharest and Giurgevo with the remainder of his troops; Michael attacked him again as he was crossing the bridge over the Danube, and, blowing up the bridge under the feet of his army, plunged him with all his artillery into the river.

During these disasters of the grand vizir in Wallachia, an Austrian and Hungarian army, under the command of Prince Mansfeld, besieged the fortified city of Gran in Hungary. The son of the grand vizir Sinan lost a third army in trying to relieve Gran. Gran surrendered after the death of its brave defender Kara Ali (Ali the Black), who was killed in the breach. In spite of a capitulation which assured the lives and property of the Turkish women and children, the pillaging, the thefts, and the massacres of the Germans and Hungarians at Gran stained the honesty and the humanity of the victors. The monuments, statues, pictures, and libraries, which the Turks had respected when they conquered the city, disappeared under the swords and flames of the German soldiery.

A whole slice of the empire seemed to crumble away towards the Danube after these reverses. Braïla, Varna, Kilia, Ismail, Silistria, Rustchuk, Bukharest, Akerman fell into the hands of the allied Wallachians, Germans, and Hungarians. The terror was reflected even in the serai. The sultan ordered public prayers on the square called Okmeidan. The grand vizir, who had re-entered Constantinople almost alone, humiliated himself under his disgrace and retired for the fourth time to the exile of vizirs at Malgara.^k

The campaign against the Turks took place in 1595. In 1597 the sultan sent a red flag in token of peace to Michael and recognised him as prince of Wallachia. But Michael's ambition was not satisfied with having routed the Turks. He dreamed of uniting under his sway the whole of the ancient Dacia, including Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. Sigismund Báthori having abdicated, Michael began to scheme to get hold of his domains, which had been left to Andreas Báthori. For this purpose he entered into negotiations with both sultan and German emperor, declaring himself the vassal of each. Profiting by a favourable occasion he invaded Transylvania, which he reduced to submission by one decisive battle between Hermannstadt and Schellenberg. Without stopping he proceeded to the capital, Weissenburg, entering it in triumph on November 1st, 1599. Historians tell of the gorgeous attire which he wore on that occasion and describe the appearance of his wife and children. The procession entered to the noise of cannon, and the music of the Wallachian national airs was rendered by gipsy performers.

Michael's Duplicity and Ruin

Michael's conduct, with all his bravery, appears to have been characterised by extreme duplicity. The money spent on the campaign against Transylvania he had obtained from the German emperor on the pretence of using it against the Turks. While in the act of invading Transylvania he continued to profess allegiance to its ruler, Andreas Báthori. Following out his general policy he pretended to be preparing an attack upon the Ottoman Empire, when he suddenly fell upon Moldavia, and in one battle gained possession of that principality and expelled its voyevod Jeremiah.

All this time Michael had been acting in the name of the German emperor, and the latter, although very grudgingly, did nevertheless recognise him as ruler over the three principalities comprising the ancient Dacia. It is possible that he might have succeeded in retaining this position had he been able to gain the hearts of the people. But he had alienated the peasants by his severity, and the nobles regarded him with suspicion and were waiting only for an opportunity to rebel against him. The German emperor began more and more to doubt the sincerity of his professed allegiance, especially since

[1600-1601 A.D.]

he still continued to negotiate with the Turks, while the nobles of course took pains to fan these suspicions.

As a result we find duplicity being answered by duplicity. The emperor sent emissaries to Transylvania to increase the feeling of discontent, while still feigning confidence in Michael, for fear he might place himself and the three principalities under Turkish protection. Surrounded by traitors, Michael began to lose his clear judgment. One of his bitterest enemies was the imperial general Basta, who had hoped to obtain the rule of Transylvania for himself, and hated Michael proportionately; even when this general joined in the revolt of the Transylvanian nobles, Michael was not sure whether or not he was being sent by the emperor, which made him hesitate in preparing for an attack. In the battle which ensued near the village of Mirischlau, Basta drew Michael from his almost impregnable position by a feigned retreat, and then at the critical moment turned about ready for an attack. Michael



ANCIENT KHAN AT BUKHAREST

was completely defeated (1600), but escaped, the enemy at his heels, by swimming across a river on his horse.

Moldavia now revolted, and Jeremiah, its former voyevod, who had sought refuge with the Poles, seized this opportunity with their aid to place his brother Simeon on the throne of Wallachia. Michael, being thus almost at one blow deprived of his three provinces, resolved upon a personal appeal to the emperor. After a journey full of danger he arrived at Vienna in 1601. Events in Transylvania, where Sigismund Báthori had again been placed on the throne, inclined the emperor to listen to Michael. Rudolf appointed him viceroy of Transylvania, and despatched him together with Basta and an imperial army to overthrow Sigismund. This was speedily accomplished; but, as might have been foreseen, the enmity between the two rivals broke out anew after the victory. Basta finally sent a company of soldiers to arrest his enemy, and Michael fell in his tent pierced with wounds before he could even seize his sword.

Thus ended the career of Michael the Brave, a man who had crowded so much history into the brief space of eight years, and who was the last Rumanian to resist successfully the invasion of the Turks. It is difficult to understand his policy, difficult to see why he did not confine himself to fighting Turks instead of waging wars against those who should have been his friends and allies. The eminent Rumanian historian, Xenopol, thinks that he was obliged to attack Transylvania and Moldavia because its rulers were hostile to him. Since these wars were forced upon him he had to have money to support an army. This he dared not demand from his own nobles at home, nor from the people whom he had just conquered; consequently the burden fell upon the Wallachian peasants. From his day dates the system of serfdom in Wallachia, a system which binds the peasant to the soil. So that if for a brief space Michael did succeed in liberating his country from the foreign yoke, its condition at his death was worse rather than better. In discussing what Michael might or might not have done, given the conditions in which he was placed, Xenopol says of him:^a

"Michael the Brave in order to succeed should have repulsed the nobles and established his domination upon the goodwill of the populace. But how could he have attempted such a bold move at the epoch in which he lived? In all Europe, and especially in the Rumanian countries, the people existed only in name. They were of no more value than the cattle led to slaughter; they were there only to be despoiled and to serve as flesh for cannon in battles, without its being necessary to ask their consent for the sacrifices which were demanded of them. Michael the Brave ought to have relied on the peasants and repulsed the nobles! But the memory of John the Terrible, who had to pay for that folly with his quartered body, was still fresh. The plans of Michael the Brave demanded for their realisation a broad democratic base, but his century was not ripe for such a conception. He had undertaken a work not only beyond his strength, but beyond that of the time in which he lived. He wished by political combinations to win an influence which he could not win through popularity. He wished to found a state, and it was the people who were wanting. How, then, could he have succeeded?"^q

RUMANIA A TURKISH DEPENDENCY

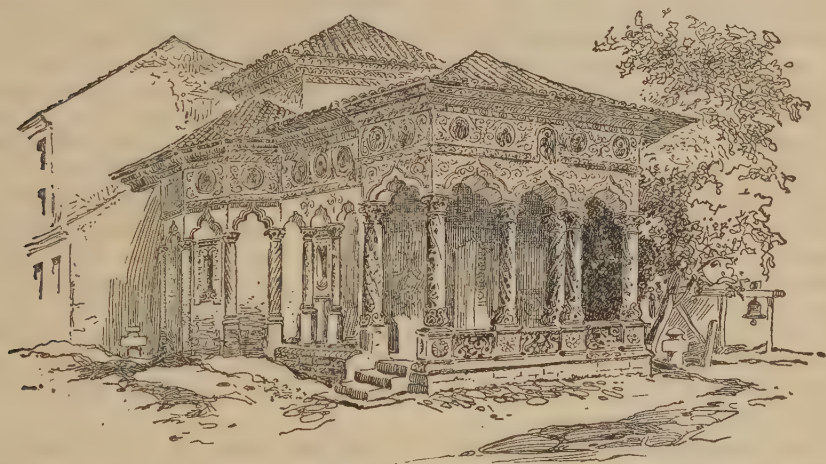
After the time of John the Terrible and Michael the Brave the two principalities entered upon a period of subjection which lasted practically until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although for over a hundred years the rulers still continued to be mostly of Rumanian stock, they were rulers who had bought their appointments at Constantinople. The Greeks took a prominent part in these transactions and drew large revenues from the nobles competing for the two thrones. The native boyars were united in only one thing—their objection to the ever-increasing Greek influence; otherwise they fought among themselves, while the condition of the people became worse and worse. In 1619 the sultan, utterly disregarding the national susceptibilities of the people, sent an Italian to govern Moldavia.

Nevertheless, the national independence was not completely lost. In the early part of the seventeenth century two rulers arose during whose reigns there was a period of comparative order and prosperity which was in marked contrast to the political turmoil and corruption of the times. These were Bessaraba in Wallachia and Vasilje Lupul (Basil the Wolf) in Moldavia, who reigned respectively from 1633 to 1654 and from 1634 to 1653. They

[1684-1688 A.D.]

introduced codes of written law, purified the church, encouraged the foundation of schools and monastic colleges, and promoted literature and the arts. The country received its first printing-press at this time; the first Rumanian book printed on Rumanian territory appeared in 1640.

Unfortunately, however, the two rulers quarrelled between themselves and wasted their strength in fighting each other. But the important matter to note is that the national sentiment of independence, however obscured in the minds of the nobility, was still alive and pulsing in the Rumanian people. In 1679 another ruler of ability, Serban Cantacuzenus, came to the throne of Wallachia. He continued to encourage education, and in the last year of his reign a part of a Rumanian translation of the Bible was published. Serban was asked by the Turks to take part in the siege of Vienna, but he loaded his cannon with balls of hay and thus helped to save the city. He had a secret



A CHURCH IN BUKHAREST

understanding with the emperor, and even thought of attacking Constantinople, but this plan was never carried out, and Serban was poisoned by his relatives in 1688. At his death the boyars hastened to crown his nephew, Constantine Brancovano, before the Porte had had time to give the throne to a Greek adventurer. His reign is important as marking the first conscious relationship entered upon between Russia and the Danubian principalities.

THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN THE BALKANS

Russia was emerging as an accredited nationality from among the hordes of the East, and was now an empire fairly well organised, and so far assured of its national possessions as to begin to have national ambitions. Quite as early as the year 1674, when Alexis was on the throne, a petition joined in by both principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, had been presented to the emperor petitioning his protection against Ottoman oppression. Alexis, however, first demanded an oath of allegiance from the sovereign princes of both principalities, "after which he was quite prepared to be their champion." Such an oath was felt to be compromising, and the negotiations as a conse-

quence came to nothing. The student of this period of history must note above all things this first step towards a *rapprochement* between the two nationalities of Rumania and Russia, as he will have occasion to see that the whole complicated question called the "Eastern" derives its origin from this first petition. He will also be on his guard to note with what facility Russia contrives to get petitions presented to her. This facility has reached a much more fully developed stage since these early years; but foremost among the nations of Europe stands Russia in the matter of keeping an open ear towards the complaints of the oppressed and the downtrodden. This attitude it is which entitles Russia, and both its friends and its enemies, to speak now in sincerity, now in veiled reproach, of that empire as "holy" Russia.

This first attempt to enlist the services of Russia as protector having failed, we find that in 1688 the ruler of Wallachia, on the plea of Turkish oppression, petitioned Peter the Great for protection and redress. Much negotiation ensued and Russian agents were busily employed in arousing a pro-Russian sentiment among the suspicious nobility and such of the peasantry as feared Russian protection more than Turkish domination; but nothing effective resulted till, in 1711, a treaty of alliance was entered upon. The motives which actuated the contracting parties are not far to seek. The Rumanians eagerly wished to be independent of the Turk, more especially of his business agents, the plundering Greeks. On the other hand Peter the Great wished an extension of territory; and as a step towards the accomplishment of this wish, he desired to absorb the Rumanian kingdom as a prelude to the absorption of the Slav populations in the Balkans. Nor was the present day-dream of Russia without its germ in 1711. Constantinople was an inviting object, and it was not an unnatural ambition that the "frozen bear" of the North should wish to thaw his "members politic" on the genial shores and in the more genial waters of the Ægean Sea. Hence, on his being approached by Rumania in 1711, he entered into the spirit of the petition with the greatest heartiness.

Wallachia promised to provide Peter with an army of thirty thousand; and the Russians promised that the integrity of both thrones should be respected by Turk and Russian alike, and that the country should not be overrun by foreign settlers. Peter flooded both principalities with Russian soldiery, with the result that the patrons and the patronised began to quarrel. Much enthusiasm, however, was evoked in general, but neither Russian leadership nor Rumanian patriotism sufficed to preserve the allied forces against crushing defeat by the trained troops of the Ottoman power. Their great protector Peter had merely time to secure his personal safety and hurry back to his kingdom, to which Cantemir, the ruler of Moldavia, followed him with a large colony of Moldavian malcontents, while Brancovano, affording another illustration of the working of treachery, fell a victim to the sultan's sword.^a

FANARIOT RULE IN RUMANIA

In order to insure the fidelity of the two principalities the Porte took away the administration from native boyars; but instead of making two pashaliks of them it had them governed by Christian rayahs whom the divan chose among the "Greeks of the Fanar, who had long been the lowest and most corrupt servants of the Porte." It would have been impossible to find more abjection joined to more venality. Being slaves, they yet thought themselves

[1741-1756 A.D.]

descendants of Alexander; insolent and barbarous towards their subalterns, they begged a smile from their masters as if it had been a favour that was thus granted them.

The first Fanariot who governed Wallachia, Maurocordatos, paid for his elevation to that office by increasing the tribute to the Porte 500,000 piastres. His tyranny aroused against him all classes of society; he was deposed in 1741. His successor, Racovitza, increased the tribute still further. He remained in power only three years and gave way to Maurocordatos, who was reinstated in office. In 1748 Maurocordatos went to govern Moldavia, and was replaced by Gregory Ghika. "This prince," says a Rumanian historian, "like his predecessors and his successors of the same stamp, regarded the principality only as a conquered country where he had the right to pillage and enrich himself without thought for the poor inhabitants or for the rights of humanity."

Valets of the Turks, spies of the Russians, betraying the two governments in turn, solely occupied, *per fas et nefas*, in amassing treasures with which to buy from the divan their precarious authority, the Fanariots brought into the principalities servility, corruption, and a deficient moral sense. These princes, who trembled before a simple *tchoadar*, had energy only for doing evil; they wished to hide the infamy of their origin in a sea of blood: the *parvenus* turned into tyrants. Fearful lest indignation and despair might drive the Rumanians to revolt, they undertook the extermination of the Moldo-Wallachian nobility in order to deprive insurrection of its leaders. Almost all the boyars, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves on battlefields against the Turks, the Hungarians, or the Poles, fell under the executioner's axe or perished in exile. Titles of nobility put up at auction were sold to the dregs of the Fanar. In the place of the old aristocracy, which had been always ready to shed its blood for its country, there grew up a so-called nobility without honour or modesty, without faith or law; its god was the calf of gold; its device, Everything for money and by money.¹ Adventurers disguised as princes, low-born wretches with the dirt hardly wiped off them, decked out with the title of boyar; primates bastinated by the first Turks who came along, masters and lackeys, all had only one thought—to rob the country. Their domination weighed heavily upon Moldo-Wallachia, and if Rumania was not poisoned to the marrow, and brought into a condition where future growth was impossible, she owes it solely to the vigorous temperament of her people and to the spirit of vitality and resistance of the Latin race.

"The Wallachians in the time of Michael the Brave," says Cogolniceano,^p "refused to have Greeks even as simple employees in the government; the Wallachian of 1756 accepted with indifference either the refuse of the Fanar and of Albania, or bootmakers and oyster sellers; they suffered and kept silence."

They drained the cup to its dregs, but they conceived a rabid hatred against the Turks, who violated the rights assured to the principalities by ancient treaties; they fixed all their hopes upon the Russians, whom they had come to regard as their appointed liberators. One day Rumania would make the Porte pay dearly for the infamies it had allowed the Fanariots to perpetrate.^l

¹ The great boyars of the present day are for the most part of Greek, Gipsy, or Albanian race, and those who can trace their ancestry back for one hundred years are considered to be of ancient stock. It is just to say that the present generation rejects any connection with the Fanariots; it denies them and takes pride in being Rumanian.

RUSSIAN INTRIGUES

Although foiled in the first attempt to make the incorporation of Rumania into the Muscovite Empire a stepping-stone to the conquest of the southern Slavs, and eventually of the remains of the Grecian Empire, yet Russia did not abandon her policy of aggression. A general view of Europe and European alliances at this period is instructive. France, having as early as the middle of the fifteenth century agreed upon capitulations with Turkey, was on the whole an ally of the Porte. But then France herself, owing to western affairs, was most frequently an ineffective friend. At the opposite side of Europe there was the rising power of Russia. England and the central states of Europe were beginning very reasonably to be alarmed at the increasing aggressiveness of the Muscovite. Most European powers had representatives at Constantinople by the end of the seventeenth century. These urged upon Turkey what the sultan himself was of his own accord inclined to favour—the policy of using Central Europe, but especially the semi-barbarian races of the north, as a bulwark against Muscovite aggression.

Russia's attitude was persistent throughout, and consistently persistent. Where intrigue and bribery could not effect the object of emperor or empress, arms were resorted to, and after arms the art of astute treaty-making. The empress Anne, whilst resolved on acquiring the Turkish territories which excluded the Muscovites from the Black Sea, and whilst steadily making war against the Poles on her eastern and the Tatars on her southern border, never forgot the policy of a Rumanian conquest. Consequently she demanded that Moldavia and Wallachia be regarded as independent principalities, and that their independence be safeguarded by a Russian protectorate. This would have been the first step towards a Russian advance into the Balkan Peninsula, and, naturally, the Porte refused to accept these terms. The Russian field-marshal Münnich therefore invaded the country. He was suited neither by natural temperament nor by a knowledge of the people to conciliate the Rumanian population, and the cost of his armies and his own maintenance being a heavy charge, the people soon saw that a Muscovite "liberator" might be as harsh as a Greek governor, and from this period the student may date the rise of a strong anti-Russian party in Rumania. A treaty was concluded at Belgrade in 1739 which restored Moldavia to the Turkish Empire, and, generally speaking, left matters *in statu quo*.

The next attempt at aggression was made by Catherine II. After fertilising the national sentiment of Rumania and of the Greek Christians of the Balkans generally by a silent invasion of Russian emissaries, she made a desperate attempt upon the two principalities. In 1768 the Russians gained a great victory on the river Dniester, and the Moldavians and the Wallachians grovelled before the invading Muscovite. The town of Jassy surrendered gladly to the Russian commander Galitzin. Here, at the surrendering of the keys of the town in the cathedral, no flattery towards Catherine and her general was considered too fulsome, and the inhabitants promised under oath to "consider the enemies of the Russian army as those of Moldavia, and to behave in all things as the good and faithful slaves of her majesty."

* Austria immediately took alarm at the Russian success and refused to acknowledge the independence or Russian dependence of Rumania, or to permit the further advance of the Russian army. A peace was patched up in one of the most peculiar and important treaties which concern Eastern politics. This was the celebrated Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji, dated July 21st, 1774.^a

[1774-1821 A.D.]

The Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (July 21st, 1774)

By this treaty the Porte recognised the independence of the Crimea, of Budjak, and Kuban. Wallachia and Moldavia returned to their obedience to the Porte, but by a clause which has been disastrous to it the latter consented "that, whatever the circumstances in which the principalities and their sovereigns shall find themselves, the ministers and the court of Russia may intercede for them and win audience of the Porte." That put the principalities under the protectorate of the czars. Article 7 also gave a free field to the usurpation of the Russians by ceding to them the right to remonstrate in favour of the Christian religion and of its churches. It was this right that caused the war of 1854. "Since the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji," says Von Hammer,^h "Russia has been the oracle of diplomatic negotiations carried on at the Porte, the arbiter of peace or of war, the soul of the most important affairs of the empire."^l

Russo-Turkish Conventions

The history of the principalities after the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji might be summed up in an enumeration of the treaties which were made and broken, and which at successive times regulated the affairs of the country. Wallachia and Moldavia were occupied and reoccupied by Russian troops; the governors were changed and changed again by the Porte. In 1783 the Russians forced a hattî-sherîf from the sultan, which defined the status of the principalities more clearly. In 1792 the Peace of Jassy confirmed the privileges declared in the hattî-sherîf and fixed the Dniester as the Russian boundary. In 1802, after a period during which the country had been overrun by rebels and by Turkish troops, a new convention was signed between Turkey and Russia providing that the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia be appointed for seven years, and that they should not be removed without the acquiescence of the Russian envoy at Constantinople, who was permitted also to advise the governors of the principalities. Thus Russia's protective rights were formally recognised.

The Turks, however, violated this treaty by deposing the hospodar Ypsilanti, who had secretly supported the Servian revolution under Czerny (Kara George); and Russia, making this a pretext for war, again invaded the principalities. Peace was restored in 1812 by the Treaty of Bukharest, which fixed the Pruth as the boundary of the two empires. The czar abandoned Wallachia and Moldavia to the vengeance of the sultan, but kept Bessarabia and the mouths of the Danube. The loss of Bessarabia was a severe blow to the national sentiments of the people. They looked upon the Pruth as separating them from their friends and relatives on the other side, who had now become subjects of another empire. All that the Rumanians had gained by the wars carried on since 1711 had been the loss of Bukowina to the Austrians in 1771 and of Bessarabia to the Russians in 1812.

In spite of the apparent losses, however, there had been growing a sentiment of solidarity between the two sister countries which was eventually to unite them and enable them to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. The war of Greek independence, which broke out in 1821, was to overthrow the Fanariot system. Moldavia was persuaded by Ypsilanti, son of a former governor, to take up arms for the Greeks, while Wallachia, under its patriotic prince Vladimirescu, not only refused to join the Greeks but fought actively against them, preferring the rule of the Turks to theirs. Vladimirescu was murdered by

Ypsilanti's agents, while Ypsilanti was forced by the Turks to flee to Austria, where he was captured and died in prison. Turkish troops occupied the countries, but the sultan had been taught to suspect his Fanariot agents, and he now consented to appoint native rulers in the principalities.

Although freed from the hated Greek dominion, the new rulers found their patriotic schemes for reform very much hindered by Russia, whose influence was now supreme in the land. This influence was still further increased by the treaties of Akerman and of Adrianople, which placed the principalities wholly under the protection of Russia, although they still continued to pay tribute to the Porte. By the Treaty of Akerman, signed in 1826,^a the Sublime Porte solemnly engaged to observe all the treaties, privileges, and acts, on every occasion, in favour of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, contained in the Treaty of Bukharest, as also the hattî-sherîf of 1802, which enumerated these privileges. The hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be chosen, agreeably to ancient usage, by the boyars of those provinces respectively, subject to the consent and approbation of the Sublime Porte, the period of their enjoyment of power being in every instance seven years. No hospodar was to be dismissed from office without notification to the Russian ambassador; but if no cause of complaint had been stated by that power, he might be re-elected, after notification to the Russian ambassador, for a second term of seven years. The confiscated properties in the two provinces were to be restored to the former proprietors, and those implicated in the troubles of 1821 were to be permitted to return without being molested or disquieted in any particular. All taxes and impositions were to be remitted to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia for the period of two years, and entire freedom of commerce and exportation of the produce of their industry to any part of the world.^m

Two years later war again broke out between Russia and Turkey, and the principalities were invaded by Russian troops for the sixth time. The Treaty of Adrianople, signed in 1829 at the close of the war, confirmed the privileges granted to the sister countries in 1826, and made Russia practically ruler over them.^a It provided that the hospodars of these provinces should be elected for life, and not, as heretofore, for seven years; that the pashas and officers of the Porte in the adjoining provinces were not to be at liberty to intermingle in any respect in their concerns; that the middle of the Danube was to be the boundary between them to the junction of that river with the Pruth; and "the better to secure the future inviolability of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Sublime Porte engaged not to maintain any fortified post or any Mussulman establishment on the north of the Danube; that the towns situated on the left bank, including Giurgevo, should be restored to Wallachia, and their fortifications never restored; and all Mussulmans holding possessions on the left bank were to be bound to sell them to the natives in the space of eighteen months. The government of the hospodars was to be entirely independent of Turkey, and they were to be liberated from the quota of provisions they had hitherto been bound to furnish to Constantinople and the fortresses on the Danube. They were to be occupied by the Russian troops till the indemnity was fully paid up; for which ten years were allowed, and to be relieved of all tribute to the Porte during their occupation, and for two years after it had ceased."^m

For the internal administration of the countries, a constitution called the *réglement organique* was drawn up under Russian influence, and hence aiming at strengthening that influence. It was far from liberal in character, ignored all rights of the people—except the right of paying taxes—and conferred all

[1834-1849 A.D.]

privileges upon the boyars. On the ratification of this constitution by the Porte in 1834 the Russian army of occupation withdrew. The princes now appointed to rule in the principalities were wholly devoted to Russia and Russian interests; in Wallachia, Ghika was prince and ruled from 1834 to 1842. He was succeeded by Bibesco, who ruled till 1848. Michael Sturdza occupied the throne of Moldavia. The national spirit was, however, still alive in the people, who resented increasingly foreign tyranny. This sentiment was especially fostered by young Rumanians who received their education in France and returned home full of ideas of civil and political liberty. Schools were established in which the teaching was in the native Rumanian tongue. People began to be proud of their nationality, to take an interest in literature and the arts. Russia, becoming alarmed at this progressive movement, intro-



CHURCH OF ARGIS, BUKHAREST

duced reactionary measures and closed the national schools at Jassy and Bukharest, but the movement still went on until the eventful year 1848.^a

The reaction of the events of 1848 in France had been felt throughout Europe; everywhere oppressed people were rising to vindicate their nationality and their liberty. Everywhere thrones were tottering under the blows of revolutions. Wallachia and Moldavia did not remain behind; at the news of the insurrection at Vienna the whole country flew to arms. Prince Bibesco fled and a provisional government was established, which called to arms Bukowina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia and dreamed of forming a Rumanian empire. Omar Pasha invaded the principalities; immediately the Russians entered Moldavia (June 20th, 1848). The provisional government took to flight and sixty thousand Russians occupied Wallachia. At the moment when relations threatened to break off between the sultan and the czar, the Convention of Balta-Limani intervened (1849).^l

According to the terms of this treaty the sultan was to appoint the hospodars for Moldavia and Wallachia "in a way specially agreed upon for this time by the two courts, in order to confide the administration of these provinces to the most worthy candidate." The rulers were to be appointed for

seven years only, and the two powers reserved the right to decide what should be done at the expiration of that time. Russian and Ottoman troops were to be kept in the country to preserve order, and special commissaries were to be appointed from each government to aid the hospodars with their advice.

Thus the principalities were placed again under the old system of subjection, but the sentiment of nationality once aroused could not be so easily crushed, and events were taking shape throughout Europe which were to liberate the oppressed countries. The hospodars appointed in 1849, Gregoriu Ghika in Moldavia and Barbu Stirbeiu in Wallachia, encouraged popular ideas and introduced beneficial reforms. Then war broke out again in 1853; the principalities were occupied by Russian troops, which were followed by an Austrian army of occupation. The Crimean war, however, led to the Treaty of Paris, which marked the beginning of Rumanian freedom.

The Treaty of Paris removed the principalities from the protection of Russia and placed them under that of the contracting European powers generally, giving back to Moldavia a part of southern Bessarabia. A European commission was to be appointed to revise the laws with the aid of the national councils or divans which the Porte was to call together in each of the two countries. The suzerainty of the Porte was still recognised, although in matters of internal administration the principalities were allowed complete independence. In the same year the seven years' term of the hospodars appointed in agreement with the treaty of 1849 expired, and the question of the future organisation of the country caused great agitation.^a

THE UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

The question was whether the countries should remain separate or should unite; but this principal question, like every other among these politically immature peoples, was strongly mixed with personal and selfish interests. Although Moldavia objected at the start, in October, 1857, the divans of both principalities declared in favour of union into a neutral state, Rumania, under a hereditary dynasty. Since, however, the Porte vehemently opposed this plan, the powers did not recognise the decision. They tried instead (1858) to satisfy both parties by providing that Moldavia and Wallachia should each have its separate hospodar and divan; but that, in addition, they should have a chief court of justice in the name of the united principalities, and a common council consisting of sixteen members—this not to affect their vassalage to the Porte. But this artificial structure fell to pieces on the spot. The election of the boyar Alexander John Cuza as lifelong prince of Moldavia, on January 29th, 1859, and immediately afterwards as prince of Wallachia, actually realised the desired state of Rumania, and there was nothing for the impotent Porte to do but to accommodate itself to the accomplished fact.²

Prince Alexander Cuza was nothing more than a comparatively kind, somewhat frivolous person, who had taken Napoleon III as a model, and like him, only on a smaller stage, performed *coups d'état*, plebiscites, and other surprises. But in little Rumania, in which everything was close together, and where, besides, a large landholding nobility exercised a comparatively important influence, the play did not last so long as in France. A revolt of the boyars put an end to it on the night of February 23rd-24th, 1866. Cuza was arrested in his bed, was kept under arrest for a few days, and

[1866 A.D.]

then left the country, glad of the few savings which he had accumulated in the Bank of Old England during his principedom. He went to Vienna, then to Paris, very much pleased at being able to live as a deposed prince with no cares of state.

A provisional government, with General Golesco at the head, first took Cuza's place. This now looked about for a "proper" prince for Rumania, who was finally discovered in the person of Prince Karl Ludwig of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a brother of the Prince Leopold who in 1870 furnished the excuse for the war of Napoleon III against Prussia. By a plebiscite of April 20th he was almost unanimously chosen prince of Rumania, although he was doubtless wholly unknown to the good Wallachians. On May 13th



BUTCHER SHOP AT BUKHAREST

the legislative assembly confirmed the popular election, and on May 22nd, 1866, the new prince, Charles I, entered Bukharest amidst the customary jubilation of the populace. The Porte indeed protested against the choice of Prince Charles, and even assembled troops in Bulgaria; but since the other powers, whose attention in 1866 was occupied with much weightier matters, recognised the prince, the Porte was obliged to do the same.^b

THE INDEPENDENT KINGDOM

After 1866 Rumania had little by little become accustomed to consider the suzerainty of the Porte as purely nominal; she had protested against the text of the Ottoman constitution which proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the empire, including the privileged provinces, and which applied the name of Ottoman to all the subjects of the Porte, irrespective of race or religion. Diplomacy took no notice of their protests, and England declared that she considered Rumania as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. The Rumanians then decided to shake off once for all the yoke which Europe

persisted in inflicting upon them. On the 16th of April, 1877, a secret treaty signed with Russia placed all the resources of the principality at the disposal of the Muscovite troops, without, however, dragging the country into action. Turkey denounced to the powers signatory to the Treaty of Paris the flagrant violation committed by Rumania, and demanded the intervention of Europe, which refused to act as policeman for the Porte. The bombardment of Kalafat by Turkish monitors provoked a declaration of war by Rumania, and on May 14th she proclaimed herself independent; sixty thousand Rumanians went to form the right wing of the Russian army.¹

The Russians at first considered themselves perfectly competent to deal with the Turks alone, and treated the Rumanian offers of active assistance with almost offensive indifference; all that they wanted of Rumania was the right to march troops across her territory. Before long, however, they were forced to change their attitude, and after having been defeated once at Plevna they asked Prince Charles to occupy Nikopoli. This he refused to do until he had received the assurance that the Rumanian army should preserve its identity. After the second defeat at Plevna the Russians asked for his active co-operation on his own terms, and eventually he was given the command of all the Russian troops before Plevna. In the third attack the Rumanian army covered itself with glory and captured the almost impregnable Grivitza redoubt (September 11th, 1877). Plevna itself did not surrender until December 10th, after having been reduced by a blockade. In the treaties, however, which followed the war, Russia showed herself wholly unappreciative of the sacrifices the Rumanians had made.^a

Indeed, Russia's feeling was that, having helped the Balkan states to independence by her arms, these states would out of gratitude willingly become her vassals. That they did not show the slightest inclination to do so, but strove rather for real national independence, appeared, therefore, in the eyes of the Russians as base ingratitude; and the Pan-Slavic party felt itself so much the more called upon to obtain through its intrigues what could not be reached by open means. With the exception of distant Montenegro, which willingly acknowledged itself a vassal of Russia, the Balkan states remained the favourite field for Pan-Slavic intrigues, which usually found a very effective backing in Russian diplomacy. Of all the states, Rumania had had to put up with the worst treatment. As thanks for the aid it had rendered the hard-pressed Russians at Plevna, it was forced to acquiesce in the exchange of Dobrudscha for Bessarabia; even the possession of Arab Tabia, situated near Silistria and important for the connection with Dobrudscha, was disputed by Russia, who claimed it for Bulgaria, although the international commission decided in favour of Rumania. There was no lack of those who dreamed of a great Rumania which was to include their Austrian countrymen likewise, but when Minister Bratiano went to Berlin at the time of the congress, Bismarck said to him, "If you want peace, you can find a support in us; but if you want war, you must look elsewhere." The advice was taken to heart, and of all the Balkan states Rumania has had comparatively the quietest and most prosperous development. The equal rights given to all religious confessions, as provided in the Treaty of Berlin, presented a momentous question to the country; because here it involved the emancipation of the Jews, who threatened the land with the economic danger of a Jewish overflow, since a large part of the estates of the nobles were mortgaged to Jews. This difficulty was avoided by a law making the naturalisation of foreigners difficult. On March 26th, 1881, both chambers voted to elevate Rumania to a kingdom.ⁿ

[1877-1881 A.D.]

The independence of Rumania was not formally recognised by the European powers until 1880, owing to the influence of Bismarck, who made the purchase of railways from German capitalists one of the conditions for such a recognition. In the next year the powers recognised the existence of Rumania as a kingdom. The coronation ceremony of the new king took place at Bukharest amidst much public rejoicing. Prince Charles had made himself very popular with his people by his military qualities and by his sincere devotion to the best interests of the country. His marriage also had done much to assure the royal family a place in the affections of the Rumanians. In 1869, after a romantic courtship of a few hours, Prince Charles had married Princess Elizabeth of Wied. The queen, better known by her pen-name of Carmen Sylva, is described by Laveleye^o as being "a woman superior to ordinary humanity, detached from every material interest, and living in the ideal; she is a lover of nature, poetry, music, painting, and all the arts, and is wholly devoted to noble causes, to Rumania, to the Rumanian people, above all to the poor and unfortunate. She makes an effort to preserve the domestic industries. In summer, when she is at her romantic château of Pelesh, near Sinaia, at the foot of the Carpathians, she and her maids of honour wear the costume of the Rumanian women, which have the beautiful straight folds of antique draperies and which are adorned with exquisite embroidery. Under her protection a society has been founded to make the local industry known." A few years ago in some of the capitals of Europe there was an exhibition of Rumanian national and historical costumes, consisting of a large number of dolls made by the queen and her women.

Various questions of foreign and domestic policy and frequent changes of ministries have kept the country in a state of political agitation. The question of the Dobrudscha frontier, towards Russia, was not settled until 1885. The Danube question caused some unpleasantness with Austria, especially in 1881, and Russia and Austria were both irritated by Rumania's construction of fortifications, which act they considered hostile to themselves; warmer relations with Austria, however, were brought about by a visit of King Charles to Vienna in 1883. Not until 1898 did a royal visit to Russia mark a reconciliation with that country, with which relations had been strained ever since Rumania had been forced to give up Bessarabia in 1878.

The question of peasant proprietorship was one of great importance to the country. The emancipation of the peasants in 1864 at first made the position of that class much worse than it had been.^a Formerly the rural class included the peasants, small proprietors, called *mocheneni* in Wallachia and *résechi* in Moldavia—who lived and cultivated the soil in family communities—and peasants subject to statute labour, who cultivated the lands of the state, of the convents, and of private owners, giving in return a certain number of days labour on the manorial land and a tithe of the raw produce. The manorial lord gave them in return a plot of ground proportionate to the number of animals they owned. They had also the rights of pasturage and of getting wood from the forests, which were originally communal property, but had passed little by little into the hands of the manorial lord.

The law of emancipation gave them a third of the soil—free lots of from three to six hectares (1 hectare = $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres)—in return for an indemnity of about 120 francs per hectare payable by the state to the proprietor and reimbursable by the peasants in fifteen annual instalments. More than four hundred thousand families thus became proprietors, but the extent of their land, which increased formerly in proportion to their resources, was now strictly limited, and, with their system of extensive culture, was insufficient.

They were thus obliged to work on the latifundia, remaining in the hands of the large proprietors, in return for a too small part of the produce. In consequence they were poor.^o Laws have been made to ameliorate this state of things, and the condition of the peasants to-day is much improved.

In the year 1889 Prince Ferdinand, a nephew of King Charles, received the title Prince of Rumania and was recognised as heir to the throne. In 1893 he was married to the princess Maria, a daughter of the duke of Coburg and a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. His children, Prince Carol—born in October, 1893—and the princesses Elizabeth and Maria, have been brought up in the orthodox, that is, the Greek faith.^a

The legislative body is composed of two chambers, elected according to a complicated arrangement which is calculated to favour chiefly the interests of wealth. With the exception of servants working for wages, all Rumanians above twenty-one years of age and paying to the state any sort of a tax are inscribed on the electoral lists; but they are divided into four colleges, the votive powers of which differ singularly. The senate represents principally the great land property. The heir to the throne, the metropolitans, and the diocesan bishops are by right members of the senate. The term of office for members of the legislature is four years. At the end of every period the whole representative body is renewed; whereas the senators, elected for eight years, draw lots to see which member of every district shall present himself to the votes of the electors.

According to the letter of the constitution the Rumanians enjoy all the liberties formulated in documents of that nature. The liberty of association and union is affirmed; the press is not restricted; the town councils are elected, also the chief magistrates; only in communities of more than one thousand families has the prince the right of direct intervention in the choice of the municipal authorities. The penalty of death is abolished except in time of war. Instruction is gratuitous, and obligatory in the communities where there are schools. Finally, all cults are free, but the "orthodox religion of the East" is declared to be the dominant religion, and Christians only may be naturalised Rumanians. The Rumanian army is largely organised on the Prussian model. All citizens are held for service from the age of twenty to thirty-six; eight years in the active army and in the reserve of the active army, eight years in the militia and the reserve of the militia. From the age of thirty-six to fifty the inhabitants are registered in the national guard.^e

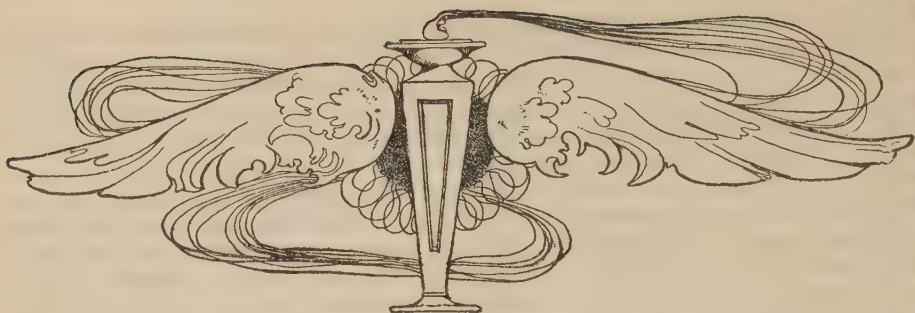
The Jewish question has always been a thorn in the side of Rumania. When the new constitution was drawn up in 1866, one of its original provisions was that "religious belief shall be no obstacle to naturalisation in Rumania." This excited so much indignation in the country that serious rioting took place at Bukharest, and the synagogue recently erected there was burned to the ground (though subsequently rebuilt at the expense of Prince Charles). The obnoxious proposition was withdrawn, and the following article was substituted, "Only Christians can become citizens of Rumania." The bitter feeling against the Jews in Rumania is not so much due to religious fanaticism as to personal interest, and to the not ungrounded fear that, if given political and other rights, they will gradually possess themselves of the soil and oust the original proprietors of the country. In many towns in northern Moldavia the Jews are in a majority, and their total numbers in the united provinces are about three hundred thousand, *i.e.*, about one-twentieth of the entire population, a larger ratio than exists in any other country in the world. In most places they have the monopoly of the wine and spirit shops, and retail trade generally; and as they are always willing,

[1889-1908 A.D.]

like most of their race, to advance money on usury, and, moreover, are more intelligent and better educated than the ordinary peasant, there is little doubt that in a country where the large landowners are proverbially extravagant and reckless, and the peasant proprietors poor and needy, the soil would soon fall into the hands of the Jews were it not for the stringent laws which prevent all foreigners (including therein all non-naturalised Jews) from owning land outside the towns. When, in addition, it is considered that the Moldavian Jews, who are mostly of Polish and Russian origin, speak a foreign language, wear a distinguishing dress, and keep themselves aloof from their neighbours, the antipathy in which they are held by the Rumanians generally may be understood, although, perhaps, not justified. The fact, however, that no attempt has ever been made to interfere with their religion, or religious practices and customs, is a proof that this antagonism has nothing to do with religious fanaticism.^r

In March, 1905, provoked by the exactions and tyranny of their landlords, the peasantry of upper Moldavia rose in revolt and endeavoured to drive out the Jewish lessees of the extensive holdings of absentee landlords and seize the lands for themselves. Many people were killed, and a vast amount of property was destroyed. More than a hundred thousand troops are reported to have been called out, and a number of bloody conflicts occurred before the movement was suppressed. As a result of the rebellion, the liberal ministry resigned and was succeeded by a conservative one under M. Sturdza. A series of important agrarian reforms were announced, and the June elections gave the new premier a large majority in both houses and placed him in a position to carry out his programme.^a





CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF BULGARIA

EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF BULGARIA

THE oldest inhabitants of the present Bulgarian lands belonged to the Thraco-Illyrian family of Indo-Germans, and were divided into two branches, an eastern and a western, the Thracian and the Illyrian. The eastern branch included the Thracians and perhaps the Macedonians; it is not impossible that the Pelasgi may have been related to them. The western branch was formed by the Illyrians and the Epirots. Thracians and Illyrians stood to each other in somewhat the same relationship as Slavs to Lithuanians or Germans to Scandinavians.

The Thracians have now wholly disappeared; their Romanised descendants are the Rumunea. Of the Illyrians and Epirots only the wild Albanians, or Arnauts, are still in existence. Next to the Basques the Albanians are the oldest people in Europe. As to the character and customs of the Thracians, the oldest and most important witness is Herodotus. "The Thracian people is, at least next to the Hindus, the most numerous of all peoples. And if they had one master or held together in unity, they would be by far the most powerful of all people, in my opinion. But since it is in no way possible that that should ever happen, they are exceedingly weak."

The only attempt to unite the separate Thracian districts into one kingdom was made by a tribe called the Odrysæ. Their prince, Teres, in 450 B.C. united most of the tribes into one state, which he left to his son Sitalees, well known from Grecian history. His successor ruled the whole land from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, from the Bosphorus to the Strymon. But after his death the empire fell in pieces. King Philip II of Macedonia conquered the Illyrians and Thracians after sanguinary battles. At the beginning of the third century B.C. the Celts appeared in what is now Bosnia and completely devastated and plundered the peninsula. On the southern slope of the Balkans they established a powerful community with its capital Tyle, whence for a whole century they kept all their neighbours in continual terror.

The Romans appeared on the peninsula during the Second Punic War. It took them a century and a half to bring the Thraco-Illyrian lands into their power; much blood was shed before the Thracians bowed under the

[29 B.C.-650 A.D.]

Roman yoke. The land between the Hermes and the Danube became a Roman province with the name *Mœsia* (29 B.C.). Thracia was not organised as a province until under Emperor Tiberius (in 26 A.D.).

We have seen that when Aurelian abandoned Dacia, which had been conquered by Trajan, he established a new colony in *Mœsia*. The Romans founded many other colonies in the land, and the native element gave way before the foreign. There is an abundant amount of material on the peninsula to give an idea of the civil life in *Mœsia*, Thracia, Macedonia, and Illyria under Roman dominion; ruins of large towns, traces of army roads, countless inscriptions, and an abundance of archæological remains testify to the advance of native industry and commerce.

A tremendous change was accomplished upon the whole Balkan Peninsula by the immigration of the Slavs. There are different opinions as to when and how this came about. The Bulgarian historian Drinov^h claims that the colonisation did not take place all at once, but gradually, in the course of about three hundred years, and that it began in the third century, that is, before the great migration of peoples, and came to an end in the seventh century. This view appears to be the correct one. In the fifth century the Slavs were already a comparatively numerous and influential people, although their settlements to all appearances were still few.

CUSTOMS OF SLAVS AND BULGARS

Concerning the tribes which were settled on the Balkan Peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries, we have the contemporary accounts of the Grecians, Procopius and Mauricius, and of the Syrian, John of Ephesus. All the Slavs, according to Procopius, were tall, with strongly built bodies. Their hair was neither very light nor wholly dark, but rather blond. Among their present descendants black hair is not unusual. Mauricius describes the natural character of the old Slavs as free from cruelty and trickery. He highly praises their hospitality. Among the southern and northern Slavs the family is the basis of the life of the states and of the communities.

The state system of the Slavs was democratically organised. Procopius relates that they "are not ruled by one man, but from the most ancient times have been under a democracy. In favourable and unfavourable situations all their affairs are placed before a common council." Several families living in one settlement formed a stem; the district occupied by one stem was called a *Zupa*. The rule of a single person was obnoxious to the Slavs. "Rulers they cannot endure, and live together in disunion," says Mauricius. The Byzantines relate of the Slavs of the sixth century that they lived in miserable huts far from each other, which they built in the forests, by the side of rivers, swamps, and lakes. Their dearest possessions they hid under the earth. They usually fought on foot, almost naked, and armed with a firm black shield; many fought even without a shield.

The earliest information concerning their religion is found in Procopius: "They recognise one god, the creator of the lightning, as the only lord of all things, and they offer to him oxen and various animals in sacrifice"; and further: "They worship also rivers as well as nymphs, and other divine beings, to all of whom they make offerings and from whom they seek auguries." The Slav prayed to the gods in open nature, in groves, under trees, on cliffs and hills. The sacrifice was attended with singing. The changes in the seasons, which meant so much to an agricultural people, they celebrated with

festive holidays, which have been preserved on the peninsula through the Middle Ages down to the present day.

As to their cosmogony, the Slavs were universally of the opinion that the earth had originated in the sand of the sea, which God brought up from the depths and scattered over the surface of the water. They thus imagined the earth to be floating on the surface of the sea. Concerning the customs and the life of the old Bulgars numerous accounts have been preserved, many by the Byzantines and Arabs.

The chief seats of the Bulgars in Mœsia were probably in the present Dobrukscha and on the shores of the Pontus. Thence, shortly after their arrival, they had moved to the Slavic Severans. Until the tenth century the central point of the Bulgarian kingdom was in the region of the Kamtchik river, and on the plains of Dobrukscha. The settlements of the reigning Ottomans are still thickest in those regions to-day. All the expeditions of the Byzantines in the eighth and ninth centuries were not westwards towards Sofia by way of Philippopolis, but towards the mouth of the Danube and the region about Varna.

The old Bulgars lived in polygamy, or had at least two wives apiece. As a dowry the bride had gold, silver, cattle, horses, etc. Concerning the dress, it is reported that men and women alike wore wide trousers, and that the women veiled their faces like Mohammedan women. The men shaved off the hair of their heads and, according to the oriental custom, wore a turban, which was not taken off in the temple. Their food consisted principally of meat, but they ate only that of young animals. If anyone became ill they sought to cure him by superstitious rites. Ribbons were put around the neck of the diseased person, or little stones were given him for medicine. According to the accounts of the Arabs, the dead bodies of aristocrats were either burned together with their attendants, or else laid away in a mound in which also the servants and wives of the deceased were placed and left to smother.

Their justice was barbaric. If anyone was seized for theft or robbery, and did not wish meekly to acknowledge the deed of which he was accused, the judge beat him upon the head or pricked him in the hips with iron points until he confessed. Executions were a common form of punishment. Not only did the rebellious nobles who were overpowered lose their lives and their property, but also their children and relatives were put to death. Court etiquette had an Asiatic character. The prince ate at a special table; not even his wife might keep him company. The courtiers ate at a certain distance from the prince, sitting around him on stools or squatting on the floor. Human skulls were used as drinking goblets. The left was the side of honour. On the conclusion of treaties the oath was taken on a bare sword, and at the same time dogs were cut in two.

The ancient Bulgars lived in war and for war; they were a wild people. Their frontiers were guarded by many stations, and no one, whether free or slave, might leave the country under pain of severe punishment. If anyone did escape, the sentinels lost their lives. According to Arabic accounts, a thorny barrier with apertures surrounded the whole land; the single villages, however, were not walled in. A horse-tail was used as a war standard, like the Turkish *bunchuk*. Fighting was not allowed every day. On certain unlucky days it was deemed advisable to avoid battle. Before marching to an encounter the chiefs sent one of the most faithful and intelligent men to examine all the weapons and horses. Alas for him who was found lacking in anything! He was at once punished by death. Before beginning a battle

[679-700 A.D.]

they had recourse to incantations, games, songs, and auguries. Whoever deserted in battle was barbarously punished; the same fate befell him who refused obedience to his commander.

According to the Arabian Masudi (956) the old Bulgars had neither gold nor silver coins; everything was paid for with oxen and sheep. When there was peace with the Greeks, they sold Slav boys and girls into slavery at Constantinople. The ancient Bulgarian state had an aristocratic organisation. The prince was called *chan*. Besides the prince, the highest power was in the hands of a council of six aristocrats who were called *joyers* (nobles). Such were the customs of the Bulgars when, under Asparuch, they settled in Mœsia in 679. What a difference between this people and the old Slavs of the peninsula of the sixth and seventh centuries as Procopius and Mauricius describe them—what a difference between the Bulgars of Asparuch and the Slavs who now bear the name of Bulgarians!

Concerning the relation of the old Mœsian Slavs to their Bulgarian masters but little information has come to light. It appears, however, that the Bulgarian element had only a slight influence on the character and customs of the Slavic people. The barbarian immigrants learned from the already civilised Slavs, rather than the Slavs from the Bulgars. The Bulgarian princes lived on terms of friendship with the Slavic chiefs. The official positions were open to both. Crum feasted in the company of Slavic *boyars*. In 812 one of the Bulgarian ambassadors bore the Slavic name Draguin, and by the middle of the ninth century Slavic names occur among the members of the reigning family. The welding of the ruling people, which was unimportant as to numbers, with their Slav subjects must have taken place rapidly.

The ancestors of the present Bulgarians are consequently not those small companies of the Bulgars of Asparuch which took possession of Mœsia on the Danube in 679, but the Slavs who in the period from the third to the seventh century settled in Mœsia, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly—indeed, in almost every part of the peninsula. The blood of the Finnish Bulgars, which flowed mostly in the veins of the noble families, seems now to have long since ceased.

It took about two hundred and fifty years to weld together the ruling with the subject people. The governing people, the Finnish Bulgars, after they had united the Slavic tribes into one state, lost their language and customs, but gave their name as an inheritance to the Slavic districts subject to them. The conquered people, the Slavs, absorbed the ruling race, which spoke a different language but lost its ancient name. And thus all who lived in the same state are called by the same name—Bulgarians. The Old-Bulgarian, a Finnish language, had no influence on the Slavonic. The German Franks and Lombards stood in a similar relation to the Romans in Gaul and in the present Lombardy. The name of the state was, and is, stronger than the name of the people.

Concerning the ancient history of the Bulgars, before their arrival in the Balkan Peninsula, we possess two accounts, a native and a Greek. The former is as interesting as it is obscure. Its text is Slavic, but interspersed with hitherto unexplained words from the wholly forgotten language of the non-Slavic Bulgars. It contains an enumeration of the Bulgarian princes from earliest times to the year 765. It appears to have been originally written with Greek letters; later it was transposed into Slavic characters. The Grecian account is found in the chronicle of the patriarch Nicephorus (815) of Constantinople. The two accounts contain few harmonising statements. The former begins with the reign of two princes, who appear to have

reached a regular biblical age—one of them having ruled for three hundred, the other for one hundred and fifty years. According to this chronicle, five princes ruled during the five hundred and fifteen years from 164-679 A.D.^b

Asparuch, who, as we have seen, first led the Bulgars across the Danube, reigned until about 700. His successor, Tervel, entered into an alliance with the Byzantines and aided them when Constantinople was besieged by the Arabs in 719. From the death of Asparuch until the end of the eighth century nearly a dozen rulers occupied the throne of Bulgaria at different times, until at the beginning of the ninth century a really great ruler reigned.^a

CRUM (802-815 A.D.)

In 802 there ascended the throne the most powerful of the Bulgarian princes, the fierce Crum, a tireless and unconquerable warrior. When he took over the empire it reached from the Balkans to the Transylvanian Carpathians. Crum conquered a large part of east Hungary and the Byzantine provinces up to Constantinople. In Hungary at that time Charlemagne, after fierce battles, had conquered the weakened kingdom of the Avars (796). All the land up to the Danube was under the dominion of the Franks.



A. BULGARIAN MONASTERY

During the reign of Nicephorus, in 809, the Bulgarians appeared in the vicinity of the Strymon and after a terrible massacre seized Sofia, which till then had been in Grecian hands. One expedition of Nicephorus undertaken in revenge had no very creditable outcome. After

two years spent in preparation Nicephorus again broke into Bulgaria at the head of a large army, plundered the land for three days, burned Crum's residence, and proudly refused all overtures of peace. It was not granted him, however, to return home. Crum blockaded all the passes of the Balkans. Nicephorus found himself so surrounded and shut in that he exclaimed: "Let no one hope to escape the danger; we should need to be birds to do so!" The massacre began on the morning of July 26th, 811. The whole Byzantine army was destroyed. No prisoners were made. The victorious Bulgarian prince stuck the head of the unfortunate Nicephorus on a lance and left it on view for several days; then he made the skull into a goblet mounted with silver and out of it drank at banquets the health of Slavic *boyars*.

After the battle Crum broke into Thrace and Macedonia, and besieged Constantinople. But soon seeing the inadvisability of the siege, he demanded as conditions of peace a yearly tribute, a quantity of gala garments, and a certain number of beautiful girls. During a personal interview with the emperor he narrowly escaped assassination through the treachery of the Greeks. In revenge he laid waste the whole country surrounding Constantinople as far as the Hellespont. Countless prisoners were dragged from

[815-863 A.D.]

Thrace into the trans-Danubian Bulgaria, among them being the boy Basil, the son of a Slavic peasant, the future emperor. Crum prepared a second expedition against Constantinople, but died suddenly on April 13th, 815—like Attila, of apoplexy.

Crum was succeeded by Cok or by Dukum and Diceng. In 820 Omortag came to the throne. He abandoned Crum's designs upon Constantinople, and concluded an armistice with Emperor Leo for thirty years, in order to be able to direct his attention to the west. A Bulgarian army sailed up the Drave, took possession of Pannonia, and placed Bulgarian magistrates over the Slavs. But this dominion was of short duration. Only Syrmia, in the corner between the mouths of the Save and Drave, as well as East Hungary, remained under Bulgarian rule till the coming of the Magyars. Omortag's name has been preserved on a remarkable column discovered in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Tirnova in 1858.

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE LAND

When the Bulgarians settled in Moesia among the Slavs, Christianity was not unknown in the land; the Russian historian Golubinski even believes that they found there churches and clergy, although in small numbers. Crum filled his land with Christian captives, among them bishops and priests, who were not afraid to preach the gospel of Christ to the heathen. Omortag, when he saw the rapid spread of Christianity, and realised the danger arising therefrom, desired to stop the course of things by use of force. Manuel, the bishop of Adrianople, was killed, together with three other bishops and three hundred and seventy-four captives. But the persecution only aroused the zeal of the preachers. Omortag was soon obliged to give back all captives to the Byzantines.

It was not, however, until the reign of Boris, who ascended the throne in 852, that Christianity attained formal recognition in Bulgaria. This was largely the work of two men who by their personal efforts brought about a great change in the condition of the Slavs. It was they who introduced the Slavs among the civilised peoples of Europe, inasmuch as they gave them a writing, literature, and liturgy in the mother tongue. The brothers Constantine and Methodius were born in Thessalonica, and it is very probable that they were descended from a Slavic family. Constantine (born 827) was sent to Constantinople at the age of fourteen to be educated there, together with the young Michael III, under the guidance of the future patriarch Photius. Even then his inclination for solitude and his modest bearing manifested themselves. Consequently the ecclesiastical profession attracted him most and he chose that as his life-work. In 851 he was intrusted with an embassy to the empire of the caliphs on account of his knowledge of oriental languages.

Methodius was a man of the world. On account of his influence in the vicinity of Thessalonica, the emperor intrusted to him the government of a Slavic principality; but after a few years Methodius left the world and became a monk in the monastery of Olympus. There his brother sought him out and from that time forward they did not separate. In 863 they began their activity in Moravia by teaching the word of God in the Slavic tongue. The Christian faith spread rapidly among the Slavs of Pannonia and Moravia at the same time that Boris was cultivating relations with the Franks.

Boris realised that Christianity was indispensable if he wanted to maintain his kingdom among powerful Christian neighbours—Franks, Moravians, and

Byzantines. The Slavs of Thrace and Macedonia had already for the most part thrown off heathendom, and even in Boris' own realm Christianity had begun to strike deep roots ever since the time of Crum. Boris accepted Christianity for political reasons, just as the Russian Vladimir and the Magyar Stephen did later. During a great famine in his own land Boris began a war with Emperor Michael III. After a few successes he proffered the hand of peace and used this opportunity to receive Christianity from Byzantium. The ceremony of baptism took place on the same spot as the peace negotiations. The emperor stood as godfather, and Boris, upon becoming a Christian, received the name of Michael.

On his return from the campaign Boris lost no time in leading all his dependents to the new faith, but he met with energetic opposition among the boyars who had remained true to pagan beliefs. They raised a revolt among the people and attempted to overthrow Boris in order to place a pagan on the throne. The revolt ended in their complete discomfiture. Boris had the rebellious boyars put to death with their wives and children, fifty-two persons in number. Whole families were thus exterminated by the unworthy deed of this newly converted Christian. The common people who had joined the rebels were allowed to go unpunished.

Not long after his conversion Boris withdrew from the Greeks and entered into negotiations with the pope. He began to be anxious for the ecclesiastical independence of his land, since the Greeks were not willing to give the Bulgarians even a bishop of their own. In August, eight hundred and sixty-six Bulgarian envoys appeared in Rome before Pope Nicholas I. They brought their message in the form of one hundred and six questions as to how they should have to order their lives as Christians. Some of these questions were extremely naïve, such as whether or not it would be permitted them in future to wear trousers. One important question was whether they did not have the right to receive a patriarch, to which the pope avoided a direct answer by saying that he would first send two bishops to convince himself of the condition of the country.^b

Nicholas, however, and his successor, Adrian II, failed to keep the advantage which the Roman church seemed to have gained. They refused to appoint an archbishop desired by Boris and showed generally an unconciliatory spirit, so that Boris, whose patience was soon exhausted, sent to the council of 869 to ask whether Bulgaria belonged under the pope or under the patriarch of Constantinople. The influence of the papal legates could not prevent the oriental fathers from declaring in favour of the latter, and thus this monotonous question, which was so important for the history of the country, was decided. An archbishop was sent to Bulgaria from Constantinople, ten new bishoprics were founded, and the Roman clergy left the country.^a

Friendly relations grew up between Constantinople and the Bulgarians, and Boris' son Simeon was sent to be educated at Constantinople, where he learned as a child to know the works of Demosthenes and Aristotle, which won for him the title of Half Greek. Boris after reigning thirty-six years laid down his crown in 888 and retired to a cloister. His oldest son, Vladimir, succeeded him upon the throne, but after four years the aged Boris was obliged by the mismanagement of his son to leave the cloister, dethrone Vladimir by force, and to give the throne to the younger son, Simeon. Michael Boris died May 2nd, 907. His picture on a gold background is in a manuscript of the thirteenth century in a library at Moscow. With Boris begins the series of national saints.

[893-911 A.D.]

THE FIRST BULGARIAN EMPIRE (893-1018 A.D.)

Simeon (893-927), the son of Boris, is the most important of all the rulers over the Bulgarian people. By his martial deeds he brought the Byzantine Empire to the verge of destruction. The adoption of the imperial title and the foundation of the Bulgarian patriarchate, by which he placed his throne on an equality with that of Constantinople, were the introductory steps to the establishment of a new Greco-Slavic empire on the ruins of the monarchy of Constantine the Great. To his martial fame he joined the brilliance of a creative mind. Old-Slavic literature, then budding, counts his name among its authors.

With Simeon's accession to the throne the peace which Boris had kept with the Byzantines came to an end and gave way to a bitter struggle for the existence or non-existence of the empire of Constantinople, which with rare interruptions lasted for fully thirty years. The direct cause was furnished by a commercial question, doubtless an unusual event at that time. When Simeon could not effect a settlement peaceably, he declared war, defeated the Byzantine army, and sent the prisoners home with their noses cut off. Thereupon Emperor Leo called in the aid of the Magyars. Simeon had to retreat into his fortifications while the enemy devastated his land as far as Preslav (893). But when the Magyars went home the Bulgarians followed them to their steppes and defeated them there.

Soon afterwards Simeon again conquered the Greeks near Adrianople. In order to put an end to their alliances with the Magyars forever, he, in conjunction with the Petchenegs living on the Dnieper, fell upon the families of the Magyars while the latter were fighting in Pannonia, and either killed them or took them captive. From the battle near Adrianople to the death of Leo (911) the peace between Bulgarians and Greeks was not disturbed. In this interval of quiet, literature, in which Simeon took much pleasure, could develop unhindered. Bishop Constantine, Pope Gregory, John the exarch, and other writers raised it in the space of a short half century to such a height that in the field of church literature it did not stand much below the Latin and Greek. His contemporaries used to compare Simeon to King Ptolemy of Egypt. But the tendency of his learning and the art of his education were foreign to the Bulgarians, and did not succeed in warming either the heart or the fancy of the people. The period of Simeon, the golden age of Bulgarian literature, has no poetry. From that time Byzantinism began to find its way among the Slavs; the Bulgarians transplanted it to Servia and Russia.

Simeon's residence was in Preslav, in a beautiful mountainous district; at present a village occupies the spot, called by the Turks Eski-Stamboul (Old-Stamboul), surrounded by extensive ruins. John the exarch describes the impression which Preslav in its prime made upon a stranger: "When he who came from far enters the outer court of the princely residence, he will be astonished, and when he approaches the gates he will question in amazement. And when he crosses the threshold, he sees buildings on both sides, ornamented with stones and covered with different sorts of woods. And when he goes further into the court, he sees lofty palaces and churches with countless stones, woods, and frescoes, their interior inlaid with marble and copper, silver and gold, to such an extent that he does not know with what to compare it, because in his own land he has never seen the like, but only poor huts of straw. Wholly beside himself he will sink down in bewilderment.

But if by chance he catches sight of the prince, sitting in a robe embroidered with pearls, with a chain of coins about his neck, with bracelets on his arms, girded with a purple girdle and with a golden sword at his side, and sees his boyars sitting on each side of him in golden chains, girdles, and bracelets, then, if anyone on his return home asks him, 'What hast thou seen there?' he will answer, 'I know not how to describe it. Only your own eyes would be able to comprehend such magnificence.' " Now there is nothing left of all this splendour but a few stones.

In 912 a decided change took place in Simeon's reign. Emperor Leo was dead. His successor, Alexander, frivolously insulted the Bulgarian envoys who had come to renew the terms of peace. But he died soon, and was followed by Constantine VII, at that time a child of seven. No one in Constantinople wanted war, but Simeon's anger could no longer be assuaged. In 913 the Bulgarians appeared under the walls of the world city on the Bosphorus. In the following year Simeon held Adrianople for a time. After three years' preparation the Byzantine army, followed by a fleet, proceeded along the coast of the Black Sea to the Bulgarian frontier. In August, 917, a battle was fought in sight of the Balkans, which ended in the destruction of the Byzantines. Although Simeon might have marched against Constantinople, he contented himself with a blockade. Besides Constantinople and a few coast strips nearly everything was in his power. The boundaries of the Bulgarian realm extended at that time from Menembria on the Black Sea, past Adrianople, to Mount Rhodope. In the south the boundary went from Olympus to the mouth of the Kalama opposite Corfu, from sea to sea. The Albanian coast with a few exceptions was ruled by Simeon as far as the Drin. Towards Servia the Bulgarian border was formed by the Drin, the White Drin, and the Ibas; from there it reached to the Save. Belgrade was under Bulgarian dominion. Beyond the Danube, before the Magyar invasion, Wallachia and perhaps also parts of Hungary and Transylvania seem to have belonged to Bulgaria.

The ruler of such a monarchy could not be satisfied with the simple title Prince, which Boris and his predecessors had borne, but took the imperial title Czar of the Bulgarians and Ruler of the Greeks. Since an emperor could not be imagined without a patriarch at his side, the archbishopric of Bulgaria was elevated to a patriarchate. Simeon received the imperial crown from Rome, not from Constantinople. Simeon died on May 27th, 927, after appointing his younger son, Peter, to be his successor.^b

DECLINE OF THE BULGARIAN EMPIRE

With the accession of Peter, son of Simeon, begins the decadence of the Bulgarian Empire. Wallachia, Transylvania, and Servia in succession shook off the Bulgarian yoke, and the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who had during this interval of rebellion in the north fortified his Asiatic frontiers, turned his attention to the conquered territory of the empires in Europe, and under his successors Bulgaria became a Byzantine province.^a

In the intellectual life of the Bulgarian people, also, there was a decline under Czar Peter. Under Boris and Simeon we see wide-awake and enthusiastic teachers, fresh youthful spirits, spreading enlightenment among the people with word and pen. Under Peter, men of gloomy disposition came into the foreground, men who withdrew from human society into impenetrable forests and mountains, to lead there a life of the strictest asceticism, without

[927-967 A.D.]

touching a pen. The most important of these was John of Ryl, afterwards the patron saint of Bulgaria. Born in a village in the province of Sofia, he passed his youth as a poor shepherd. After the death of his parents he entered a cloister, which he soon exchanged for the solitude of the heights of the Ryl plateau. For twenty years he lived in a dark cave, then in the hollow of an old oak, and finally for seven years upon an unapproachable cliff under which at present stands the great Ryl monastery. Czar Peter once visited the hermit. John died in 946, at the age of seventy. Contemporaneously with him lived, in the north of Macedonia, three other equally celebrated hermits.

Bogomiles

While the ascetics lived on the mountain tops, a new belief gained ever firmer foothold among the people, the teaching of the Bogomiles. Five centuries of southern Slavic history are inseparably connected with the history of the Bogomiles. From Bulgaria it spread over the whole peninsula, to the Slavs and Greeks, and still further into Italy and France.

In the Occident they were no longer called Bogomiles, but had numerous other names, such as Manicheans, Paterenes in Italy, Cathari in Germany, and Albigenses in France. They never called themselves anything else than *christiani*, *boni christiani*, *bons hommes*. That their belief originated in Bulgaria was forgotten neither by them nor by their opponents. Gibbon calls them simply Bulgarians.^b The name Bogomile comes from the founder of their remarkable sect, a reformer of the Paulician doctrines, by the name of Bogomil (Love of God), who appeared in the first half of Peter's reign. His disciples gained a large following by their strictly moral lives. They were of peaceful disposition, abstained from loud talking or laughing, and were distinguished by faces white from fasting. That gave them an appearance of sanctity, which in the Orient from the most ancient times has not failed to be effective.^{a b}

The Bogomile theology was founded on the principle that there are two original elements, a good and an evil. The good and the evil divinity are not equal in power and antiquity. The good divinity is a perfect triunal being, from whom nothing incomplete and temporary has proceeded; it is the creator of the heavenly, the invisible, and perfect world. The evil divinity, according to Christian terminology called Satan or the devil, created everything visible and corporeal, together with the universe and everything animate and inanimate. Satan was thus for the Bogomiles the creator of the world. The earth, his work, was according to their belief doomed to destruction.

The Greek Bogomiles relate that Satan, after he had created his heaven and earth, formed Adam out of the soil but could not animate him. He thereupon sent his messengers to God asking him to bestow his spirit, since man would be of service to them both. The good God fulfilled Satan's wish and man obtained life. Eve was created in the same way. The fall of man was caused by Satan. Free will is not, according to the Bogomile doctrine, an attribute of man. Satan ruled the world from the beginning during the Old Testament; it was he who brought on the flood, who scattered the people of Babel, who destroyed Sodom. Hence the Bogomiles rejected Moses as well as the prophets.

They rejected completely the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Every "perfect" Bogomile, whether man or woman, might preach. The church superiors were only administrators of the community, appointed by election. There were

no church buildings. Like the old Slavs, the Bogomiles called upon God everywhere, under the open sky, on mountain tops, in groves and in their huts. Christian temples and churches were to them the seats of evil spirits, and their bells were trumpets of the devil. Satan, they said, lived first in the temple at Jerusalem, then in the church of St. Sofia at Constantinople. However, in southern France, and perhaps in Bosnia, they had houses of prayer; these were simple little structures, without tower or bell, without ornament or portrait, without chancel or altar; a table covered with a white linen cloth, and upon it the open Testament, took the place of the altar.

The "perfect" Bogomiles were distinguished from ordinary believers by special asceticism. They might not marry, could not eat meat or drink wine, dressed in black, lived in poverty, and abstained from all enjoyments of life. The conditions for becoming a "perfect" Bogomile were so difficult that in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when this strange cult was at its height, among a million Bogomiles there were only four thousand "perfect" ones.

This gloomy doctrine ruled the minds of the Slavic people upon the Balkan Peninsula and maintained itself there with varying fortunes until the coming of the Turks. In the Middle Ages, at a time when religious questions were pre-eminent, there arose among the southern Slavs the struggle of Christianity against oriental Bogomilism; to this were added the contest for the independence of the orthodox national church and the effort to unite the Eastern church with the Western. Whoever understands the undermining effects of Bogomilism and of dissension will easily comprehend the rapid successes which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gained for the Ottomans supremacy over the peninsula.^b

BULGARIA IS INCORPORATED INTO THE GREEK EMPIRE

We now turn to an event whose influence upon the history of the Bulgarians persists to this day: that is, the first appearance of the Russians in their territories. Ever since then Russia has been a factor in the history of Bulgaria, and at this moment the attitude of Russia is potent in determining the policy and fate of the country. Nicephorus, deeming it prudent before attacking so powerful a country as Bulgaria to provide himself with an ally, turned to the Russians.^a Accordingly an embassy with rich presents was sent to their prince Sviatoslav, a man who loved adventure above everything else. Sviatoslav with an army of ten thousand proceeded down the Russian rivers, and in August, 967, appeared at the mouth of the Danube. The opposition of the Bulgarians was soon broken. The Russians quickly took possession of Silistria and a number of other Danubian cities, and Sviatoslav pitched his winter quarters in the city of Preslav on the Danube.

In the mean while Nicephorus felt obliged to change his tactics, partly because of disturbances which had broken out in Constantinople on account of oppressive taxes, partly because of anxiety caused by the unexpectedly rapid advance of the Russians. He made peace with Czar Peter, and promised to drive the Russians from the Danubian territories.^b

Various complications, however, prevented the speedy fulfilment of this promise. Peter died in 969, and was succeeded by Boris II. In the western provinces a revolt headed by the boyar Shishman in 963 had torn these provinces loose from Peter's authority and established there a new dynasty. Sviatoslav was pleased with the southern lands he had discovered and was

[969-1018 A.D.]

not inclined to return to his comfortless north. "Here all good things flow together," he said of his new quarters; "the Greeks send gold, rich stuffs, wine, and fruit; the Bohemians and Hungarians, silver and horses; the Russians, wax, honey, and slaves." He consequently renewed his attack upon the Bulgarians, captured their king, crossed the Balkans, and appeared on the Grecian frontier intent on the early subjugation of the country.

It was not Nicephorus, but his successor, John Zimisce, the Armenian, who finally drove back the Russians. This he did quite as much to save his own empire as to help the Bulgarian czar. After a long and desperate siege the Russians were finally forced to retire. Sviatoslav himself was attacked on his homeward march by the Petchenegs, who killed him after a fierce contest, and in derision of his former pretensions converted his skull into a goblet.^a

Bulgaria was now wholly occupied by the Greeks. Zimisce had no thought of giving back his empire to the liberated Boris, although at his coming he had everywhere heralded himself as the liberator from Russian dominion. Czar Boris II and the Bulgarian patriarch Damian were deposed, and Bulgaria incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. Returning home in triumph, the victor offered up in the church of St. Sofia the crown of the Bulgarian czar—the mortal enemy of the Roman Empire. Thus after three hundred years of victorious existence the Bulgarian Empire on the Danube (the old Moesia) became subject to the Greeks.^b

Only in the western part of the empire was there a final flicker of independence, like a separate firebrand which suddenly flares up and burns for a time after the main fire is extinguished. For nearly half a century after the fall of Boris II, the Shishman dynasty maintained itself under Shishman's youngest son, Samuel, who came to the throne after the death of his three elder brothers.^c

Basil II, the Bulgar-Slayer

Samuel's successes and conquests were possible on account of the weakness of the Byzantine Empire after the death of John Zimisce, during the minority of Basil II. When, however, the latter came of age, he made the final overthrow of Bulgarian independence the main object of his life, and by his severity and cruelty won for himself the title of Bulgar-Slayer.^a He continued to fight against Bulgaria almost uninterruptedly for several decades. It would be tiresome to relate the vicissitudes of this war; to narrate the cruelties which were perpetrated in detail would be disgusting; they can be easily imagined if one reflects that the Greeks, violent by nature and embittered by hatred, were frequently called on to exercise the right of retaliation, and that they employed the rudest and most inhuman mercenaries for that purpose. Finally Basil performed an act of cruelty which exceeds all that had hitherto been perpetrated and which surpasses belief. It is said that he caused fifteen thousand captive Bulgarians to be blinded, allowing every hundredth man to keep one eye, so as to serve as a guide for the others. When they were led home, their king, Samuel, was overcome with the horror of the sight and died after two days. This brought dismay into the ranks of the Bulgarians. Furthermore, Samuel's son and successor was killed by a noble; the conquest of the devastated and depopulated land was at last possible. In the year 1018 Basil had conquered the whole of Bulgaria. At the same time he forced the Croats and Servians to do him homage, and occupied the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic.^c

BYZANTINE SUPREMACY (1018-1186 A.D.)

Desolate and empty was the realm which the terrible victor took over. Thousands of inhabitants had fallen in the wars or had been carried off to distant lands as far as Asia. The power of the boyars was broken by the loss of their leaders; many were forced to exchange their old freedom for Byzantine court positions. The last czarina, Maria, and Samuel's daughter Catherine, graced the Byzantine court as ladies in waiting. The Bulgarian princes occupied military posts in Constantinople or Asia. The princesses were married to aristocratic Byzantines.

One important institution of the old empire was preserved by Basil II. The Bulgarian church kept its autonomy, only its head was now called archbishop instead of patriarch.^b But even the church was affected by the general decline, and, although it did maintain its existence, it was worried and harassed by the Bogomiles, who continued to gain ground.

During the period of one hundred and seventy years elapsing between the fall of the house of Samuel and the foundation of the second empire Bulgaria has practically no national history. After the death of Basil II the land was overrun first by the Petchenegs, who were allowed by the Byzantines to settle beside the Bulgarians, and then by the Kumani, who drove the Petchenegs into Wallachia. Efforts of the Bulgarians to rebel and regain their liberty were foiled by the lack of union among the people themselves and the rival pretendants to the throne.

The country presents a sorry picture during this period. The policy of each of its Byzantine governors was to make as much money out of the country as possible before he was replaced by a successor. It was wholly like Mohammedan rule in the provinces to-day. Overrun as the country was by barbarian invasions, torn by internal rebellions and party quarrels, it is surprising to find that the national spirit was not wholly broken; but broken it was not, as is shown by the rise of the Asen brothers, who succeeded in throwing off the foreign yoke. Two brothers, Peter and Ivan (John) Asen, descendants of the old family of Shishman, made the tour to Constantinople, which sons of good family were expected to do. They asked, like well-bred youths with ambition, for what they probably deserved—a grant of certain lands; this in right of their descent. They expressed a desire also for an official appointment, if the emperor should be so disposed. Both demands were refused, and a high court functionary emphasised the refusal by slapping the younger of the two brothers on the cheek. It is due to this event that the empire staggered still more feebly; that the Turk, who was strenuously encroaching from the south, received fresh encouragement, and that there was a second Bulgarian empire.^a

THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE (1186-1398 A.D.)

Returning home, the brothers called the people together in the church of St. Demetrius at Tirnova which they themselves had founded. There, it is related, certain men and women were influenced to proclaim with prophetic enthusiasm that it was the will of God that the boyars throw off the yoke of so many years and win back their freedom; that St. Demetrius had abandoned the Greeks and the church laid waste by the Normans, and had come to bring help to the Bulgarians. This "miracle" overcame even hesitating

[1186-1202 A.D.]

spirits. Boyars and peasants seized their arms. Ivan was crowned czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks. At the same time a new archbishop, Basil, was established at Tirnova in independence of the patriarch at Constantinople.^b

The Bulgarians were aided in their revolt by the Servian prince Nemanya, also by the wild tribes of the Kumani. Only for a short time was there an armistice, when in 1188 the Byzantines in some unknown way managed to make a prisoner of the Bulgarian queen.

In 1189 the crusaders appeared under Frederick Barbarossa, and the Bulgarians and Servians alike made him friendly overtures. Peter promised to put an army of forty thousand Bulgarians and Kumani at his disposal if he would march against Constantinople and give Peter the Greek crown. Frederick, however, refused the offer. The Bulgarians were even more successful against the impotent Isaac. They stormed Nish and captured Sofia, from which latter city the bones of St. John of Ryl were transferred to Tirnova.

DEATH OF ASEN; REIGN OF KALOYAN

The feeble Isaac having been deposed and blinded by his brother Alexius III, the latter wished to make peace with the Bulgarians, but Asen demanded impossible conditions and continued to press the war with vigour. But, owing to a family intrigue, his victorious career was violently interrupted by an assassin's dagger, and in 1196 Asen I, the restorer of the Bulgarian Empire, fell after a nine years' reign.^a Peter took over the reins of government in conjunction with his young brother Kaloyan. But his peaceable nature ill pleased the Bulgarians. After a short time he too was murdered, likewise by one of his countrymen (1197).

He was followed by his brother Kaloyan (1197-1207), an implacable enemy of the Greeks, and similar to Asen in character but much more fierce and cruel. As an experienced general and statesman he placed political success above religious interests. The Bogomiles, so far as we know, were left unmolested, and he established himself on a friendly footing with the pope.^b He allied himself with the fierce Kumani by marriage, and in conjunction with them made inroads into the Byzantine Empire as far as the very walls of Constantinople.^a Finally (1201) the Byzantines were obliged to conclude peace with Kaloyan. All the territories he had captured were left in his power, and his empire extended from Belgrade to the Black Sea, from the mouths of the Danube to the Struma and the upper Vardar. Kaloyan, however, saw how necessary it was for him to have a confirmation of his title to rule. Since that could not be obtained from Byzantium, he turned to the pope. He had tried three times to send an embassy to Rome, but on account of the hostility of the Hungarians and Byzantines he had never succeeded. The report, however, reached Innocent III, and in 1199 a papal messenger, a Greek priest from Brindisi, arrived in Tirnova, wholly unexpectedly. He brought Kaloyan a letter from Innocent stating that he had heard of Kaloyan's descent from a Roman family and admonishing him to manifest his allegiance to the papal throne. The fierce Bulgarian seized this opportunity with pleasure. He was delighted that God had reminded him of the race and of the fatherland from which he had sprung, and he asked the pope to bestow upon him the imperial crown and to receive him into the Roman church (1202). In order to obtain his wish the more quickly he conferred his land in perpetuity upon the pope. He was moved to haste by a circumstance which gave a new direction to oriental affairs.

THE BULGARIAN CONFLICT WITH THE LATINS

On June 23rd, 1203, just as the sun was setting, the fleet of the Latin crusaders appeared before Constantinople. Three hundred ships carrying Venetians, Lombards, French, and Germans, to the number of about forty thousand men, bore down upon the Byzantine Empire. Commanding the fleet, whose course the sly Venetians had diverted from Palestine, the original goal, stood the blind doge Enrico Dandolo, an implacable enemy of the Byzantines.

Constantinople was not taken in a day. Nine months passed amidst varying fortunes of battle. Finally, on April 23rd, 1204, the walls were stormed and the city was conquered. Kaloyan's position was immediately changed by this event. While the Latins were still besieging Constantinople he promised to come to their aid with one hundred thousand men if they would agree to recognise him as ruler of the Bulgarians and give him a crown. His offer, however, was rejected. When, then, Emperor Baldwin was visiting the Thracian and Macedonian cities, Kaloyan again offered to enter into a treaty of peace. He received the haughty answer that he was not to treat with the Franks as a king with friends, but as a slave with his masters, since he was wholly unjustified in assuming dominion over the land which he had torn from the Greeks.^b

Kaloyan wrote later to Innocent III: "They proudly replied to me that they would have no peace with me unless I returned the territory which I had wrested from the empire. I answered that I possessed this land more justly than they themselves possessed Constantinople." To Johannitsa's pretensions of descent from the Romans of Trajan, the crusaders opposed their descent from Francus, son of Priam. "Troy," said they, "belonged to our ancestors."

It would have been wise of the crusaders, who in the Orient had to defend themselves against the Greeks of Nicæa and the Turks, and in Europe against the despots of the Epirus and other petty Greek or Vlach princes, to make an alliance with the powerful czar of the Balkans, who proclaimed himself their brother in origin. They preferred to have one more enemy, the most redoubtable of all. The rupture with the king of "Blaquie and Bouguerie" (Bulgaria) was complete. The Bulgarians found allies among the Greeks. Their old hatred against Kaloyan was forgotten in their new exasperation against the Latins. Thracians called upon Kaloyan; at Didymotichon they massacred the Frankish garrison; at Adrianople they drove out the Latins, and hoisted the banner of the czar. Baldwin hastened with the *élite* of his army to recapture that place; they would not wait for the reinforcements which Boniface was bringing from the south, nor those which were hastening from Asia with Henry of Flanders, nor for the twenty thousand Armenians who were to follow them and who were massacred by the Greeks.

On April 14th, 1205, before Adrianople they met the army of Kaloyan, composed of Vlachs, of Bougres (Bulgarians), of Greeks, and of fourteen thousand unbaptised Kumani. The latter, fighting after the fashion of nomads, by a feigned flight attracted the French cavalry, which they riddled with arrows. Baldwin with his battle-axe performed prodigies of valour. The disaster was complete. The emperor Baldwin was taken captive. Different reports were circulated as to his fate. It is best, without doubt, to hold to the letter which Kaloyan wrote to the pope: *Debitum carnis exsolverat dum carcere teneretur.*^d Kaloyan survived Baldwin only two years. He was mur-

[1207-1230 A.D.]

dered by his general while asleep in his tent, probably at the instigation of his Kumanian wife. The report was spread that Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica, had killed him with his own hand.^a

Thus, in the autumn of 1207, ended the prince who had filled the Byzantines with such terror that they called him *Skylojohannes*—that is, Dog John. However prejudiced the Greek and Latin chroniclers may be concerning him, they do not write without foundation. His character is stained with blood and it cannot be washed clean. Among the Bulgarians the memory of the "great and most pious" czar is held in high esteem. He still figures to-day in the myth of the Thracian Bulgarians.

Kaloyan's nephew Boril, who was probably one of the accomplices of the murder, usurped the throne, and the legitimate heir, Asen's young son Ivan Asen, fled to Russia with his brother Alexander. Boril's reign lasted until 1218;^b only two events of importance occurred during it. One was the persecution of the Bogomiles, which was a complete departure from the previous policy of the czars, and the other the marriage of Boril's beautiful daughter with the Frankish emperor Henry, who hoped thus to gain an ally against his enemies. The alliance, however, had no important results, and Boril was before long dethroned by Ivan Asen II, who reigned from 1218 to 1241.^a

IVAN ASEN II (1218-1241 A.D.)

Ivan Asen II, "son of the old czar," the greatest of the dynasty of the Asens, extended the boundaries of his kingdom—although he found the realm in a decadent condition, and was himself no conqueror. Under him the country obtained an importance which it had not had for centuries and which it never reached after him. He devoted himself not only to expansion, but to the improvement of the internal administration. No deeds of cruelty mar his memory; he was a humane and mild ruler. The Byzantine Acropolita relates of him that all his contemporaries held him to be a remarkable and fortunate man "because he neither raged against his own countrymen with the sword, nor spotted himself with the murder of Greeks, as his predecessors among the Bulgarian rulers were in the habit of doing. Therefore he was not only respected and loved by the Bulgarians, but by the Greeks and other peoples as well."

For the first time since Samuel the Bulgarian Slavs were united under one sceptre; Asen's empire touched three seas. At Tirnova Asen built a cathedral (now a mosque) in which an inscription records his victories as follows: "In the year 6738 (*i. e.* 1230) of the third indiction, I, Ivan Asen, czar and autocrat of the Bulgarians, faithful to God in Christ, son of the old Asen, have built this most worthy temple from its foundations and have completely decorated it with paintings in honour of the forty holy martyrs, with the aid of whom, in the twelfth year of my reign, when the temple was being painted, I fought in the war against Rumania and defeated the Greek army, and took captive the czar Theodore Comnenus himself with all his boyars (nobles). And I have conquered all lands from Odrin (Adrianople) to Drac (Durazzo), the Greek, the Albanian, and the Servian land. Only the towns around Carigrad (Constantinople) and that city itself did the Frazi (Franks) hold, but these two subjected themselves to my rule, for they had no other czar than me, and lived out their days according to my will since God has so ordained. For without him is no deed or word accomplished. To him be honour forever. Amen."

The residence city of Tirnova was raised to a high state of magnificence under Asen II. At that time it presented a very different appearance from the present Tirnova with its scanty ruins. In Bulgarian records it is designated with glowing epithets in Byzantine style: "Tirnova, the city of czars, the queen of cities, the ruling, the widely celebrated city, the second in word and deed after Constantine's city." When Tirnova was founded is not known. One tradition states that it was built by giants; according to another, Crum was the founder. In the tenth century it was the cradle of Shishman's revolution. The brothers Asen and Peter were the first to establish its glory by fixing their residence there and making it the seat of the archbishopric. It is not impossible that their paternal castle was in Tirnova.

Even to the present day the superb location of the old Bulgarian metropolis astonishes every traveller. It consisted originally of two citadels separated by a rushing stream.



TIRNOVA

The church of the Forty Martyrs was built on the bank of the river in the northern part of the town. There are many miracles reputed to the saints buried here, especially to the holy Ilarion of Moglena. The deceased czars slept here in subterranean vaults. The walls of the church were covered with inscriptions which are still to be seen in the mosque. Besides this the city was filled with churches and cloisters which the Turks after their conquest transformed into mosques or into baths.

Concerning the environs of Tirnova we have an interesting account dating from the time of the last patriarch, Euthymius. "Near the city Tirnova, separated

from it only by the river, is a grassy meadow visible from all sides, richly watered by the streams which converge at that point. This meadow refreshes the eyes of the beholder, even from a distance; it is planted with trees, it is full of the most varied kinds of flowers and fruits, and is overtowered by a thick and roving forest; charming, too, are the streams that water it. Here stood a church of the Virgin, the mother of Christ, where every year the people from the whole city gathered with wives and children for a holiday." Tirnova, as the seat of the czars, patriarchs, and nobles, was the centre of all Bulgarian life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The citizens often took a decisive part in political events.

The peace which ruled in Bulgarian lands under Asen II brought about a rapid development of commerce. Asen granted special privileges to the Ragusans, who had gradually come to control all the internal trade of the peninsula; they were to travel unmolested in his empire, to buy and sell as

[1241-1257 A.D.]

"the truest, dear guests of my empire." The Ragusans in later times still remember the "true friendship" of this "celebrated czar Ivan Asen."

Ecclesiastical life also developed, and monasteries and cloisters received large donations from Asen II. The followers of different sects—orthodox, Catholic, and Bogomile—lived undisturbed in Asen's realm. The pope complained in a letter to the king of Hungary of Asen's tolerance towards the Bogomiles, saying that he gave refuge and protection to the heretics, so that his whole land was contaminated and filled by them. The independence of the church of Tirnova was recognised by the Greeks under Asen II.^b

Concerning his foreign policy James Samuelson^e says: "Like many other Eastern rulers of his day in Hungary, Wallachia, Constantinople, and elsewhere, Ivan Asen was constantly making and breaking alliances: now with Béla, the great king of Hungary; now with Vatatz, ruler of Nicæa, who occupied one of the fast-dissolving territories of the Eastern Empire; and again, when it suited his views, with the pope, in order if possible to secure the possession of Constantinople; but the only important outcome of all these alliances was that they contributed to the fall of the Frankish rule in the last-named city, and facilitated the restoration of the Greek dynasty, which took place in 1261, when Michael Palæologus resumed sway at Constantinople."^a

In June, 1241, died Ivan Asen II, the greatest of the dynasty of Asen, and next to Simeon the most important of all Bulgarian czars. The son of the refounder of the empire, he spent his youth in exile, and not till after severe trials and battles did he ascend the throne; when he died he left an empire which touched the shores of three seas, and of which the position was firmly established among the Christian states by friendly relations with the rulers of the Greeks, Servians, Hungarians, and Germans. The Bulgarian national church was recognised by the Greeks. An active commerce, splendid buildings, and a rare religious liberty testified to the progress of civilisation. Under a brave and experienced successor the empire would have continued to grow in power and prosperity. But it was otherwise decreed.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SECOND BULGARIAN EMPIRE

After the death of the great czar it became manifest that all this power and glory stood or fell with the life of one man. The ideal of Asen II and of his dynasty, as was already shown in the title Czar of the Bulgarians and Greeks, was a Slavic monarchy with its capital at Constantinople; his successors were not able to maintain their supremacy even over the Macedonian and Thracian Slavs.^b Within sixteen years after the death of Asen II all his possessions had reverted to Greek, Macedonian, and Servian rulers, and the Asen dynasty had come to an end with the murder of Kaliman II, who in his turn had murdered his cousin Michael, the son of Asen II, and successor of his brother Kaliman I.^a

With Ivan Asen II there disappeared all chances for the future of Bulgaria. With that dynasty, which came to an end in the third generation, disappeared traditional policies; the territorial greatness of the Bulgarian state was attacked. The son of Ivan Asen, Kaliman I (1241-1246), aged nine years at his accession, died at the moment when the war against the Greek Empire was about to commence. That empire, profiting by the situation, tried to expel the Bulgarians from Macedonia, from the valley of the Struma, and from Thrace, which they had occupied under Ivan Asen II. It attained its ends in the years 1254 to 1257 during the reign of Michael Asen (1246-1257),

another son of Ivan Asen II and brother-in-law of Urosh I of Serbia. After the assassination of Michael the succession to the throne gave rise to a series of difficulties which did not end, except for a few interruptions, until almost the time of the Turkish conquest. The reign of Constantine Titch, a Bulgarian noble related to the kings of Serbia, was fairly long (1258-1277), but brought no amelioration. The boundaries of Bulgaria, between the Danube, the Maritza, and the systems of the Vitoch and of the Rilo-Dagh, remained unchanged. The prolonged illness of Constantine, the intrigues of his wife, the proximity of enemies, especially of the Tatars, gave rise to disorders which lasted nearly twenty years.

Ivailo, Ivan Asen III, *protégé* of Byzantium, Svetslav, George Terterij, Smiletz, followed one another without one of them succeeding in establishing order. The Tatars under Tchoki-Khan invaded Bulgaria. The western part of the country, the region about Widdin, established a partial independence under Shishman.

The son of George Terterij, Theodore Svetslav, restored the central power and succeeded in reigning from 1295 to 1322. His son, George Terterij II, attempted, but without success, during his reign of one year, to extend the state at the expense of Byzantium (1322-1323). Dying without children, he was succeeded by Michael Shishman of Widdin (1323-1330), the first of the dynasty. Very ambitious, unfortunate in his ambitions, jealous of the progress of Serbia, he sought an alliance with Byzantium. Hence his divorce from the sister of Urosh III. John Alexander, nephew of Michael, succeeded him; the marriage of his sister with Dushan inaugurated the policy of alliance between the Servians and Bulgarians, so dear to Dushan, and which was indeed salutary and prudent.^d

Alexander died, probably, in 1365, and left a disunited, decayed empire, the three rulers of which were the last Christian lords in the land. In Tirnova resided Czar Ivan Shishman III; Ivan Seracimir ruled in the west in Widdin; and Dobrotic was the independent ruler of the Black Sea regions.^b With the death of Dushan, who had called himself Czar of the Bulgarians, disappeared the supremacy of Serbia over Bulgaria; and the country, which we have seen split up among different rulers, could offer no effective resistance to the advancing Turks. The latter were already in possession of strongholds on the southern coast, and after the death of Dushan they began their resistless advance towards the north. In 1366 Shishman III was forced to pay tribute to Murad I and to send his sister into Murad's harem. The battle of Kosovo sealed the fate of Bulgaria and of the whole peninsula. Shortly after that battle the Turks directed their attack against Bulgaria.^a

What Byzantine pseudo-civilisation, the egoism of the boyars, and religious turmoils had destroyed, could not be remedied by the self-sacrificing courage of individual heroes. Fortified strongholds and a warlike people were not lacking. Large towns like Tirnova and Nikopoli still maintained their independence. In the spring of 1393 Bayazid rallied the Asiatic army, crossed the Hellespont, and joined his occidental army corps; among them may have been the Christian armies of Macedonia. He intrusted the leadership to his son Djelebi and sent him against Tirnova. The city was suddenly surrounded on all sides, but it was not taken until after a three months' siege. In the absence of the czar Shishman, who was trying his fortune elsewhere against the Ottomans, the patriarch Euthymius was the chief person in the city. He went manfully out to the Turks to soften the anger of the barbarian prince. Bayazid's son, when he saw the patriarch approaching, undaunted and serious, as though all the terrors of war were only paintings on a wall,

[1393-1600 A.D.]

stood up, received him kindly, offered him a seat, listened to his petition, but followed up his promises with few deeds.^b

The governor left behind by Djelebi treacherously killed all the prominent Bulgarians. Euthymius himself escaped only by a miracle. Different legends relate the death of Shishman, but nothing certain is known of his fate. Seracimir still continued to hold his stronghold of Widdin, but he surrendered to Sigismund of Hungary before the battle of Nikopoli (1396), and that battle finally decided the fate of Bulgaria.^a After the fall of Widdin the whole of Bulgaria from Varna to the Timok was subject to the Asiatic barbarians. Of the cities many were destroyed, but others received new protection through Turkish privileges. The boyars maintained themselves for a long time, chiefly by accepting Islam. The villages were terribly depopulated, for the Turks transformed whole regions into deserts and everywhere burned cloisters and churches. The inhabitants of the plains fled to the mountains and founded there new cities. A large mass of the people, together with boyars and clergy, escaped to Wallachia.

BULGARIA UNDER THE TURKS

Our story of the mediæval Bulgarian Empire is at an end. If we glance back at the long series of varying events which affected the Bulgarian people during eight centuries, we get a picture in sombre tones. For many centuries the Bulgarians held the whole peninsula in suspense, shared their literature and culture with the remaining orthodox Slavic world, and, by the doctrines of a native sect, shook the whole of southern Europe; and what was the conclusion? The nation once so respected and feared passed politically under the yoke of the Turks, intellectually under the yoke of the Greeks, and remained in this servitude until in our days it has shown that its task is not finished. The three causes which contributed directly to the fall of the Tirnova Empire were Byzantinism, Bogomilism, and mediæval feudalism.^b

The five centuries of Turkish rule (1396-1878) form a dark epoch in Bulgarian history. The invaders carried fire and sword through the land; towns, villages, and monasteries were sacked and destroyed, and whole districts were converted into desolate wastes. All the regions formerly ruled by the Bulgarian czars, including Macedonia and Thrace, were placed under the administration of a governor-general, styled the beylerbey of Rumelia, residing at Sofia; Bulgaria proper was divided into the sandjaks of Sofia, Nikopoli, Widdin, Silistria, and Küstendil. Only a small proportion of the people followed the example of the boyars in abandoning Christianity; the conversion of the isolated communities now represented by the Pomaks took place at various intervals during the next three centuries.

A new kind of feudal system replaced that of the boyars, and fiefs or *spahiliks* were conferred on the Ottoman chiefs and the renegade Bulgarian nobles. The Christian population was subjected to heavy imposts. Among the most cruel forms of oppression was the requisitioning of young boys between the ages of ten and twelve, who were sent to Constantinople as recruits for the corps of janissaries. Notwithstanding the horrors which attended the Ottoman conquest, the condition of the peasantry during the first three centuries of Turkish government was scarcely worse than it had been under the tyrannical rule of the boyars. The contemptuous indifference with which the Turks regarded the Christian *rayas* was not altogether

to the disadvantage of the subject race. Military service was not exacted from the Christians, no systematic effort was made to extinguish either their religion or their language, and within certain limits they were allowed to retain their ancient local administration and the jurisdiction of their clergy in regard to inheritances and family affairs.

While the Ottoman power was at its height the lot of the subject-races was far less intolerable than during the period of decadence, which began, as we have seen, with the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. Their rights and privileges were respected, the law was enforced, commerce prospered, good roads were constructed, and the great caravans of the Ragusan merchants traversed the country.

Down to the end of the eighteenth century there appears to have been only one serious attempt at revolt—that occasioned by the advance of Prince Sigismund Báthori into Wallachia in 1595. A kind of guerilla warfare was, however, maintained in the mountains by the *haiduti*, or outlaws, whose exploits, like those of the Greek *klephts*, have been highly idealised in the popular folk-lore. As the power of the sultans declined anarchy spread through the peninsula. In the earlier decades of the eighteenth century the Bulgarians suffered terribly from the ravages of the Turkish armies passing through the land during the wars with Austria. Towards its close their condition became even worse, owing to the horrors perpetrated by the *krjali*, or troops of disbanded soldiers and desperadoes, who, in defiance of the Turkish authorities, roamed through the country, supporting themselves by plunder and committing every conceivable atrocity.

NATIONAL REVIVAL

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the existence of the Bulgarian race was almost unknown in Europe even to students of Slavonic literature. Disheartened by ages of oppression, isolated from Christendom by their geographical position, and cowed by the proximity of Constantinople, the Bulgarians took no collective part in the insurrectionary movement which resulted in the liberation of Servia and Greece. The Russian invasions of 1810 and 1828 only added to their sufferings, and great numbers of fugitives took refuge in Bessarabia, annexed by Russia under the treaty of Bukharest. But the long-dormant national spirit now began to awake under the influence of a literary revival. The precursors of the movement were Paisii, a monk of Mount Athos, who wrote a history of the Bulgarian czars and saints (1762), and Bishop Sofronii, who has given a vivid picture of the times. After 1824 several works written in modern Bulgarian began to appear, but the most important step was the foundation, in 1835, of the first Bulgarian school at Gabrovo. Within ten years at least fifty-three Bulgarian schools came into existence, and five Bulgarian printing-presses were at work.

The literary movement led the way to a reaction against the influence and authority of the Greek clergy. The spiritual domination of the Greek patriarchate had tended more effectually than the temporal power of the Turks to the effacement of Bulgarian nationality. After the conquest of the peninsula the Greek patriarch became the representative at the Sublime Porte of the *Rûm-milleti*, the Roman nation, in which all the Christian nationalities were comprised. The independent patriarchate of Tirnova was suppressed; that of Ochrida was subsequently Hellenised. The Fanariot clergy—unscrupulous, rapacious, and corrupt—succeeded in monopolising the

[1835-1872 A.D.]

higher ecclesiastical appointments and filled the parishes with Greek priests, whose schools, in which Greek was exclusively taught, were the only means of instruction open to the population. By degrees Greek became the language of the upper classes in all the Bulgarian towns, the Bulgarian language was written in Greek characters, and the illiterate peasants, though speaking the vernacular, called themselves Greeks. The Slavonic liturgy was suppressed in favour of the Greek, and in many places the old Bulgarian manuscripts, images, testaments, and missals were committed to the flames.

The patriots of the literary movement, recognising in the patriarchate the most determined foe to a national revival, directed all their efforts to the abolition of Greek ecclesiastical ascendancy and the restoration of the Bul-



MONASTERY OF IVERON AT MT. ATHOS

garian autonomous church. Some of the leaders went so far as to open negotiations with Rome, and an archbishop of the Uniate Bulgarian church was nominated by the pope. The struggle was prosecuted with the utmost tenacity for forty years. Incessant protests and memorials were addressed to the Porte, and every effort was made to undermine the position of the Greek bishops, some of whom were compelled to abandon their sees. At the same time no pains were spared to diffuse education and to stimulate the national sentiment.

NATIONALITY RECOGNISED

Various insurrectionary movements were then attempted, but received little support from the mass of the people. The recognition of Bulgarian nationality was won by the pen, not the sword. The patriarchate at length found it necessary to offer some concessions, but these appeared illusory to the Bulgarians, and long and acrimonious discussions followed. Eventually the Turkish government intervened, and on the 28th of February, 1870, a firman was issued establishing the Bulgarian exarchate, with jurisdiction over fifteen dioceses, including Nish, Pirot, and Veles; the other dioceses in dispute were to be added to these in case two-thirds of the Christian population so desired. The election of the first exarch was delayed till February, 1872, owing to the opposition of the patriarch, who immediately afterwards excommunicated the new head of the Bulgarian church and all his followers. The official recognition now acquired tended to consolidate the Bulgarian nation and to prepare it for the political developments which were soon to follow. A great educational activity was at once displayed.

THE REVOLT OF 1876

Under the enlightened administration of Midhat Pasha (1864-1868) Bulgaria enjoyed comparative prosperity, but that remarkable man is not remembered with gratitude by the people owing to the severity with which he repressed insurrectionary movements. In 1861 twelve thousand Crimean Tatars, and in 1864 a still larger number of Circassians from the Caucasus, were settled by the Turkish government on lands taken without compensation from the Bulgarian peasants. The Circassians, a lawless race of mountaineers, proved a veritable scourge to the population in their neighbourhood. In 1875 the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina produced immense excitement throughout the peninsula. The fanaticism of the Moslems was aroused, and the Bulgarians, fearing a general massacre of Christians, endeavoured to anticipate the blow by organising a general revolt. The rising, which broke out prematurely at Koprivshitzza and Panagjvrishche in May, 1876, was mainly confined to the sandjak of Philippopolis. Bands of bashi bazouks were let loose throughout the district by the Turkish authorities, the Pomaks, or Moslem Bulgarians, and the Circassian colonists were called to arms, and a succession of horrors followed to which a parallel can scarcely be found in the history of the Middle Ages. The principal scenes of massacre were Panagjvrishche, Perushtitza, Bratzigovo, and Batak; at the last-named town, according to an official British report, five thousand men, women, and children were put to the sword by the Pomaks under Ahmed Aga, who was decorated by the sultan for this exploit. Altogether some fifteen thousand persons were massacred in the district of Philippopolis, and fifty-eight villages and five monasteries were destroyed. Isolated risings which took place on the northern side of the Balkans were crushed with similar barbarity.

These atrocities, which were first made known by an English journalist and an American consular official, were denounced by Gladstone in a celebrated pamphlet which aroused the indignation of Europe. The great powers remained inactive, but Servia declared war in the following month, and her army was joined by two thousand Bulgarian volunteers. A conference of the representatives of the powers, held at Constantinople towards the end of the year, proposed, among other reforms, the organisation of the Bulgarian provinces, including the greater part of Macedonia, in two vilayets under Christian governors, with popular representation. These recommendations were practically set aside by the Porte, and in April, 1877, Russia declared war. In the campaign which followed the Bulgarian volunteer contingent in the Russian army played an honourable part; it accompanied Gurko's advance over the Balkans, behaved with great bravery at Eski-Sagra, where it lost heavily, and rendered valuable services in the defence of Shipka.

TREATY OF BERLIN

The victorious advance of the Russian army to Constantinople was followed by the Treaty of San Stefano (March 3rd, 1878), which realised almost to the full the national aspirations of the Bulgarian race. All the provinces of European Turkey in which the Bulgarian element predominated were now included in an autonomous principality, which extended from the Black Sea to the Albanian mountains, and from the Danube to the Ægean, enclosing Ochrida, the ancient capital of the Shishmans, Dibra, and Kastoria, as well

[1878-1879 A.D.]

as the districts of Vrania and Pirot, and possessing a Mediterranean port at Kavala. The Dobrudscha, notwithstanding its Bulgarian population, was not included in the new state, being reserved as compensation to Rumania for the Russian annexation of Bessarabia; Adrianople, Saloniki, and the Chalcidian peninsula were left to Turkey. The area thus delimited constituted three-fifths of the Balkan Peninsula, with a population of four million inhabitants. The great powers, however, anticipating that this extensive territory would become a Russian dependency, intervened; and on the 13th of July of the same year was signed the Treaty of Berlin, which in effect divided the "Big Bulgaria" of the San Stefano treaty into three portions.

The limits of the principality of Bulgaria, as now defined, and the autonomous province of eastern Rumelia, have been already described; the remain-



INTERIOR OF PRINCIPAL COURT OF CHILANDARI

ing portion, including almost the whole of Macedonia and part of the vilayet of Adrianople, was left under Turkish administration. No special organisation was provided for the districts thus abandoned; it was stipulated that laws similar to the organic law of Crete should be introduced into the various parts of Turkey in Europe, but this engagement was never carried out by the Porte. Vrania, Pirot, and Nish were given to Servia, and the transference of the Dobrudscha to Rumania was sanctioned. This artificial division of the Bulgarian nation could scarcely be regarded as possessing elements of permanence. It was provided that the prince of Bulgaria should be freely elected by the population, and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the powers, and that, before his election, an assembly of Bulgarian notables, convoked at Tirnova, should draw up the organic law of the principality. The drafting of a constitution for eastern Rumelia was assigned to a European commission.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Pending the completion of their political organisation, Bulgaria and eastern Rumelia were occupied by Russian troops and administered by Russian officials. The assembly of notables, which met at Tirnova in 1879, was mainly composed of half-educated peasants, who from the first displayed an

extremely democratic spirit, in which they proceeded to manipulate the very liberal constitution submitted to them by Prince Korsakov, the Russian governor-general. The long period of Turkish domination had effectually obliterated all social distinctions, and the radical element, which now formed into a party under Tzankov and Karavelov, soon gave evidence of its predominance. Manhood suffrage, a single chamber, payment of deputies, the absence of a property qualification for candidates, and the prohibition of all titles and distinctions, formed salient features in the constitution now elaborated. The organic statute of eastern Rumelia was largely modelled on the Belgian constitution. The governor-general, nominated for five years by the sultan with the approbation of the powers, was assisted by an assembly, partly representative, partly composed of *ex-officio* members; a permanent committee was intrusted with the preparation of legislative measures and the general supervision of the administration, while a council of six "directors" fulfilled the duties of a ministry.⁹

PRINCE ALEXANDER AND RUSSIA

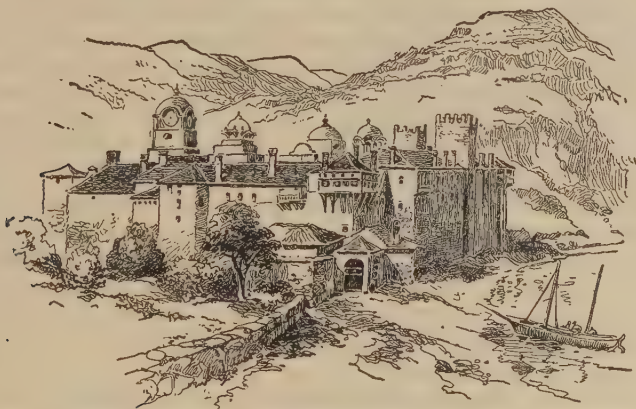
The liberation of Bulgaria was taken by the Russians to mean simply that they were privileged to act in the country exactly as they pleased, as if it were a conquered province. When Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who at the suggestion of Russia had been chosen prince of Bulgaria on April 29th, 1879, asked Prince Bismarck if he should accept the throne, he received the answer: "Accept it; it will be at least a pleasant remembrance." But scarcely had the new prince made his entry into the city, on July 13th, when he was forced to the conclusion that no organised government was possible, with either the radical constitution framed by the assembly of notables at Tirnova under Russian influence, or with the brutal high-handedness of the Russian Pan-Slavists who had gained possession of the highest civil and military positions. But not until after two personal interviews at St. Petersburg did he succeed in persuading the czar to suspend the constitution. Thereupon in 1881 he called on the Bulgarian people to choose between his abdication and a seven years' dictatorship for the purpose of creating the necessary provisions and of revising the constitution. At the elections a grand *sobranье* was chosen which accepted these conditions without debate.

But although one evil was thus removed, the other, the Russian pressure, still remained and was continually on the increase. The Russian generals Sobolev and Kaulbars, the former the minister of the interior, the latter of war, acted in harmony with the Russian representative Jonin, as though the prince and their Bulgarian colleagues had no privilege except that of submitting without question to Russian demands. Kaulbars decreed among other things that no officer might be appointed who had not served two years in the Russian army. When the conflict between the Russian and Bulgarian ministers came to an open break the prince, in answer to an appeal to St. Petersburg, received the laconic answer that the mission of the two generals was not yet ended and that their opponents must give way. But the brutal arbitrariness with which the Russian magnates misused their positions had a result which was far from intended by themselves: it led to an understanding between the hitherto hostile parties. The conservatives, who did not wish to see the Turkish supremacy replaced by a Russian, united with the liberals, who above everything else wanted the re-establishment of the constitution. Trusting to this coalition, Prince Alexander, on September 10th, announced

[1881-1884 A.D.]

to the Russian ministers their dismissal, but they coolly answered that they had the czar's orders to remain at their posts even against the will of the prince, and on the same day Jonin presented a note which, in addition to the retention of the two generals, demanded the establishment of a commission to draw up a new constitution, and the relinquishment by the prince of his extraordinary powers.

Thereupon the Russians turned to the liberals, who were ready to accept any alliance which would give back to them the constitution of Tirnova. Sobolev had already arranged with Zankov, the liberal leader, that at the convention of the little *sobranie* the deposition of the prince would be insisted upon. But this time also the "Russian triumvirate" missed its aim. At



THE CONVENT OF SPHIGMENU, AT MT. ATHOS

the last minute the Zankovits recognised that instead of founding the freedom and independence of Bulgaria they were about to assist in establishing a Russian dictatorship. Instead of deposing the prince, the little *sobranie* in an address expressed to him only the unanimous desire of the nation for the re-establishment of the constitution, with the change of one necessary point, and this was willingly conceded. The two Russian ministers left Sofia in anger. "That was your last triumph, highness," said Sobolev to the prince at parting, "and at the same time the last misdeed which the emperor will let go unpunished." In fact deep indignation was felt at St. Petersburg over this unexpected turn of affairs, the more so because the new czar had as much personal dislike for his Battenberg cousin as his father had had liking for him. When the prince desired to give the portfolio of war to another Russian general, Liessovoi, the latter as well as a Russian adjutant of the prince, instead of the confirmation which had been hoped for, received orders from St. Petersburg to leave Sofia within forty-eight hours. The prince worthily answered this insult by dismissing the remaining Russian officers who were in his personal service and by recalling by telegraph the thirty-five Bulgarian officers who had positions in the Russian army. The people placed themselves unanimously on his side; if Russia did not wish to lose influence, it was needful not to overstretch the bow.

It was probably this reflection which moved the czar not to reject the concessions offered by the prince. Through the younger Kaulbars, who was sent to Sofia, an agreement for three years was reached, in accordance with which the ministry of war was for the future also intrusted to a Russian

general, who, however, had to swear obedience to the prince, the constitution, and the laws, and had to avoid all interference in internal affairs. In the mean while the little *sobranje* had finished the revision of the constitution, the most important change in which was the introduction of the dual chamber system. The new constitution was first to be tried for three years and then laid before a grand *sobranje* for final approval. The prince hereupon, in January 1884, laid down the extraordinary powers which had been given him.

UNION WITH EASTERN RUMELIA

The agreement with Russia, however, which had been won with such toil, was only of short duration. A chief source of discontent for the radical national party lay in the fact that the congress of Berlin had opposed the creation of a Great Bulgaria and that eastern Rumelia had received a separate governor in the person of Aleko Pasha. From that time the radical national party worked tirelessly but in secret for the reuniting of the two Bulgarias; sworn officers won over the garrison of Philippopolis. On September 18th, 1885, a revolution was accomplished there without bloodshed. Aleko's weak successor, Gavril Pasha, was arrested, the union of eastern Rumelia with Bulgaria proclaimed, and Prince Alexander invited to come to Philippopolis. He did not delay in responding to the summons, but his first act upon arriving in Philippopolis was to recall the tokens of Turkish sovereignty which had been taken away, and to cause it to be explicitly stated in Constantinople that he had no intention of interfering with this sovereignty. On the advice of Germany and Austria the Porte, in order to avoid bloodshed, refrained from sending troops as it had intended.

On the other hand, Emperor Alexander gave the sharpest possible expression to his disapproval of this act of independence. It was not enough that he bluntly expressed this opinion to the Bulgarian deputation, which under the metropolitan Clement had been sent to him at Copenhagen—not enough that he immediately recalled all Russians serving in the Bulgarian army. When the prince offered, in case these measures were directed against himself, to abdicate if, on the other hand, Russia would uphold the union, the czar struck his name off the list of the Russian army without condescending to answer him. Most strangely had the great powers directly interested in the Bulgarian question completely reversed their former positions. Russia, which formerly had written the liberation of Bulgaria on its banner, was now full of jealousy towards the independence which those Bulgarians were demanding under the leadership of their prince, and opposed the union of the two Bulgarias, the separation of which had had to be wrung from her with difficulty at the congress of Berlin. On the other hand, the powers which had then fought against the partition of Bulgaria—the Porte, England, and Austria—found this Great Bulgaria very convenient as a wall against Russia. No wonder that the conference of ambassadors which met at Constantinople at the suggestion of the Porte did nothing towards the solution of the question. Matters became still more complicated by the fact that Greece and Servia thought that, by the extension of Bulgaria, portions of the Turkish inheritance upon which they had counted were to be taken away from them; and, in order to prevent it, they made military preparations which far surpassed their financial ability. Futile were all efforts made by diplomacy to prevent the firebrand in this dangerous corner of Europe from breaking into flames. King Milan took advantage of the crossing of a line by Bulgarian troops to declare war in Sofia on November 13th, 1885.

[1885-1886 A.D.]

WAR WITH SERVIA

On the very next day the Servians entered Bulgaria under the leadership of their king. One division marched against Widdin; the main branch proceeded towards Sofia by way of Tsaribrod, Trin, and Küstendil. Considering the superior numbers and better equipment of the Servians, the struggle seemed hopeless for the Bulgarians, whose army had lost nearly all its superior officers through the recall of the Russians; and the beginning of operations appeared to confirm this view. The Servians took in quick succession the poorly fortified strongholds at Tsaribrod, Trin, and Adlieh (Kula) (near Widdin) from their opponents and forced them back over the Dragoman pass as far as Slivnitza. A few more vigorous attacks and they would have arrived before Sofia. But the leaf turned contrary to all expectations. Prince Alexander, immediately after the Servian declaration of war, had conformed with the demand of the Porte that he should withdraw his troops from eastern Rumelia. He explained at Constantinople that in defending the Bulgarian frontier he had been at the same time defending the Turkish. He fortified himself further by calling on the intervention of the great powers. He then collected fifteen thousand men and appeared with them on the scene of battle at Slivnitza. On the 17th he repulsed an attack of the Servians; on the 18th he took the offensive; on the 19th, while he had hastened back to the capital, Major Gudschev captured the Servian positions and forced the enemy back into the Dragoman pass; on the 23rd Tsaribrod was occupied by the Bulgarians. This defeat, so wholly unexpected, completely cured King Milan of his desire for war. In a telegram to the Porte he offered to stop hostilities, whereupon Turkey, thereby acting in harmony with the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, ordered the victor to conclude an armistice.

Prince Alexander, however, felt that his martial honour forbade him to stop fighting except on Servian soil; he refrained also from sending a commissary of the Porte to eastern Rumelia before the end of the war. On November 26th he crossed the Servian frontier, and on the 27th and 28th in a sharp battle stormed Pirot and the heights behind. He was already preparing to penetrate into the interior of Servia when the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade, Count Khevenhüller, came to him from Count Kálnoky and presented a collective note of the powers which demanded the cessation of hostilities. It was hinted that if the prince advanced further he would come upon the Austrian whitecoats. There was nothing left for the prince but to agree to an armistice; after long and fruitless negotiations, on December 22nd an international military commission commanded both parties to vacate hostile territory and to agree to a peace lasting until March 1st, 1886.

Servia was unyielding. Finally, on March 3rd, the negotiating parties had to be content with the simple re-establishment of peace without coming to an agreement upon details. Prince Alexander had used the intervening time to accomplish as much as was possible in eastern Rumelia and to conclude a treaty with the Porte on February 2nd, 1886, through which the general government over this province was assigned to him provisionally for five years, and both Bulgarias pledged themselves to support each other in case of need. This greatly annoyed Russia, who, however, by her interference succeeded in causing the conference of ambassadors at Constantinople to make various changes in the treaty. Alexander's name was struck from it, and the renewal of his election every five years was reserved for confirmation by the powers. The union of the two Bulgarias, however, remained an accomplished fact. The Peace of San Stefano had been realised of itself.

Russian Intrigues

But scarcely had peace been restored when Russian intrigues stirred up new disturbances in Bulgaria. After throwing off the Turkish yoke people had so firmly expected the dawn of a golden age that disappointment opened a way for such influences. In conjunction with the Russian military attaché, Zankov, Major Grujev and Captain Benderev formed a conspiracy to overthrow the prince. Sofia was purposely almost emptied of troops. On the 21st of August Alexander was surprised at night by mutinous officers, cadets, and soldiers; he was forced on the pain of death to sign a sort of abdication, was carried to the Russian frontier town Reni, and from there, on an order from St. Petersburg, was brought to the Austrian frontier. In Sofia the metropolitan Clement held a sort of high court at which everyone who appeared received one or two rubles and proclaimed that God had loosed the Bulgarian people from Prince Battenberg and had brought them back under the protection of the powerful czar. Thereupon the populace was driven to the Russian consulate, upon the balcony of which the metropolitan, standing between the consular administrators, blessed the kneeling people. He himself became the head of the new cabinet. Zankov was minister of the interior. But it soon became clear that neither people nor army approved of the unscrupulous deed. Protests poured in from all sides. The militia of eastern Rumelia under Mutkurov marched against Sofia, the conspirators, as many as had not escaped by flight, were taken prisoners, and on the 24th Mutkurov with Karavelov and Stambulov formed a provisional government in the name of the prince. A deputation started out to find the latter and invite him to return. It found him in Lemberg, and although deeply wounded by the ingratitude shown him he decided to come back. On all sides he was received as in triumph.

But he was forced to the conclusion that he could not maintain himself against the lasting hatred of Russia, without plunging Bulgaria into incalculable difficulties. From Rustchuk he sent a humble telegram to the czar which closed with the words: "Since Russia has given me my crown, I am ready to return it to the hands of her sovereign." Undignified as this offer was, it nevertheless failed completely in attaining its object. The answer of the czar was a curt rejection: "I cannot approve of your return to Bulgaria, as I see calamitous results for the country, which is already so severely tried. I shall refrain so long as you remain there from all interference in the unfortunate state of affairs to which Bulgaria is again reduced." It was the most pregnant expression of the fiction, popular in Russia, that the government of the prince was anarchy from which Russian rule must free the country. This proclamation of implacable enmity against his person decided the prince. After he had made his solemn entry into Sofia he reappointed the provisory government, abdicated on September 7th, and left the country.

With redoubled emphasis the efforts were now renewed to force Bulgaria into a Russian vassalage. More imperiously than a Roman pro-consul, General Kaulbars, the new representative of Slavic authority, imposed the threefold command: To raise the state of siege, to liberate the imprisoned conspirators, and to defer the election for the grand sobranye, which had been fixed for October 10th. But both regency and people opposed a firm and temperate resistance to these officious attempts. The elections to the sobranye resulted in a complete defeat for the Russian party. The originators of a treacherous attempt against the little coast fortification of Burgas were overpowered and brought before a tribunal regardless of all protests of Kaul-

[1887-1893 A.D.]

bars, whereupon the general, with all Russian consuls, left the country. A great patriotic *liga* was formed to support the regency and to put an end to the uncertainty, above all to choose a new prince; there was no lack of voices demanding the re-election of Alexander in spite of Russia, but he declined definitively. So also did Prince Valdemar of Denmark, who was unanimously chosen by the *sobranie*; whereupon a delegation went the rounds of the signatory powers asking to be given another candidate. On July 7th, 1887, the grand *sobranie* elected unanimously Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a grandson on his mother's side of Louis Philippe.^f

BULGARIA UNDER PRINCE FERDINAND

Prince Ferdinand, then twenty-six years old, was thus suddenly called from the position of a lieutenant in the Austrian army to rule over the "peasant nation," as Bulgaria is sometimes called, a nation numbering two million peasants with little idea of the responsibilities and privileges of constitutional rule. The task might not have been so difficult had Bulgaria been left to herself, but the experience of Prince Alexander had shown that the position of her ruler might be full of peril owing to Russian intrigues.

At first the government was almost wholly in the hands of Stambulov, the able prime minister, who had been principally instrumental in bringing Ferdinand to the throne and now kept him there in spite of the fact that the European powers, following Russia's lead, refused to recognise him. Notwithstanding this slight, which placed Bulgaria under the social ban of the great powers, the organisation and development of the country went quietly forward. Various plots and conspiracies against the new ruler were suppressed by Stambulov, and an attempt to assassinate the prime minister himself also failed, the bullet intended for him killing Belchev, the minister of finance, instead.

Stambulov cultivated friendly relations with the Porte, and obtained from the sultan important concessions for the Bulgarian clergy and Bulgarian schools in Macedonia. But with all his good qualities Stambulov did not possess those of a courtier. Ferdinand found his prime minister's arbitrary ways irksome, and this feeling was increased upon his marriage. In 1893 Ferdinand had married Princess Marie Louise of Parma, a princess of Bourbon blood, who



PRINCE FERDINAND

(1861-)

arrived in Sofia full of ideas of court ceremonial and of the respect due to royalty, which were foreign to the people over whom her husband ruled. Particularly distasteful to her was the peasant statesman and prime minister, and she refused to have him at her dinners. The death of the exiled Prince Alexander in the same year, and the birth of a son and heir in the following January, strengthened the position of Prince Ferdinand, and he began to show more independence towards Stambulov. He was also more than ever anxious to obtain recognition at the foreign courts, and felt that his prime minister stood in the way. The latter had been in office seven years, and his domineering manner had not failed to make enemies. In May, 1894, the "Bulgarian Bismarck," as Stambulov has been called, resigned, and a new ministry was formed by Doctor Stoilov. In the following year (July 15th, 1895) Stambulov was brutally attacked in the streets of Sofia and almost hacked to pieces, although he did not die until three days later. The murderers were never brought to justice.

Ferdinand now entered on a policy of effecting a *rapprochement* with Russia and judged the time of the accession of a new czar to the throne (November, 1894) to be propitious to an urging of his suit. Nicholas was personally more favourably disposed to Ferdinand than his father had been, but the prince was given to understand that the baptism of his eldest son, Boris, into the orthodox Greek faith was *sine qua non* of his recognition by Russia. Boris had been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, that having been one of the conditions imposed by the duke of Parma on the marriage of his daughter, but in February, 1896, he was rebaptised into the Greek church. In the following March the sultan named Ferdinand prince of Bulgaria and governor-general of eastern Rumelia, and his position was officially recognised by the powers.

During Ferdinand's reign there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the country. Towns have been rebuilt, railways constructed, and a national bank established. The people are industrious and prosperous, and there is no great poverty or wealth. They show an astonishing eagerness for education, and nearly one-tenth of the budget consists of appropriations for schools. The ruler over this nation of peasants is a familiar figure in the popular health resorts of Europe, where he goes by the name of "Nanda."

Lately, however, there has been a recrudescence of violence. Frequent outrages have been committed by Greek, Turkish, and Bulgarian bands. On March 7th, 1907, a great outdoor meeting was held at Sophia to denounce the government, and four days later M. Petkoff, the premier, was killed by an assassin, who also wounded the minister of commerce. M. Petkoff was the third minister of the Stambuloff party to be assassinated. Later in the month the ministry resigned, and Dr. Guedeff, president of the Sobranye, formed a new one in which five of the old ministers retained their portfolios. Outrages by marauding bands still continue.^a



CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF SERVIA

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

OF all the races which possess Europe the most numerous is that of the Slavs. But, as has been observed by Herder, who in the eighteenth century was one of the first to draw attention to the Slavs, "they occupy more space upon the map than in history." Their civilisation and their destiny have been determined by two important facts: (1) They appeared upon the scene much later than the other European peoples; the Latins had already a long past of progress and glory, the Germans and the Celts were already submitting to the influence of Greco-Roman culture and of Christianity, when the Slavs were passing through a patriarchal period. (2) Placed on the frontier of Europe, the Slavs were exposed to Asiatic invasions before they had succeeded in forming powerful states. Their mission had been in general less to promote civilisation than to protect and propagate it. The Germans called the Slavs by the name of Wends. The Slavs call themselves Serbs, from which comes the form Spores, frequently used by Byzantine historians. The word seems to have meant people, or nation. The names Serb and Wend are still used in our day, but they now designate only particular groups.

The territories of the lower Drave and of the Save were overrun at an early date by Slavs, coming from the north or from the lower Danube. These territories, however, were not really occupied by them until during the reign of Heraclius (610-641). At that time the Croats and the Serbs established themselves in Dalmatia and the adjacent countries on the west. History, however, is not at present able to establish their origin or fix their point of departure. Later, the Croats occupied Croatia from the Kalpa to the Verbas, the southeast of Setria, and northern Dalmatia; the Serbs settled to the south and east in the direction of Belgrade, Novibazar, and Durazzo. The Romans kept only a few cities on the coast and the islands. The dispersion of the Slavs accentuated the differences which had already begun to appear between

the Slavs of the west and those of the south and east. Moreover, each of these two larger groups was subdivided into a certain number of peoples and tribes. Of the southern group, the Croats and the Serbs, who were afterwards divided by Christianity, which the Croats received from Rome, the Serbs from Byzantium, formed at the beginning one and the same people. To-day they speak the same language, but the Croats use the Latin alphabet and the Serbians the Cyrillic. They number about seven millions, half of whom are in Austria and the others spread over Servia, Montenegro, and Turkey (Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, Herzegovina, etc.). It should be noted that the Serbs and Croats appear to have come from the north of the Carpathians, where the writers of the tenth century still mention a White Servia and a White Croatia.

Until the beginning of the tenth century the Slavs, already separated into different groups and often hostile to each other, formed nevertheless only one people. The preaching of Cyril and Methodius is the last episode of Pan-



MOSTAR, CAPITAL OF HERZEGOVINA

Slavic history; from that time the history of the different Slavic states begins. The individuality of each group becomes marked more and more precisely; the dialects are mixed with foreign elements and become so distinct, not only in pronunciation but in their syntax, that the primitive unity is perceptible only to the eye of a philologist. The common institutions, the elective power of the *knezes*, the popular assemblies, the communal organisation of the family, the juristic solidarity of the clans, the equality of members of the family and of the tribe, are maintained now only among certain of the western Slavs, and they are almost everywhere replaced by feudal traditions or imitations of foreign right. And yet, in the midst of their so different careers and in spite of the chasm which events have placed between them, the sentiment of a common origin has never wholly disappeared from among the Slavs. More actively among the neighbouring groups, the idea of Slavic unity is preserved among all, at least as a vague remembrance and an obscure presentiment.

Even after their final separation, the primitive unity of the Slavs was transmitted by a certain parallelism in the development of their history.

[1000-1189 A.D.]

Thus the tenth and eleventh centuries are characterised by the union of primitive tribes into states. Several of these new monarchies soon attained real power. The Slavs of the east early reached a remarkable degree of material and intellectual development, but the action of Byzantine civilisation profoundly altered the character of these people, and their momentary progress was dearly bought by a political and social disorganisation which prepared the way for the disasters of the following epoch. Fortune was less cruel to the Serbs and Croats than to some other of the Slavic tribes, yet their history is in the tenth and eleventh centuries still very perturbed. The Serbs established in Serbia proper, in Montenegro, Herzegovina, and on the shores of the Adriatic were subject to different princes, over whom the grand *zhupan* exercised only a very precarious authority; he resided at Novibazar in Old Serbia. All this period of Servian history is a long series of battles with the Bulgarians and Byzantines, who successively established their authority over these regions. In the eleventh century the Greeks, despite the stipulations they had entered into, attempted to take Serbia under their immediate control, and to subject it to their financial system. In pursuance of this design a Greek governor was sent into the country. But the proceeding incited a general revolt. A Servian chief, Stephen Voyislav, who was imprisoned at Constantinople, found means to effect his escape and return to his native land. He quickly assembled the nation around him; and the Greek governor with his dependents, who are represented as mercenary and tyrannical like their master, was compelled to leave the country.^b Voyislav appears to have taken up a position near the coast; vessels from Byzantium, laden with rich treasures, fell into his hands; and he entered into alliance with the Italian subjects of the Greek Empire, who were at that time endeavouring to obtain their freedom.^c

It was in this century also that the grand *zhupan* Michael was recognised as king by Pope Gregory VII. Not, however, until the rise of the Nemanya dynasty did Serbia develop a truly national history.

NEMANYA DYNASTY

The founder of this dynasty was Stephen Nemanya, the descendant of a princely family of Dioclea (the present Montenegro), who came to the throne in about 1159.^a He was an energetic and warlike prince, who attempted to group the Servian tribes, isolated in their savage independence, into one state. He had first to defend himself against his own family. It appears that he owed much to Manuel Comnenus; however, Stephen's conquests in Croatia and Dalmatia finally led the emperor to march against him in person. Without waiting for battle (1173), Stephen made his submission, and to this remained faithful till the death of Manuel (1180), when he considered himself free. He then took up arms again, wrested Nish from the Greeks, extended his empire over Dalmatia to the mouth of the Cattaro, over Herzegovina, over Montenegro and Danubian Serbia, but not over Bosnia, because there he came into conflict with the Hungarians. In 1189, when Frederick Barbarossa passed through Stephen's country, he had an interview with the Servian prince at Nish. Stephen offered him the aid which the Greeks refused, and asked his support against them and authorisation for the marriage of his son with the heiress to the Dalmatian crown. The German emperor declined this alliance. It was feared in Germany that a great Slavic state would menace the Holy Empire. Stephen Nemanya was afterwards at war with Isaac Angelus, whose niece he subsequently married.

In the interior he succeeded in establishing his authority over the ambitions of the local chiefs and the separatist tendencies of the tribes. The zhupans ceased to be the masters of their zhupanias in order to become agents of the prince. He fought the obstinate pagans and the Bogomiles; he understood that paganism and heresy are supports of particularism. He founded churches and monasteries, of which the most celebrated were that of Kilandjar on Mount Athos and that of Tsarska-Lavra at Studenitzza, which was his burying-place and that of the kings, his successors. He entered Tsarska-Lavra as a monk in 1195, and died there in 1200; the Servians honour him under the name of St. Simeon. His third son, Rastko, was a monk also; he became St. Sava, the father of the national church, one of the promoters of the literary movement. The patriarch of Constantinople reorganised their church as autocephalus, and St. Sava was its first archbishop at Ujitsa (1221).^b Stephen II was of a peace-loving turn of mind and never fought unless obliged to do so. The chief disturbance in his reign was occasioned by Andrew II, king of Hungary, whose territories had been brought into close contact with Servia by the annexation to that country of Bosnia and Dalmatia. He tried to stir up Stephen's second brother, Vouk, to rebel against him, but their third brother, Sava, succeeded in making peace. Stephen died in 1224, and was followed on the throne by his three sons in succession. The first two, Radoslav (Stephen III) and Ladislaus, did not distinguish themselves in any way.^a

Urosh the Great and Milutin

In 1242 (Stephen) Urosh, the youngest son of Stephen, succeeded his brother Ladislaus. His able and prosperous reign lasted until 1276. Between the Greek Empire and its adversaries he always took sides with the latter. To strengthen his position with the Bulgarian he gave his daughter to the emperor Michael VIII. To protect himself on the north and to facilitate the occupation of the Matchva he had his son Dragutin marry Princess Catherine, a Hungarian. He himself had married a French woman, the princess Hélène, a relative of the Anjous of Naples, in the praise of whom all Servian historians unite. The alliance with the Angevin kings protected the kingdom of Urosh on the west, and permitted him to devote his energies to the struggle with Constantinople. Although his successes were slight, he merits his cognomen of Great for having laid the foundations of a firm and prudent policy. The creation of the mining industry and a good commercial policy augmented the wealth of the country. It is under him that Servia began to gain ascendancy over Bulgaria, in which country the policy of expansion was coming to an end with the Asen dynasty. A palace revolution interrupted this happy reign. In 1276 Urosh was obliged to abdicate in favour of his rebellious son Dragutin, who was supported by a Hungarian army. Pursued by remorse, Dragutin himself in 1281 abdicated in favour of his brother Milutin. He kept for himself northern Servia, the Matchva, and the adjacent part of Bosnia; he reigned there for a long time, and contributed much to the renaissance in this reign of Slavo-Byzantine civilisation.

During the reign of his brother Milutin (1281-1321), one of the most remarkable among the Nemanyas, the work of Servian unity was signally advanced. Continuing his father's policy, Milutin succeeded in definitely establishing Servian domination beyond the Tchas-Dag, in the valley of the Vardar, at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. Allied with the Greek despots of Epirus and with the king of Naples, protected on the Hungarian side by his brother Dragutin, Milutin marched towards the valley of the Struma, and

[1282-1336 A.D.]

occupied the region of Seres and Kavala. The Servian arms for the first time reached the sea of the Archipelago (1282-1283). Shortly afterwards Milutin occupied the region of the lakes of Ochrida and of Presba. A marriage with the daughter of the Bulgarian emperor George Terterij was sufficient, in the opinion of Milutin, to assure him peace on the side of Bulgaria. Nevertheless in 1291 he had to defend himself against a Bulgarian prince, Shishman of Widdin, who began to be alarmed at the greatness of the Servian state. Shishman, being defeated, was treated diplomatically by Milutin, who in order to cement the peace gave him in marriage the daughter of one of his chief dignitaries. The union was afterwards still further strengthened by the marriage of Neda, Milutin's daughter, with the son of Shishman.

The war against the Byzantine Empire recommenced in 1296 and 1297. Northern Albania was conquered, and the Servian kingdom continued to expand in Macedonia. Andronicus (II) Palæologus, already engaged by the Turks in Asia, sought peace in Europe by an alliance with the power he feared the most, and he gave his daughter Simonide to Milutin in marriage. The good understanding between the two sovereigns was not disturbed, and Milutin ended his reign in peace. It was a glorious reign, for, including the possessions of Dragutin, the Servian dominion extended on the one hand from the Bosnia to the Rilo-Dagh and to the Struma; on the other from the Save and the Danube to the mountains of Strumitza and to Prilip in Macedonia. His reign was not less beneficent at home. Servian annals glorify him for having constructed or restored forty churches in his own states, and abroad at Jerusalem, at Thessalonica, near Seres, and at Constantinople. In this last city he built and endowed a *xeuodochie*, a free asylum for the poor.

Milutin was of an authoritative temperament, and imperative in his demands for obedience. His son Stephen, the future Urosh III, had a taste of this domineering will. The peaceful policy pursued during the latter part of the reign had not failed to excite the discontent of partisans of expansion. Stephen put himself at the head of the malcontents. His father gave an order—which was not executed—to have his eyes put out, and had him imprisoned at Constantinople. Stephen stayed there seven years. In 1321 he was called to succeed Milutin.

Urosh III; Expansion Under Dushan

The reign of Urosh III was signalised by a war against the Slavic state of the east. The brother-in-law of Urosh, Michael, czar of the Bulgarians, repudiated Neda to marry a Byzantine princess. Since the growth of Servian power was viewed with anxiety in Constantinople as well as in Bulgaria, a coalition was formed against Urosh III. The war which resulted ended in a crushing defeat of the Bulgarian army at Küstendil. The victory was due in great measure to the heroism of the crown prince Dushan. According to the traditional policy of the Nemanyas, an attempt was made to create new bonds between vanquished Bulgaria and Servia. Dushan married the sister of Czar Michael. In 1336, Dushan, fearing that his father would disinherit him in favour of another son whom he had had by his second wife (a Byzantine princess), took up arms and dethroned him. It has been said of Stephen Dushan that he was the Charlemagne of Servia. Like the great emperor of the west, the Servian czar had himself represented on his coins with a globe in his hands surmounted by a cross. If he has merited the title of "Great," which all foreign historians have attributed to him, it is perhaps less for having

conducted Serbia to the highest degree of power which she attained in the Middle Ages than for his glorious conception of an empire of the East, remodelled by him, rejuvenated by him, and established at the extremity of Europe as a barrier to the Turk, who was every day becoming more threatening. At his arrival the moment seemed to have come for deciding the question which had long been hanging fire: would the hegemony in the peninsula remain with the Greeks, or would it pass to the Slavs, who were younger and more energetic?

It appeared as if its solution would be favourable to the Slavs. Fifty years after the restoration of the Grecian Empire the interior anarchy and the Turkish peril had reduced that empire nearly to its last extremity. Different factions were undermining the states, and each in turn hired the Ottoman. With the Slavs, on the other hand, the conflict between the Servians and Bulgarians had just ended—an alliance united the two peoples. Would not the genius of Dushan assure pre-eminence to the Slavs in their struggle with the Byzantines? The first ten years of Dushan's reign confirmed all hopes. Successful campaigns extended the realm towards the south and brought it, by conquests in Macedonia, near the shores of the Ægean, and by acquisitions in Albania near those of the Adriatic. With the exception of Thessalonica, Chalcidice, and the Morea, Dushan was already master of nearly all the western provinces of the empire.

Arrived at this degree of power, Dushan decided that the title of king (*kral*) was not sufficient, and immediately after the conquest of Seres he proclaimed himself "emperor (czar) of Serbia and Rumania." Convinced that the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire must be to his profit, Dushan, while biding his time, devoted himself to accentuating among foreign nations the prestige of his new dignity, and to reinforcing it in the interior by organising the young Slavic empire. Hence he surrounded himself with grand officials, despots, logothetes, chamberlains, following the example of Byzantine sovereigns; hence he made journeys into his recently acquired territories. Hence also did he accomplish the great work which terminated in 1349 in the promulgation of laws known by the name of the Code of Dushan, the greatest of his titles to glory. This code establishes the authority of law, and puts an end to arbitrary power. It solemnly proclaims the pre-eminence and the exclusive rights in the Servian Empire of Greek orthodoxy, the state religion, and reserves the right to punish Catholics and heretics.

Other measures were less fortunate; for example, the division of the empire into large governmental districts prepared the way for its dismemberment in the day when the imperial power should no longer be in firm hands. The voyevods, following the example of the counts of the west, were later to attempt independence by usurping lands and imperial powers. But Dushan did not foresee a future of that sort. What he foresaw was Constantinople as the capital of the Servian Empire. Nevertheless the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire was not as near nor dismemberment as easy as Dushan had at first thought. In the first place, Serbia, purely a land power, could not furnish him with the fleet without which no one could be lord either of Thessalonica or Constantinople. In vain did he seek the alliance of Venice, whose vessels had contributed in great measure to the victory of the Latins in 1204; the republic had no intention of helping in the rebuilding of a great Balkan state, in the creation of a new power on the Mediterranean. Furthermore, those Turks known to Dushan, in his conflict with the Byzantine Empire, as mercenaries or allies of the Greeks, formed projects analogous to his. They were going to seize Gallipoli (1356), closing the Dardanelles and barring

[1355-1371 A.D.]

to the Slavs the maritime route to Constantinople. Nevertheless, the czar of Servia was preparing a final attack upon the capital of the Greek Empire when he died suddenly, on December 20th, 1355.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SERVIAN EMPIRE

It is related that Dushan had gathered his voyevods about his death-bed and conjured them to remain united and faithful to his son. Scarcely had the emperor expired when the voyevods cried, "Whose shall be the empire?" True or false, the anecdote symbolises exactly the perilous situation in which the sudden death of Dushan left the Servian Empire. There was an heir, it is true, a son of Dushan—Urosh; but he was only nineteen; and furthermore, his devout, peaceful character, wholly lacking animation, was in striking contrast to that of his father; it was, indeed, Louis le Débonnaire after Charlemagne. However, the work of dismembering the empire did not begin at once, and, with the exception of a few losses on the borders, the union survived for ten years after the death of Dushan. The governors, in appearance at least, respected the imperial authority.

To the internal causes of destruction, which were analogous to those which brought on the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, was added an external peril: in the Orient the Turks were coming, as in the Occident the Normans came. The state created by Murad I (1360-1389) in Thrace was growing rapidly. The Turks were pressing the Servians at the southwest, towards Seres and Drama by Rhodope (Despoto-Dagh), and by the Ægean Sea; they were approaching Macedonia by the Maritza. The Servian provinces of this region had to organise their defence alone, for the nobles of central Servia, guided by wholly egoistic views, seemed in no way to care for the danger threatening the south, and the emperor Urosh was not able to recall them to the idea of a common danger. In these circumstances the secession of the south was inevitable. The despot Vukashin, who governed Macedonia and held Prisrend, the capital of the empire, separated himself from the empire. He proclaimed himself king of Servia (1366), and gave the title of "despot" to his brother Uglicha, who occupied Seres, Drama, and the coast region. He prepared to fight against the Turks. The Servian Empire was thus separated into two parts: the provinces of the north under Urosh V and his vassals, the provinces of the south under Vukashin and his brother, of the Mernitchevitch dynasty.

The rôle of the two Mernitchevitch was most glorious. Vukashin and his brother did not wish merely to safeguard themselves; divining the projects of the Turks, they desired to keep them from gaining ground in Europe. But the heroism of Uglicha could not prevent Murad I from establishing his capital at Adrianople. In 1371 the two brothers prepared for a supreme effort: Greeks and Servians were enrolled; never before had such an army been opposed to the Turks since their establishment in Thrace. The result was the disaster of the Maritza (September 26th, 1371) and the end of Uglicha and of Vukashin. It was a death-blow to the state of southern Servia. The Servian rulers of Macedonia became vassals of the Turks, though not their subjects. The son of Vukashin, Marco Kravevich (1371-1394), kept indeed the title of king under the suzerainty of the sultan. It has been said of Marco Kravevich that he was the Roland of Servia. No hero was more popular, and his name with that of the czar Lazarus fills the most beautiful *jesmas* (national songs). Marco and his horse Sharatz are as popular to-day

as Roland and his sword Durandal were in the Middle Ages. Marco has remained the type of a knight, as generous as he was heroic, a great fighter and a great drinker. At the death of Marco and of his friend Constantine the semblance of independence which the Turks had left to southern Servia disappeared; Macedonia and its dependencies were partitioned off into *ziemets* and *timars* of the Ottoman Empire.

Northern Servia had made a great mistake in leaving Vukashin to fight alone at Adrianople. Events now transpired similar to those which had taken place in southern Servia. Here also the particularist tendency was in force. Only the centre of Servia remained faithful to Urosh V. He died shortly after the battle of the Maritza (December 2nd, 1371). He left no heirs. Prince Lazarus and his brother-in-law Vuk Brankovich found themselves masters of the most important fragment of what had been the empire of Dushan. It appears that Lazarus wished to make himself heir and to reorganise the empire. But the feudal lords would not abandon their independence. Altmanovich, feudal lord of the mountainous country between the Narenta and the Levi, took arms against the new prince; this deplorable war was unfortunate for its author. The other feudal lords recognised the authority of Lazarus, and northern Servia was nearly reconstituted under a firm central power. It was precisely at this moment that Murad I decided to finish the conquest of the peninsula. Lazarus had concluded an alliance with the king of Bosnia, and the contingents of the latter were found at the side of the Servian nobility on the battle-field of Kosovo, June 15th, 1389.^b

The Battle of Kosovo (1389 A.D.), and the Last Struggles

On the mountain heights, crowned by the chief seat of the Servian Empire—on the field of Kosovo—the Servians, the Bosnians (who after Dushan's death had regained their independence), and the Albanians once more stood united against the Ottomans. But the Turks were stronger than all these nations combined. The particulars of the battle are obscured by national pride and the vagueness of traditions, but the result is certain: from that day the Servians became subject to the Turkish power. The sultan of the Ottomans and the Servian *kral* were both slain in the conflict. But their successors, Bayazid and Stephen Lazarevich, entered into an agreement which formally established the inferior position of the Servians. Lazarevich gave the sultan his sister to wife, and undertook to render him military service in all his campaigns, and throughout his life he honourably performed his portion of the compact. In the great battles of Nikopoli and Ancyra, in which the Ottoman Empire was in jeopardy, Lazarevich fought by the side of his brother-in-law. Apparently he was bound to this house by an oath, and with the zeal of a kinsman he exerted himself in the adjustment of quarrels that on one occasion broke out in the Osmanli family. But, in so doing, he only confirmed the subjugation of his own nation. During the lifetime of Lazarevich, affairs went on tolerably well; but after his death the Osmanlis hastened to lay claim to Servia, on the ground that they inherited the land through their relationship with him. The contest on the subject of religion, which had never been adjusted, although hitherto there had been few disputes, was soon renewed. The Turks affirmed that they could not permit a Christian prince to retain possession of such rich mines and strong forts, lest he should at some future time use them to impede the progress of the Moham-

[1396-1457 A.D.]

medan faith. With the spur of religion the sultan urged on the spirit of conquest.

About the year 1438 we find a mosque erected at Krushevitza, and Turkish garrisons placed in the fortresses of Golubatz and Semendria (Sinederevo) on the Danube, and in the immediate vicinity of the richest mines. Matters had advanced so far that deliverance could be hoped for only through foreign aid, and now, indeed, only through the assistance of the Western Empire. The Latins still maintained an undoubted superiority on the sea; and in eastern Europe, where the Jagellos had united Lithuania and Poland and given a king to Hungary, a powerful land force was organised, which appeared well qualified to make head against the Ottomans. The Servian and Bosnian princes delayed not a moment in joining this force. The alliance thus cemented appeared formidable. It was principally brought about by the exertions of the Servian prince, George Brankovich, who throughout all his misfortunes had sustained the character of a wise and brave man, and who did not now spare the treasures which he had collected in better days. So successful and decisive were the results of this alliance (especially of the long campaign in which János (John) Hunyady celebrated Christmas on the conquered snow plains of the Balkans) that the Turks felt the insecurity of their tenure; and in the Peace of Szegedin (July 1444) actually restored the whole of Servia.^c

This restoration, however, was of short duration. Scarcely were the Turks' backs turned when the king of Hungary, in spite of the solemn treaty he had just made, attacked them again, but this time the Christians were completely defeated, at Varna, 1444. Brankovich, however, still maintained his throne with the aid of Hunyady until his death in 1457. Two years later the Turks incorporated Servia in the Ottoman Empire.^a A Servian song relates that George Brankovich once inquired of John Hunyady what he intended to do with regard to religion should he prove victorious. Hunyady did not deny that in such an event he should make the country Roman Catholic. Brankovich thereupon addressed the same question to the sultan, who answered that he would build a church near every mosque, and would leave the people at liberty to bow in the mosques, or to cross themselves in the churches, according to their respective creeds. The general opinion was that it was better to submit to the Turks and retain their ancient faith, than to accept the Latin rites. Brankovich, who, even when he was ninety years old, was urged to adopt the Western creed, steadfastly refused; and when, after his death, the females of his family went over to the Latin church, their ruin was only hastened thereby. The last princess, Helena Palæologa, offered her country as a fief to the see of Rome—an act which excited a rebellion among her subjects. The Servians themselves invited the Osmanlis into their fortresses, that they might not see their strongholds given over to a cardinal of the Romish church.

SERVIA UNDER THE TURKS

The chief nobles of the country, whom the Turks began to annihilate as they had already annihilated the royal house, soon perceived that their only safety lay in embracing Mohammedanism. Thus they retained an hereditary right in their castles, and, so long as they remained united, enjoyed much influence in the province. Sometimes a native vizir was accorded them. By this means, however, they separated themselves from their people, who,

in defiance of every inducement, remained true to their old faith; and, being excluded from holding any office in the state, and from carrying arms, they, in common with all the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, became *raya*. In Herzegovina this state of affairs was in some degree ameliorated by the fact that certain Christian chiefs maintained their ground through the aid of an armed population. From time to time they thus obtained, by *berates* from the Porte, a legal acknowledgment of their rights, which the pashas were compelled to respect. In Servia proper—on the Morava, the Kolubara, and the Danube—the old system, on the contrary, was upheld in all its severity. The army of the grand seignior almost every year traversed this country to the seat of war on the Hungarian frontier; consequently independence could not be preserved.

It appears, indeed, that the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Belgrade were summoned to Constantinople to render feudal service during the hay-harvest in the sultan's meadows. The country was divided amongst the *spahis*, whom the inhabitants were bound, by the strictest enactments, to serve. The Servians were not allowed to carry any weapons, and in the disturbances which broke out we find them armed only with long staves. They would not keep horses lest they should be robbed of them by the Turks. A traveller of the sixteenth century describes the people as poor captives, none of whom dared to lift up his head. Every five years the tribute of youths was collected—a severe and cruel exaction, which carried off the bloom and hope of the nation into the immediate service of the grand seignior, and turned against themselves their own native strength. But a change was gradually working in the destiny of nations. The alliance of Hungary with Austria, and, consequently, with the empire and military forces of the Germans, checked the advances of the Ottomans, and at length effected the deliverance of this country from the Turks. The religious dissensions had divided the nation, but at the same time had developed the power and spirit of the people, who zealously seconded the active interference of the Protestant princes.

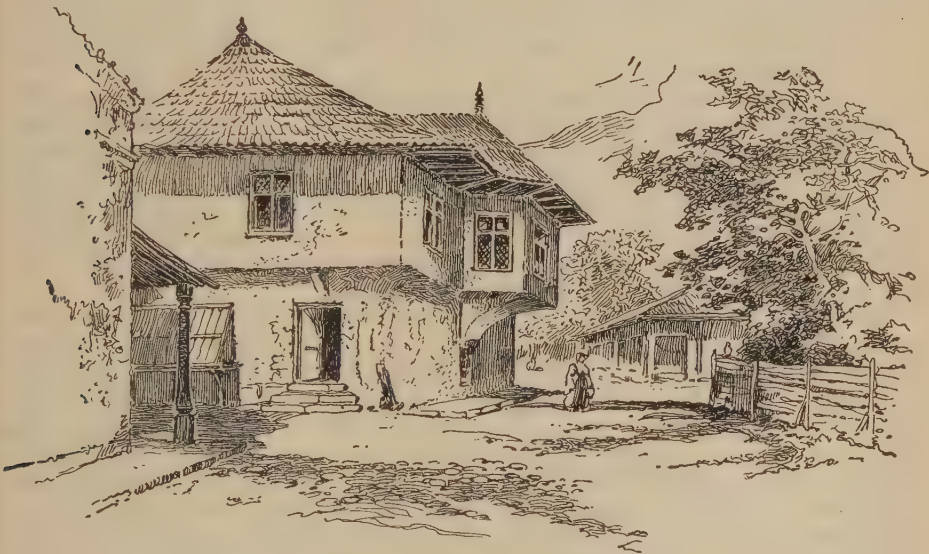
At the Peace of Passarowitz an extensive portion of Servia remained in the hands of the emperor, who did not fail to encourage the culture of the soil by exonerating the peasants from the obligation of serving in the army, and by promoting German colonisation. These reforms, however, soon ceased, so that, after the lapse of twenty years, the conquered Servian districts had to be given back again to the Turks. This was owing more to the complications of European politics than to any increase of the Turkish power, but its result was to render the condition of the Christian population in those parts far worse than it had been. Not only was vengeance taken on those serfs who had not been so wise as to emigrate, but large tracts of land were transferred to other proprietors. Yet the chief and deepest injury was inflicted on the ecclesiastical constitution. Hitherto the Servian patriarchate, with the Servian bishoprics, had been preserved under the dominion of the Turks. This gave the nation, so far at least as regarded the church, a certain share of political power, and procured for the rayah a representation opposed to the power of the grand seignior; nor was this at all to be despised.

In itself it was a politic plan of the emperor Leopold to gain over to himself this powerful ecclesiastical authority, and to take it under his imperial protection; by which arrangement the entire Illyrian nation stood towards the emperor in the relation of protected states. It was on this ground that they rose so promptly, in the year 1689, in support of the emperor; their patriarch, Arsenius Czernowitz, leading them on by his example. He, with some thou-

[1689-1737 A.D.]

sands of the people, all bearing the insignia of the cross, joined the imperial camp. Now, therefore, would have been the time to carry their projects into execution. But Arsenius Czernowitz found himself compelled by the course of affairs to retire from the ancient archiepiscopal seat, and to migrate into Austria, which he did as a great national chief. Thirty-seven thousand families accompanied him and settled in the Hungarian territory, where the emperor, by important privileges, secured for them their religious independence (1691). Nor can we wonder that the Turks would not suffer an ecclesiastical ruler, so openly hostile to them as Czernowitz, to exercise any influence in their dominions. They at once endeavoured to render all intercourse with him impracticable, and themselves appointed a Servian patriarch at Ipek.

On the advance of the Austrians, in 1737, the Albanians and Servians once more rose in great numbers, their forces amounting, it is said, to twenty



TURKISH HOUSE AT BUKHAREST

thousand; but they were met by the Turks, near the Kolubara, where their entire host was slaughtered. Another circumstance conspired to produce an entire national defection from the ecclesiastical rule. An impostor, assuming to be Peter III, succeeded in gaining a following in Montenegro, and in obtaining an authority which extended far into the Turkish dominions. He was acknowledged by several bishops, and the then patriarch of the Servian church at Ipek sent him a valuable horse as a gift. Upon this the vizirs of Bosnia and Rumelia took the field against him, and succeeded in restricting his authority to Montenegro, whither the patriarch of Ipek was himself compelled to flee for safety.

These events determined the Porte not to suffer the election of another Servian patriarch. The dignity was united with that of the patriarch at Constantinople, over which the Porte exercised undisputed power. Greek bishops were in consequence placed over the Servian church. This proved a heavy blow for the nation. With the independence of the church the people were deprived of their last remaining share in the conduct of public

affairs, which itself had been in some measure instrumental in advancing civilisation. They now for the first time found themselves wholly subject to the Turkish government at Constantinople.^c

SERVIAN INSURRECTION; KARA GEORGE

After the Ottoman conquest Servia had been divided into fiefs and distributed to *spahis*. Nevertheless the Servian peasant was not attached to the soil; the land belonged to him; he was obliged only to pay tribute to the feudatory lord. He himself elected his *kmet* (local magistrates); it was upon them that devolved the care of collecting the tribute and of maintaining order. But the vexation of pashas and the tyranny of feudal lords made these guarantees illusory, and the Servian peasant was treated like a beast of burden. A rayah could not enter a town on horseback; if he met a Moslem on the road he had to dismount and prostrate himself; the act of carrying any kind of armour was punished by death.

The neighbourhood of Hungary and the instigation of countrymen who had fled thither in order to escape the Turkish yoke and to seek a refuge and a home had kept alive in the Servian people the love of liberty and the sentiment of nationality. The malcontents had fled to the mountains, and popular songs surrounded the exploits of the *haiduks* with a halo of glory. In the war of 1787 the Servians had fought in the Austrian armies in crowds and had there acquired a military knowledge which they were before long to display before the eyes of the disconcerted Ottomans.

The pasha of Belgrade, Ebnet Bekri, tried to win back the Servians by kindness. He had recourse to equitable and humane measures. An amnesty was proclaimed to those who had sympathised with Austria; the janissaries were held with a firm hand and all excesses repressed. The grateful rayahs applauded the pasha and the peril appeared to be averted. The janissaries then called in Pasvan Oglu, the pasha of Widdin, who had just collected the remnants of the *kridjaliks* who had been expelled from Thrace and Macedonia; he invaded Servia and marched on Belgrade. Ebnet Bekri sought refuge among the Servians, who responded enthusiastically to his call; but the janissaries rebelled openly, assassinated the pasha and dispossessed the *spahis*. The most atrocious tyranny then oppressed the people. A deputation went to Constantinople and spoke thus to the sultan: "Art thou still our czar? Come and deliver us! If thou wilt not, tell us, so that we may escape to the mountains and forests and end our lives in the rivers!"

The janissaries responded to the orders of the *padishah* by massacring all the rayahs whom birth, position, courage or riches designated as being possible chiefs of a national movement. This sanguinary precaution produced an effect different from the one intended by its authors. Despair gave strength to the rayahs; a revolt broke out and in a few days the janissaries were forced to shut themselves up in the towns and strongholds. An old *haiduk* who had commanded a volunteer corps against the Turks in 1787, George Petrovich, surnamed Kara (the Black), was elected supreme chief of the insurgents. He at first refused the office, alleging as an excuse his violent character, which forced him to chastise without pity; the *knez* replied that under the existing circumstances severity was an indispensable quality. He pleaded his ignorance of the art of governing men; the *knez* promised him their counsel.

The following stories will give the reader a sufficient idea of the character of the future liberator of Servia. He was fleeing from his fatherland to join

[1787-1806 A.D.]

the Austrians, and was waiting on the banks of the Save for the Hungarian boats which were to transport him and his companions to the other side. All at once his father remonstrated against leaving his native land and begged his son to abandon the plan. Seeing that his prayers were of no avail, the old man resorted to threats; he declared his firm intention of denouncing George and all his family. Kara George tried to impress upon his father the importance of the cause. He pleaded with him in the name of the fatherland; all was useless. "Miserable old man," cried Kara George, drawing his pistol, "better for thee to die than to betray thy country and thy family." He fired, and his father fell dead at his feet.

Another story will complete the sketch of this terrible judge. A peasant had just lost his father; the Greek priest refused to perform the funeral service except for a sum of fifty piastres. All the resources of the orphan could not make up the sum demanded; it seemed that his father's body must remain exposed to the injury of the air and to the outrages of beasts and birds of prey. In despair the peasant sought out Kara George, who, with the fifty piastres, gave him the order to dig two graves. The funeral ceremony had hardly commenced when Kara George, accompanied by several soldiers carrying a coffin, arrived at the cemetery. When the old man's body had been placed in the grave, Kara George brusquely asked the *pope* (priest) how many children he had. "Heaven has granted me five," replied the priest. "Well," answered his interlocutor with a voice of thunder, "it may be that if you leave no fortune they will some day find themselves in the same straits as this young man; hence I wish myself to provide for the expense of your burial." At a gesture of the knez the soldiers seized the pope, and, in spite of his tears and his resistance, placed him bleeding in the second coffin.

Under such an energetic chief the insurrection gained ground rapidly; Shabatz and Semendria fell into his hands, and Kara George laid siege to Belgrade, where he was joined by the pasha of Bosnia, whom the sultan had sent against the janissaries. The city surrendered, and Bekir Pasha invited the Servians to lay down their arms and return to their habitual callings. Taught by experience, the Servians refused, and implored the protection of Russia, which supported their claims at Constantinople. The divan threw the envoys into prison and ordered the pasha of Nish to recall Servia to obedience. Hafiz was beaten, and a proclamation dated Semendria summoned the whole population to arms. Bekir, the pasha of Bosnia, and Ibrahim, pasha of Scutari, were not more successful. While Peter Dobrynias was detaining Ibrahim at Deligrad, Kara George with seven thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry shut in Hadji Bey at Petzka and defeated the Bosnians at Shabatz (August 8th, 1806). The Treaty of Semendria concluded between Ibrahim and Kara George granted autonomy to the Servians; the spahis were to receive an indemnity of 600,000 florins, and the Turkish garrisons were to occupy the most important strongholds. The sultan refused to ratify the treaty and the war recommenced with fury.

Belgrade succumbed, and the pasha, Suleiman, abandoned by his own forces, surrendered the citadel on condition of being allowed to retire with arms and baggage. The capitulation was agreed to but violated immediately. At some leagues from the city Suleiman was attacked, and he and all his followers were massacred by the very escort which had been charged with his safety. The Servians, having gained the upper hand, revenged the four centuries of oppression by horrible bloodshed. Servia had escaped the rule of the Mohammedan only to fall into anarchy; the military chiefs disputed the power. In the

mean while the insurgents were taking the offensive; Milan Obrenovich and Dobrynias marched upon Nish, while Kara George invaded Bosnia and besieged Novibazar (1809). The defeat of Milan and Dobrynias at Nish forced Kara George to evacuate Bosnia. Kurshid Pasha was advancing at the head of thirty thousand men. Kara George hastened to meet him, and three thousand Servians dispersed the Ottoman army; the Bosnians, defeated at Losnitza, recrossed the Drina in disorder. These triumphs had given Kara George predominance over all the voyevods. Dobrynias and Milenko, who did not wish to submit to him, went into exile. The Porte then offered to recognise him as hospodar on the guarantee of Russia, on condition that he give back Belgrade to the Turks and deliver up his arms. Kara George, who had in vain solicited the protection of Napoleon, threw himself wholly on the side of Russia; he refused the propositions of the Divan and communicated them to the czar. The Treaty of Bucharest was his reward. The emperor Alexander abandoned Servia to the vengeance of the Porte.

Milosh Obrenovich

All the old Turkish officials regained their places; the spahis resumed possession of their timars; the country was given up to pillage. At Kladovo the whole population was impaled; at Belgrade three hundred heads fell under the sword of the executioner. These massacres were not without result; indignation and despair reawakened the patriotism and energy of the rayahs; the country again rushed to arms. Of all the leaders, Milosh Obrenovich alone had not left Servia; unable to resist, he had made his submission. As a recompense Suleiman had appointed him knez of Rudnik. But his submission was only feigned; he was watching for a favourable moment to throw off the mask and satisfy his ambition. On Palm Sunday, 1815, he raised the standard in the cemetery of Takovo and proclaimed the independence of Servia. The defeat of an Albanian corps at Maidan caused a general uprising; the Turks, surprised by the impetuosity of the attack, fell back on all sides. But Kurshid Pasha was preparing to invade Servia on the west, while Marashli Pasha was entering by the valley of the Morava; profiting by the reciprocal jealousy and hatred of the two Ottoman generals, Milosh entered upon negotiations which ended in a treaty providing for a general amnesty; the collection of taxes by the inhabitants; the creation of an assembly of twelve knez elected by the people and charged with distributing the taxes; civil, religious, and judicial autonomy; the right of Servians to keep their arms and to elect a chief who would have civil and military authority over them.

Marashli Pasha, appointed to the pashalik of Belgrade, was ordered to treat the Servians as his own children. After having triumphed over his opponents through murder or banishment, Milosh, elected knez (prince), established a despotic government and kept the pasha a prisoner in the citadel of Belgrade. The assassination of Kara George removed the only competitor who could give him any serious cause for anxiety and left him free to rule as an autocrat. Kara George had been well received by the czar, who had raised him to the grade of general and had given him the cross of St. Anne, but inaction had weighed upon him. Hastening to accept the overtures made to him by the chiefs of the *Hetæria*, he had secretly proceeded to Servia. It was hoped that at his call the Servians would take up arms again; that call was to have been the signal for a general insurrection of Greeks and Rumanians. The presence of Kara George in Servia, however, would have been fatal to the ascendancy

[1815-1842 A.D.]

of Milosh; the knez did not hesitate what course of action to pursue; scarcely had Kara George set foot in Semendria when he fell under the blows of his rival's hired assassins. Milosh was not ashamed to dishonour himself by sending to Constantinople as a pledge of his fidelity the head of the hero of national independence. Thus did the victor of Stenitza pay tribute to the sultan with the head of the victor of Shabatz, Wawarin, and Lomitz. The gory head was exposed on the walls of the serai with the following inscription: "This is the head of the brigand Kara George."^d

Servia, free and pacified, was nothing more than a tributary state under the hereditary government of Prince Milosh. He was a simple shepherd in his childhood; nature had made him great, the war of independence brave, necessity politic. This sovereign, with a principality equal to a kingdom, could not sign his name. "Not knowing how to write," he himself says in his proclamation to the Russians, "my youngest son, Michael, has signed my name and forenames, and I have affixed my seal to the act to testify that it emanates from me."^e

The Turks entered into negotiations with Milosh; on the 6th of November, 1817, at Belgrade, he was proclaimed hereditary prince of Servia and recognised by the Porte. As a result of the Peace of Adrianople the relations of Servia with the Porte were regulated by a hattî-sherif of August 3rd, 1830. According to it the Obrenovich family were to govern Servia, as hereditary rulers, under the suzerainty of the Porte and with the assistance of a national assembly. Servia was to be left wholly to itself, so that Turkish officials were to remain in power only in the fortresses which the Turks had held from ancient times. Outside the garrison no Moslem was to reside in Servia, which was to be allowed to organise its own military force. At every fresh accession to the throne the new prince was to pay the Porte 100,000 piasters (about \$4,800), certainly a very moderate sum.

NEW ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

When the old Milosh was driven out by a revolution in 1839, his younger son, Michael, was chosen by the Servians to succeed him, since the eldest son of Milosh, Milan, died only three weeks after his father's ejection. Michael also was driven out in 1842, by an insurrection which the constitutional party succeeded in raising, since the prince had caused dissatisfaction among the people by various financial measures. Michael went first to Semlin, and at the restoration of the Servian government returned to his father, the old Milosh, at Vienna. In his place Alexander, the son of Kara George, was proclaimed prince by the national assembly; he had obtained from Michael permission to return to Servia. Michael had treated him with the greatest friendliness. Although Russia at first protested against Alexander's election, he was finally established as prince in 1843, and he made it his chief duty to develop the internal conditions of Servia—to complete and improve the network of roads and to raise the system of public instruction without injuring the finances of the country. He placed himself on a good footing with the Porte, and at the outbreak of the Eastern war in 1853 did not allow Russia to force him from his neutrality.

In the Peace of Paris of 1856 Servia's affairs were again regulated by Articles 28 and 29, which read: "Art. 28. The principality of Servia remains dependent on the Porte in accordance with the imperial decrees which regulate its rights and its immunity, and which from now on are placed under the

united guarantee of the contracting powers. Accordingly the principality will preserve its independent national administration, as well as complete freedom of religion, of legislation, of commerce and navigation. Art. 29. The right of the Porte to maintain garrisons in the fortresses, which is stipulated in former conventions, is preserved intact. No armed intervention may take place in Servia without previous agreement of the contracting powers."

During the whole of Alexander's reign the Obrenovich, supported by Russia, had continued to conspire against the prince. In 1857 an elaborate, far-reaching plot against him was discovered. Alexander wished to take revenge on its promoters, but he was forced to recognise that the plot had grown far beyond his control. The national assembly demanded his abdication, and, when he fled, declared him deposed and recalled the old Milosh to the throne on September 22nd, 1858. Milosh came, but died on September 26th, 1860, and was succeeded by his son Michael, who now became prince for the second time. The latter during his long exile had developed the idea of Servian nationality, and he held firmly the theory that the little principality of Servia could play the same rôle in the war of the Christian populations of the Balkan Peninsula against the Turks which Piedmont had played in the war against Austria.

On June 15th, 1862, a tumult broke out in Belgrade. The city still had a Turkish garrison, according to the renewed stipulation of 1856. The Turks retreated into the citadel and on June 16th bombarded the city for four hours. This caused so much excitement that the Turkish pasha who was in command at Belgrade judged it advisable to negotiate. Prince Michael called one hundred thousand Servians to arms, formed foreign corps out of the racially related Bosnians, Herzegovinians, and Bulgarians, procured a quantity of weapons, and laid siege to the fortresses garrisoned by the Turks—Shabatz, Semendria, and Ushitsa. He demanded that Servia, without intervention of the Porte, should have the right to adjust its constitution to changing circumstances; that the Turks should give over to him the fortified places still occupied by them, and also the citadel of Belgrade; or else that these strongholds should be dismantled; finally, that the Mohammedans must either leave Servia or come under Servian jurisdiction.

On the appeal of the Porte a conference of the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris came together to settle the dispute. Servia obtained many of its demands, but those in regard to the strongholds were granted only with limitations. The Porte acquiesced in dismantling Ushitsa and Sokol; on the other hand it wished to keep Shabatz, Semendria, and Kladova as belonging to its general system of defence, likewise the citadel of Belgrade, wishing also to extend this last, since it left the city wholly exposed. Michael at first declared himself satisfied with what he had obtained, but in 1866 he again demanded that the Porte should withdraw the Turkish garrisons from Servian strongholds, and he again entered into extensive military preparations. The Porte declared itself ready to vacate the Servian strongholds, but made counter demands: Servia was to disarm the national militia, increase its annual tribute to the Porte, and the powers which signed the Peace of Paris were to guarantee that Servia would henceforth comport itself quietly and properly in regard to the Porte. Michael roundly rejected these counter demands; the powers had to intervene a second time, and finally the Porte consented—although with provisos which only covered its retreat—to intrust, that is, to abandon, to the Servians all Servian fortresses with the single exception of Zvornik. On June 10th, 1868, Prince Michael, who in his second term of government had certainly protected energetically the interests of Servia, was

[1862-1878 A.D.]

murdered by a band of accomplices in the garden of his Belgrade palace. Only the Porte or the Karageorgevich family can be suspected of having instigated the murder.

SERVIA BECOMES A KINGDOM UNDER MILAN

The national assembly immediately called the young prince Milan (Milano) to be Michael's successor. Prince Milan, born August 10th, 1854, was a grandson of Prince Ephraim, a younger brother of the old Milosh Obrenovich. Milan's father, Ephraim's only son, died young, and Prince Michael, who had no children, adopted his orphaned cousin Milan, and in 1864 sent him to Paris so that he might acquire a European education. On June 23rd, 1868, Milan, who was hardly fourteen years old, arrived at Belgrade, and on July 5th was solemnly anointed prince in the cathedral. On account of being a minor he was placed under a regency, which established his policy in the paths pursued by his adoptive father, Michael.^f

In 1869 the regency adopted a new constitution placing all power in the hands of the ruler and of the national assembly or *skupshchina*. This consisted of one hundred and twenty members, a fourth of whom were appointed by the prince, the rest being elected by the people to serve for terms of three years. This assembly met every year, although in special cases it was replaced by the grand *skupshchina*, consisting of four hundred and eighty members, all of whom were elected by the country at large. Prince Milan, who came of age in 1872, continued to favour Russian policy. This prince stands in marked contrast to the prince of Rumania, who came to the throne two years before him, and who at once devoted himself to the care of developing the country given him to rule, and of placing it on a military footing. Prince Milan had been educated in Paris, and his nature and inclinations appear to have fitted him for a life of extravagance and self-indulgence rather than for the duties of a king. Hence when he was drawn into declaring war with Montenegro against Turkey in 1876 his army proved far inferior to that of his ally and likewise to that of his opponent, and only by the intervention of the European powers was Servia saved from a loss of territory in consequence of her defeats.

Peace was concluded with the Porte in 1877, which did not prevent Milan from taking part in the Russo-Turkish war the same year. This time he was more successful, and among other victories he conquered the ancient town of Nish, which had belonged to Turkey ever since the battle of Kosovo. The Treaty of San Stefano, followed by the Treaty of Berlin, put an end to further hostilities. This treaty, signed in 1878, recognised the independence of Servia and gave her certain additions of territory; but Milan was disappointed in the attitude of Russia at the congress and turned his hopes towards Austria. In this he was at variance with his wife, Natalie, whom he had married in 1875 and whose sympathies were with Russia. The struggle between the pro-Austrian and the pro-Russian parties lasted throughout the reign of Milan. The government began to grow unpopular. In accordance with the Treaty of Berlin it was necessary to build railroads and to indemnify the Turkish landowners in the newly acquired districts. These measures required money, and this meant increased taxation and government monopolies on certain products. In 1882 an attempt was made on the life of the prince. In the same year Milan, with the assent of the powers, had adopted the title of king, and Servia had become a kingdom.^a

AUSTRIAN AND RUSSIAN RIVALRY

Russian and Austrian influence struggled with each other for the Servian supremacy. King Milan inclined to Austria—a policy indicated by the material interests of the country—whereas the radicals, who had an influential support in Natalie, a daughter of the Russian captain Keshko, held to Russia. The annuity which the czar gave as a dowry to the pretender Peter Karageorgevich on his marriage with the daughter of the prince of Montenegro, showed conclusively how far from firmly he and his dynasty were established on the new royal throne. An implacable dislike to Austria prevailed among his people, called forth partly by the intolerance of the Magyars, who in spite of the most solemn treaties were attempting to take away all national rights from the Serbs living in Hungary, as had already happened to the Rumanians there, partly by the usurious exploitation of the country on the part of the great Vienna banking-houses. Austrian policy fell into an irreconcilable contradiction, in that it tried to gain the confidence of the Balkan peoples, whereas the racially connected branches of these peoples were systematically oppressed in Hungary.⁹

The king's unpopularity was increased by the Bulgarian war. Servia and Bulgaria had each been watching the other's increase of territory with jealous eyes, and when the union of the two Bulgarias was proclaimed in 1885 the Servian government felt called upon either to prevent it or else to demand a compensatory increase of land for itself. The government accordingly declared war, expecting, in view of Bulgarian difficulties, to have an easy victory. But again the Servian army proved inferior to the armies of its neighbours, and again Servia was saved by foreign intervention, this time by that of Austria, who informed Bulgaria that she would meet Austrian troops should she try to advance into Servia. Peace was concluded in March, 1885. The only result reaped by Servia from the war was increased debt and a loss of what little military reputation she had acquired in the Russo-Turkish war. In addition to political difficulties, King Milan had domestic troubles which finally drove him from the throne. We have seen that the king and queen had opposite political views. Their disagreements unfortunately did not end here, and the king obtained a divorce from his wife in 1888, a proceeding which did him more harm than all his political mistakes. His enemies made effective use of these difficulties, and although the king regained his position temporarily by granting a liberal constitution, he was tired of ruling, and abdicated voluntarily in 1889, proclaiming his young son Alexander king of Servia.

THE REIGN AND MURDER OF ALEXANDER

The country was in a most confused state. Since Alexander was too young to rule, a regency had been appointed at whose head was Yovan Ristich, a man of much ability, who had already been regent during the minority of King Milan. This regency was strongly conservative, whereas the new constitution, the national assembly, and the government were all radical. The ex-queen continued to reside in Servia and her quarrels with Milan still continued to agitate public opinion. Furthermore, the unsettled state of affairs favoured the intrigues of the Karageorgevich party, which lost no opportunity of turning public dissatisfaction to its own advantage. The regency tried to help matters by appointing a liberal ministry, which at once tried to

[1889-1906 A.D.]

do away with the radical national assembly. The country refusing to respond to this attempt, the hopeless complication ensued of a radical national assembly, a liberal government, and a conservative regency. To the surprise of all, this Gordian knot was cut by the young seventeen-year-old king, who suddenly arrested his regents while they were dining with him, declared himself of age, and dissolved the national assembly. This *coup d'état*, however, of 1893 failed to bring peace to the country. Party quarrels were rife; the Karageorgevich faction intrigued more openly; the public press attacked the king and his parents; there was even talk of Russia's sending a grand duke to rule in Serbia. In the midst of all this turmoil Alexander, in 1894, asked his father, the ex-king Milan, to return, feeling the need of his greater experience in politics. The radical constitution of 1888 was abolished and the constitution of 1869 re-established.

Servia now settled down to a period of comparative tranquillity. The country appeared heartily sick of radical excesses, which now gave way to reactionary conservative measures. The liberty of the press was restricted and the laws of *lèse majesté* were made more severe. Agriculture and commerce received more attention, and a general improvement took place in the state of the country. In 1900 King Alexander married Mme. Draga Maschin, a former lady-in-waiting to Queen Natalie. This completely changed the political policy of Servia, who now attached herself to Russia. King Milan, who had caused relations with Austro-Hungary to become more friendly, was exiled from the country and died the next year. In 1901 Alexander gave the country a more liberal constitution and established a parliament with two houses—skupshtina and senate. The king's marriage gave great dissatisfaction in Servia. Draga possessed unlimited influence over her husband, and used that influence to insure the promotion of her friends or the downfall of her enemies. Matters reached a crisis when she was on the point of enforcing the nomination of her brother as heir to the throne, it having become evident, after a great deal of scandalous publicity, that she would not present King Alexander with a son.

A military conspiracy was formed, and the king and queen were brutally murdered in the palace at Belgrade, soon after midnight on June 11th, 1903. The premier, the minister of war, and the two brothers of the king were also killed. A provisional government was at once formed, which proclaimed the constitution of 1888 and invited Prince Peter Karageorgevich to become king. In spite of the horror felt at the unnecessary brutality of the proceedings, public sympathy in foreign countries was generally with the revolutionists, as King Alexander had lost public respect. In Belgrade itself there was great rejoicing.

THE SERVIA OF TO-DAY

King Peter arrived in Belgrade on June 24th, and was enthusiastically received by his people, although the Russian and Austrian ambassadors were the only foreign representatives present. Russia, seemingly following Austria's lead, severely denounced the assassination and summoned Peter to punish the conspirators. This the new king was hardly in a position to do, as his hands were tied and events were practically controlled by a military dictatorship. The recognition of Peter by the other powers followed in time. Great Britain, however, did so only after the king, in May, 1906, placed the officers chiefly implicated in the murder of King Alexander on the retired list.^a

Taken as a whole, Servian society is prosperous. Since its independence

the population has more than doubled. Hardly an eighth of the soil of Serbia is under cultivation, and almost everywhere the methods of farming are the most primitive; except in the most fertile valleys like those of the lower Timok, the land lies fallow for a year after every harvest. The exports of Serbia bear witness to this primitive stage of rural economy. They consist chiefly in poorly fattened pigs, which are sent to Germany by hundreds of thousands. The sale of these animals is the clearest revenue of the Servian peasants; nevertheless they have begun in recent years to furnish a certain quantity of grain to the markets of western Europe. Except at Belgrade the industry of the country is still in its infancy. Serbia makes the great mistake of despising all manual labour except agriculture. The young people of education aspire above all to places in the administration, and contribute towards developing that scourge of bureaucracy which does so much harm in the monarchy of Austro-Hungary. But many students on their return from foreign universities are engaged in spreading instruction throughout the country, and very great progress is being achieved in this direction; it may be said that this progress has been rapid since the period, not so long ago (1839), when the sovereign himself confessed to not being able to write.

The ambition of the Servians is to cause the disappearance from their country of anything which could recall the old Moslem domination; they apply themselves to that task with persevering energy, and from a material point of view the work is nearly finished. Belgrade "the Turkish" has ceased to exist; it is replaced by an occidental city like Vienna and Budapest; palaces in European style rise in the midst of mosques with minarets and cupolas; magnificent boulevards cross the old quarters with their winding streets, and a beautiful park covers the esplanade where the Turks used to raise bleeding heads upon stakes. Shabatz on the Save has become a "little Paris," the inhabitants say; on the Danube the city of Posharevatz, celebrated in the history of treaties by the name of Passarowitz, is equally transformed. In spirit, also, Serbia is more and more breaking away from Turkish fatalism. Only a short time ago it was a people of the Orient; from now on it belongs to the Western world, by labour and initiative.

All cults are free, yet the Greco-Catholic religion is called the state religion. This used to recognise the patriarch of Constantinople as its nominal head, but since the nineteenth century it has called itself "autocephalous," and is governed by a synod composed of the archbishop of Belgrade, the metropolitan of Servia, and three diocesan bishops.

In Serbia all able-bodied men form part of the army, but, to speak properly, the standing army, numbering four thousand men at the most, is only a framework in which all the corps of the national militia would have to enlist in case of need. Serbia could easily put a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand men into the field. Its military organisation is proportionately perhaps the strongest possessed by any state in Europe.^h



CHAPTER IV

THE LESSER BALKAN STATES

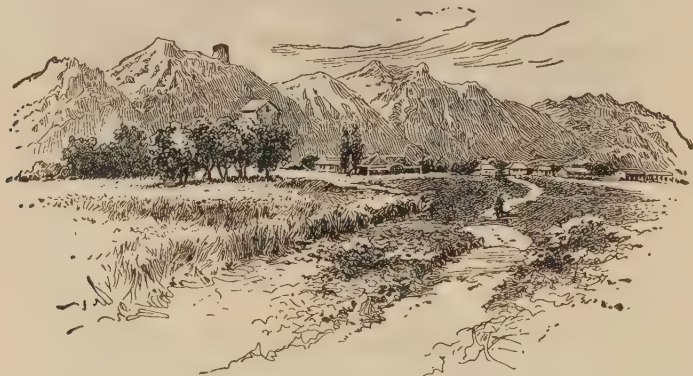
OF the minor states of the Balkan Peninsula, only Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina have had an independent history. As their politics cannot be said to have influenced world history to any extent, it has seemed advisable to give it only a general treatment, chronicling the main facts in the form of a tabulated chronology. Albania and Macedonia as such have had no individual history, and only a general description of their people and their condition has been given.

MONTENEGRO

There is a tradition that at the creation the Lord passed above the earth distributing stones over its surface out of a bag, and that when he was passing over Montenegro the bag burst and all the remaining stones fell out upon the "Black Mountain." There are different tales concerning the origin of the name *monte negro*, or black mountain; it is usually supposed to have come from the forests of black pines which once covered the slopes of the mountains. It was here that those Servian families who preferred independence under any hardships to becoming subject to the Turks sought refuge after the battle of Kosovo. The history of the country, however, goes back still farther. It formed originally a part of Illyria, and was annexed to Rome under Augustus. It was affected by the barbarian invasion like the rest of the peninsula, and in the seventh century it formed a part of the Servian Confederation. About the year 900 Ragusa was the seat of the Servian government.^a

In the dismemberment of the Servian Empire which followed the death of Dushan and the assassination of his son Urosh, a noble Servian called Balcha or Basha seized the fortress of Skadar (Scutari), and extended his authority as far as Cattaro. The present Montenegro, Podgoritza, Spuzh and Jabliak, the isles of Lake Scutari, and the territory of Bari composed his domains. One of his successors, Ivan Czernowitz (Ivan the Black), driven from his capital, Jabliak, in 1484, and forced back into the mountains of the

Czornahora by the Ottomans, fixed his residence at Cetinje and caused a general assembly to vote a law somewhat as follows: "In times of war against the Turks no Montenegrin shall be able, without the order of his chief, to leave the field of battle; he who takes to flight shall be dishonoured forever, despised and banished from the midst of his family, who shall give him a woman's dress and a spindle; the women shall drive him out with blows of the spindle as a coward and a traitor to his country." The Montenegrins



CETTINJE, THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO

then began a struggle without cessation or mercy which was to last without interruption up to our day. Sometimes the conquerors, sometimes the conquered, they never bent their necks to the Moslem yoke; never did the Ottomans succeed in gaining a footing in those rugged mountains where reigned the religion of liberty.

THE INAUGURATION OF A THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT (1499 A.D.)

The abdication of George Czernowitz (1499) placed the power in the hands of the metropolitan (vladika) and inaugurated a theocratic government. In 1687 the accession of Danilo Petrovich began a new era for Montenegro; it was during his reign that the battle of Marchuliu was fought, the greatest which has ever taken place between Montenegrins and Turks, and in which, if tradition may be believed, twenty thousand Ottomans bit the dust (1711). One year previously relations between Montenegro and Russia had commenced. Towards the end of 1710 Peter the Great concluded a treaty of alliance with the vladika against the Turks. From this time on the Czornahora became in a way a Muscovite fief; the vladikas went to St. Petersburg to receive the episcopal consecration.^b In 1767 occurred a curious interlude in the history of the Black Mountains. A doctor who had travelled considerably and had lived in Russia appeared in Montenegro and claimed to be the murdered Peter III of Russia. Sava, the vladika of that time, being a weak ruler, the impostor, who went by the name of Stephen the Little, succeeded in establishing himself in power and, as regent, proved an excellent ruler. He was killed in 1774.^a

During the long reign of Peter I (1782-1830) the Russian influence became so preponderant that the subjects of the vladika accused him before the emperor of Russia of not being sufficiently orthodox and of not sufficiently

[1782-1851 A.D.]

increasing the number of convents. Peter I condescended to justify himself before the Russian consul at Ragusa, and did not protest against the jurisdiction which the autocrat of all the Russias thus appropriated to himself.^b

This adherence to Russia is remarkable in view of the treatment Montenegro received at her hands. More than once was she abandoned by her great ally after having performed the service demanded from her. After the Treaty of Pressburg, giving the Bocche di Cattaro to the French, Peter, at the request of the Bocchesi, assisted them in driving out the Austrians, and, with his Russian allies, defeated the French likewise. The Montenegrins, however, were prevented from following up their victories by orders from the czar to deliver up the Bocche to the Austrians. The loss of their port was a severe blow to the brave Montenegrins, who had even defied the great Napoleon with success. After his defeat in 1813 they made an attempt to regain Cattaro, and, aided by an English fleet, succeeded in doing so, but again Russia forced them to give it up to Austria.^a

Peter II (1830-1851) made the power of the ruler absolute by liberating it from the control of the chiefs of *nahie* and of *plemena*. This vladika is the greatest historical figure of Montenegro; ^b "he was seen now as a captain at the head of his troops, his sword in hand, giving an example of all military virtues; now as priest and preacher, carrying only the cross, bringing back



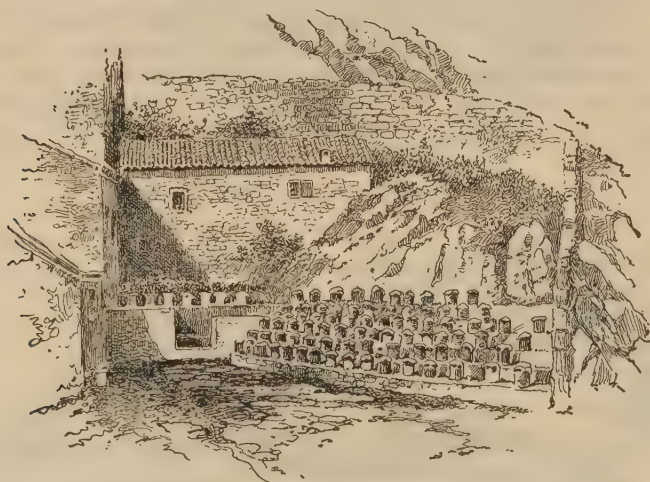
CONVENT OF CETINJE

to gentleness his savage companions; and again as an inexorable judge, causing the guilty to be executed in his presence, or as an incorruptible chief, refusing with pride all favours with which people tried to bind his independence."^c

WARS WITH THE PORTE

For two centuries the position of prince-bishop had been in the Petrovich family, the nephew succeeding the uncle. At the death of Peter II, his nephew Danilo, caring little for spiritual honours and deeply in love with the beautiful Darinka Kuetich, secularised the power, after having secured the approval of the principal chiefs and of Russia. To the office of bishop, however, only members of the princely family were eligible, or, in case of their default, members chosen from the most noble families of the country. The

Porte, which had always made claims upon Montenegro, although it did not own a foot of territory there, took offence at this innovation, and Omar Pasha was ordered to chastise the principality (1852). After a sanguinary struggle of three months, which cost Turkey four thousand five hundred dead, five thousand wounded, and 31,000,000 piastres, the intervention of Austria and Russia forced the sultan to suspend hostilities (March, 1853). Danilo, departing from the policy of his ancestors and considering more the interests of Montenegro than those of Russia, sought the friendship of Austria; in spite of the agitation proceeding from St. Petersburg, in spite of the recriminations and revolts of his subjects, he preserved neutrality during the Crimean war. When the congress of Paris met and the Porte wished to make Europe recognise its imaginary sovereignty over the Czornahora, Danilo addressed a memorandum to the powers, in which he demanded: (1) The recognition of the independence of Montenegro in diplomatic form; (2) the aggrandisement



BEEHIVES IN THE GARDEN OF THE ARCHIMANDRITE AT CETINJE

of his frontiers on the side of the Herzegovina and Albania; (3) the exact demarcation of his frontiers; (4) the cession of Antivari.

Diplomacy, imagining perhaps that people may be disposed of like merchandise, responded to the demands of the prince by ordering him to submit to the Porte; in exchange the latter would consent to grant him a certain portion of land in Herzegovina on condition of receiving a tithe therefrom; it would pension the prince, who would descend to the rank of a *Mushir*, and would give the Montenegrins free access to all its ports. Turkey supported these propositions by the presence of an army on the frontier; the prince in vain made appeals to Paris, Vienna, and St. Petersburg; he was refused everywhere. The French government alone showed some interest and promised to recognise diplomatically the independence of Montenegro. Hostilities opened on May 4th, 1858; on the 13th, Hassan Pasha, defeated at Grahovo by Mirko Petrovich, brother of the prince, left three thousand men on the field and lost all his artillery. The intervention of the powers again arrested bloodshed. Things remained *in statu quo*; all that Montenegro gained was to have her frontiers regulated by an international commission to which her delegate was admitted by Europe. On August 13th, 1860, Danilo was assassinated.

[1860-1880 A.D.]

minated at Cattaro, leaving only one daughter. His nephew, Nicholas Petrovich, son of the victor at Grahovo, succeeded him and gave over the direction of affairs to his father, Mirko.^b

In the same year an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, and although Montenegro at first remained neutral, she concentrated her troops, which led to an order from the Porte to disarm. This was refused, and war was declared in 1862. The European powers refused to take any part in the struggle. The pope alone raised his voice in favour of that little people fighting for its liberty against such heavy odds. The event could not long be doubtful. After various engagements^a Mirko made a desperate attempt; on August 23rd he attacked the Turks at Rieka; all that human nature could display of bravery and heroism was expended by Mirko, but the struggle was too unequal; the Montenegrins were defeated. Diplomacy then emerged from its apathy and peace was signed on August 31st. The conditions imposed by Omar Pasha were most severe. Mirko was forbidden to remain in the principality, and Turkey had the right to build forts the whole length of the route leading from Scutari to Herzegovina across Montenegro, and to garrison them. The Turks did not insist on the expulsion of Mirko, "the sword of Montenegro"; that would have been a miserable vengeance, and they did honour to themselves in renouncing it. As to the second point, however, the Porte was inexorable.^b

A period of peace followed this war, during which the army was reorganised, a system of education established, and a constitution given to the people, who had no desire for such a thing, being content, as of old, to be under the autocratic power of their prince. In 1876 Prince Nicholas allied himself with Milan of Serbia against Turkey, and although he was successful, the Servian army was not, and a peace was concluded in November of the same year. In the next year, on the occasion of the Russian war with Turkey, Montenegro again took the field and gained a number of victories, the most important for her being the reconquest of the seaports which had belonged to her previously. The Treaty of Berlin gave her Niksic, Spuzh, Podgoritza, Plava, Gusinie, and Antivari, thus more than doubling her territory. As the Moslem inhabitants of Plava and Gusinie objected to annexation, a conference of the powers in 1880 decided to give those towns to Turkey, substituting for them Dulcigno, which was to be given to Montenegro. It was not, however, until after a great deal of diplomatic correspondence and the appearance of a European fleet that Dulcigno was finally ceded to Montenegro.^a

ALBANIA

The name of Shkypëri which the Albanians themselves give to their country probably signifies "land of rocks," and no designation could be better deserved. Stony mountains cover all the country from Montenegro to the frontiers of Greece. The only plain of any extent which is found in Albania is the basin of the Skodra or Scutari, which bounds the plateau of the Black Mountain on the south, and which may be considered the real frontier of Albanian territory. The bottom of this basin is occupied by the vast lake of Scutari, the remnant of an old inland sea which was much larger. The Albanian or Shkypetar population is divided into two principal races, the Toskides and Ghegides (Tosks and Ghegs), both of which are without doubt descended from the ancient Pelasgians, but in many places they are mixed with Slavic, Bulgarian, and Rumanian elements. Perhaps other ethnograph-

ical branches are represented in the Shkyiperi tribes, for some of them present the most noble type of Hellenic, while others have a mask of repulsive ugliness. The dialects of the two nations differ greatly, and it is not without difficulty that a Khimaran (Acroceraunian) succeeds in understanding a Mirdite or some other Albanian of the north. To the difference of idiom is usually joined a hostility of race. Ghegides and Toskides detest each other so intensely that the Turkish army has taken the precaution to separate them for fear they come to blows. When it is necessary to suppress an insurrection of Shkyiperi the government always makes use of Albanian troops of the hostile race; it is then served with the fury of hatred.

Before the migrations of the barbarians the Albanians occupied all the western part of the Balkan peninsula up to the Danube. But they were obliged to draw back, and the whole territory of Albania was occupied by

Servians and Bulgarians. A large number of Slavic names, which are found in all parts of the country, recall this period of conquest, during which history does not pronounce even the name of the autochthonous population. But as soon as the power of the Servians succumbed to the blows of the Ottomans, the Albanians reappeared, and since then they have not ceased to recede upon their neighbours of Slavic origin. In southern Albania is another race, the groups of which are scattered amidst the Shkyiperi population in greater numbers than among the Greeks of Olympus and Acarnania. This race is that of the Zinzares, also called Macédo-Wallachian, "lame Wallachians," or simply southern Rumanians. They are in fact the brothers of those other Rumanians who in the north occupy the plain of Wallachia and Moldavia. Like the Rumanians of the Danube, they are probably Latinised Dacians. They resemble the Wallachians in features, bearing, and



ALI PASHA OF JANINA

(1741-1822)

character, and, like them, they speak a neo-Latin language, mixed, however, with a large number of Greek words. In the valleys of the Pindus the majority of the Zinzares are nomad shepherds, and often their villages are abandoned for months. Besides these Zinzares, the Epirot Greeks, the Servians, and the few Ottomans in the large cities, the population of western Turkey, between the mountains of Bosnia and Greece, is composed of Ghegides and Toskides, half barbarians, whose social state has not been altered for three thousand years. By their customs, their ways of thinking and feeling, the Albanians of our day still represent the Pelasgians of olden time.

There is no modern people whose military annals show more astonishing examples of valour than those of the Albanians. In the fifteenth century this people had Scanderbeg, their "Alexander the Great," who, while he did not have as large a theatre for his glory as Macedonia, was not inferior to Alexander in genius, and was very differently great in justice and kind-

[1500-1800 A.D.]

ness. And what people ever surpassed in courage those mountain Suliotes, among whom—and they numbered into the thousands—there was found not one old man, not one woman, not one child, who begged for mercy from the murderers sent by Ali Pasha? The heroism of those Suliote women, who set fire to their ammunition, who hurled themselves from the tops of cliffs or plunged into torrents, holding hands and singing their death-song, will always remain one of the marvels of history. But with this bravery there is mingled among many Albanian tribes a great savagery. Human life is lightly valued among these warlike peoples; and as soon as it is shed, blood calls for blood, the victims are avenged by other victims. They believe in vampires, in phantoms, and sometimes they burn old men suspected of being able to kill by their breath. Slavery does not exist, but the woman is always a servant; she is regarded as a wholly inferior being, without rights and without a will.

Family ties are very strong among the Albanians. The father keeps his rights of sovereign lord up to the most advanced age, and as long as he lives all that is earned by his children and grandchildren belongs to him; often the family community is not broken even after his death. The different families of a common descent never forget their relationship, even when the name of their ancestor has long been lost; they remain united in clans called *phis* or *pharas*, which unite in a body for attack or defence or for the preservation of common interests. Among the Albanians, as among the Servians and among many ancient peoples, the brotherhood of choice is not less strong than that of blood; young people who wish to become brothers bind themselves by solemn promises in the presence of their families, and, opening a vein, drink a few drops of blood each from the other. In spite of this remarkable tendency which leads the Albanians to associate in clans and in communities, in spite of their enthusiastic love for their native country, the Shkypetar peoples have remained with no political cohesion; the physical condition of the soil they inhabit and their unfortunate passion for battles have condemned them to a scattering of their forces, and, in consequence, to slavery. The religious hatreds between Moslems and Christians, between Greeks and Latins, have contributed to the same result.

It is generally admitted that the number of Mohammedan Albanians exceeds those of Christians of diverse creeds, but the lack of definite statistics does not permit a positive statement. When the Turks became masters of the country and the bravest Albanians took refuge in Italy to escape the oppression of their enemies, most of the tribes which remained behind were forced to adopt Islam; besides, a number of chiefs, who lived by brigandage, found it to their advantage to become Moslems in order to continue without danger their depredations. That is the reason for the fact that the Mohammedan population of Albania generally represents the aristocratic element, at least in the cities. Moreover, the Moslem Albanians have much more warlike fanaticism than religious zeal, and a number of their ceremonies, especially those which are connected with traditions of their country, are not at all different from those of the Christians. They have become converted, but without the least conviction; as they themselves say cynically, "There where the sword is, is the faith!"

At the end of the eighteenth century Albania of the south and Epirus had still a wholly feudal organisation. The chiefs of the clans and the Turkish pashas, themselves half independent of the sultan, inhabited castles perched high on the rocks, and from time to time they descended, followed by their armed men, or, to speak more correctly, by brigands whom they had in their

hire. War was incessant, and the boundaries of possession changed incessantly with the fortune of arms. The terrible Ali of Janina changed this state of things; he was the Richelieu of the Shkypetar aristocracy. Since his time the central power has gained in strength that which the feudal lords and family chiefs have lost. It is to the independent populations of southern Albania that one must go to see a social state which recalls the Middle Ages. As soon as one has crossed the Mat one perceives the change. All the men are armed; even the shepherd and the ploughman have carbines on the shoulder; the women and the children have pistols in the belt.

The families, clans, and tribes have their military organisation always complete and ready for the call to battle. The tribes of Kushka Kraïna, between Montenegro and the lake of Scutari, the clans of the Malissori, the Klementi, the Dukajins, are recompensed for their military services by an exemption from taxes. Although nominally subject to the Porte they are in fact independent; let anyone encroach on their immunities and they would indubitably turn against the pashas and make common cause with their hereditary enemies of the Czornahora. The Mirdites may be regarded as the type of these independent tribes of northern Albania. They live in the high valleys which rise like citadels at the south of the Drin ravine, and though they number hardly twelve thousand their quality of free men and their martial value insure them a considerable influence in all western Turkey. The region of the Mirdites is constituted into an oligarchal republic governed by ancient customs. The prince or pasha of Oroch is by right of title the chief administrator, but in point of fact he can give no commands; policy is determined by the old men, *vecchiardi*, of every village, by the delegates of the different military divisions, and by the chiefs of the clans, in council.

In the last century the young men of Khimara sold themselves to the king of Naples in sufficient numbers to form a regiment, the "royal Macedonian." Even in our day many Moslems and even Christian Toskides still hire themselves to pashas and beys. Known in general by the corrupted name of Arnauts, they are seen in the most remote parts of the empire, in Armenia, at Bagdad, on the Arabian peninsula. However, wars becoming more and more rare, the profession of a mercenary soldier has gradually lost its advantages, and in consequence the number of Albanians who emigrate to earn their living by honest labour increases every year. Like the Swiss of the Grisons and under the pressure of the same economical necessities, the Shkypetars leave their mountains at the commencement of winter and go far away to practise their industry in the plain. Most of them return in the spring with a few savings, which the cultivation of their ungrateful rocks could not have procured to them; but there are those who emigrate without intending to return. A large number of Albanians who have become rich return to end their days in their native land, and build beautiful houses which surprise one in the midst of the rugged rocks of Epirus. Thus the Albanians themselves are drawn into a general progressive movement, and when they shall have entered into permanent relations with other peoples, it may be hoped with good reason that they will play an important rôle, for they are distinguished in general by fineness of mind, clearness of thought, and great force of character.^d

Education is almost non-existent, and the vast majority of the population, both Christian and Moslem, are totally illiterate. The priests of the Greek church, on whom the rural population depend for instruction, are often deplorably ignorant. The merchant families of Janina are well-educated; the dialect spoken in that town is the purest specimen of colloquial Greek.^e

[600-1800 A.D.]

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Bosnia, at the northwest angle of Turkey, is the Switzerland of the European Orient, but a Switzerland whose mountains do not reach to the regions of perpetual snows and ice. The mountain chains of Bosnia and of its southern province Herzegovina have for a great part of their extent much resemblance to those of the Jura. "Where the stones end and the trees begin," the Dalmatians used to say, "there begins Bosnia"; but certain Bosnian regions have already lost their vegetation. Likewise the plateaus of Herzegovina, those of Montenegro and the mountains of Dalmatia, have been almost entirely despoiled of their forests, although Bosnia proper is still very well wooded. Almost half of its territory is covered with forests. The song of birds is rarely heard in these great woods, but wild animals are plentiful; bears, boars, and squirrels seek here their shelter, and so many wolves are killed that their skins are one of the principal objects of Bosnian commerce. Taken as a whole the country is admirably fertile; it is one of the promised lands of Europe on account of the extreme fecundity of its valleys. In certain districts, notably on the frontiers of Croatia and in the neighbourhood of the Save, large herds of swine almost wild wander in the forests of oak; hence the name of "country of pigs," given by the Turks in derision to all of lower Bosnia.

With the exception of Jews, gipsies, and some Osmanlis, officials, soldiers, and merchants, who live in the most populous towns of Bosnia, all the inhabitants of the Illyrian Alps belong to the Slavic race. The inhabitants of Herzegovina are perhaps those which present a most marked type. They are descended, it appears, from Slavic immigrants who came from the banks of the Vistula in the seventh century. Like their neighbours the Montenegrins, their talk is much more lively than that of the Servians proper. While the Bosnians are, for the most part, united in origin, they are divided by religion, and from this division results their state of political servitude. At first thought it does indeed seem surprising that the Slavs of Bosnia have not succeeded, like their brother Servians, in shaking off the Ottoman yoke. They are much further removed from the capital of the empire and their valleys are much more difficult of access than the fields of Servia, and yet, in spite of the advantages of defence presented by land and climate, all the attempts at revolt which have been made against the Turks have miserably failed. It is because the Moslem and Christian Bosnian are enemies one of another, and because, among the Christians themselves, the Greek Catholics, governed by their popes, and the Roman Catholics, who blindly obey their Franciscan priests, detest each other and



A BOSNIAN MERCHANT
(1850)

betray each other. Being divided they became forcibly enslaved, and the condition of servitude has made them worse than their oppressors.

The Moslems of Bosnia, who call themselves "Turks," a name rejected as dishonourable by the Osmanlis of the rest of the empire, are not less Slav than the Bosnians of the two Christian sects. Like them they speak only Servian, although a large number of Turkish words have slipped into their dialect. They are the descendants of feudal lords who, in order to preserve their feudal privileges, became converted during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among their ancestors the "Turks" of Bosnia count a number

of famous brigands who made haste to change their religion in order to continue without peril their profession of pillaging. They soon surpassed the Mohammedan Turks in fanaticism, and reduced the Christian peasants to a veritable slavery. A wild pear tree is still pointed out near the gate of Bosnia-Serai where the notables of the place went from time to time to give themselves the pleasure of hanging some unfortunate rayah. Beys or spahis, the Moslem Bosnians form the most backward element of old Turkey, and many a time, notably in 1851, they have revolted to maintain their ancient feudal tyranny in all its rigour.

The soil was divided under the Turks into *spahiliks* or Moslem fiefs, which were handed down according to Slavic custom, not by right of the first-born, but indivisibly to all the members of the family; these chose for their chief, when it was necessary to march to combat, either the eldest among them or the bravest. As for the Christian peasants, they were obliged to toil for the Moslem community, no longer as serfs, it is true, but as day-labourers working by the month or job; the most fortunate had a certain share in the benefits of the association, but they had to support the heaviest burdens. Hence it was natural that many Christians, like the Jews of other countries, abandoned agriculture to devote themselves to traffic; almost all trade is in the



BOSNIAN COSTUME

hands of the Greek and Roman Catholics of Herzegovina and of their foreign co-religionists of Slavic Austria.

In addition, the Bosnians of every sect and every religion possess the same natural qualities as the other Servians, their brothers, and sooner or later, whatever may be their political destiny, they will rise as a people to the same level of intelligence and worth. They are frank and hospitable, brave in combat, diligent, economical, given to poetry, steadfast in their friendships, constant in love; marriages are respected, and even the Moslem Bosnians reject the polygamy allowed them by the *Koran*. Incessant wars, tyranny on the one hand, servitude on the other, have brutalised their manners; the lack of roads, the forests and rocks of their mountains, have kept them remote from civilising influences.^d

[1878-1896 A.D.]

In 1878 the Treaty of Berlin placed Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian administration, though they still recognised the suzerainty of the Porte. An Austrian military occupation was also established. Since that time the condition of the country has improved. New peasant colonies have been introduced and agriculture has flourished. During the period between 1892 and 1896, for example, the amount of grain produced was double that produced between 1882 and 1886. A large amount of fruit and tobacco is also raised. Mining is an important industry in Bosnia. The inhabitants engage in weaving, and in leather and metal work.

MACEDONIA

We have seen how, one after another, the different states of the Balkans have acquired their independence. The order of procedure in every case has been much the same: Turkish oppression exists until it becomes unbearable; revolt, massacres, interference of the powers, ensue; and these are followed by a recognition of the independence of the individual states. Servia, Greece, Rumania are now independent; Bulgaria is so practically; Montenegro claims to have never been anything else; Bosnia and Herzegovina are under Austrian administration. Only Macedonia and Albania are left, and in Macedonia is concentrated the whole force of the Eastern Question which was formerly spread over so large a space. The same factors are predominant—Greeks, Bulgarians, and Servians all have interests in Macedonia; even Rumania has her propaganda, although with no perceptible justification, as the people—the Kutzo-Wallachians—which she claims as her “brethren,” absolutely reject the relationship.

It is this rivalry of nationalities which so seriously complicates the problem. Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria since becoming independent have earnestly desired the same boon for their brothers in Macedonia, but each one wishes it accomplished after a manner which shall extend her own territory. This rivalry is most conspicuous between Bulgaria and Greece. The Hellenes, for instance, would object quite as strenuously to having Macedonia independent and Bulgarian as they do to having it dependent and Turkish. As a result the country is the scene of rival agitations, to guard against which the European powers, Russia and Austria in the foreground, are jealously watching each other.^a

The embittered struggle of the rival nationalities in Macedonia dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. Until that period the Greeks, owing to their superior culture and their privileged position, exercised an exclusive influence over the whole population professing the orthodox faith. All Macedonia was either Moslem or orthodox Christian, without distinction of nationalities, the Catholic or Protestant *millets* being inconsiderable. The first opposition to Greek ecclesiastical ascendancy came from the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian literary revival, which took place in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was the precursor of the ecclesiastical and national movement which resulted in the establishment of the exarchate in 1870. The first exarch, who was elected in 1871, was excommunicated with all his followers by the patriarch, and a considerable number of Bulgarians in Macedonia—the so-called Bulgarophones—fearing the reproach of schism, or influenced by other considerations, refrained from acknowledging the new spiritual power. Many of the recently converted uniates, on the other hand, offered their allegiance to the exarch. The firman of the 28th of February, 1870, specified a

number of districts within the present boundaries of Bulgaria and Servia, as well as in Macedonia, to which Bulgarian bishops might be appointed; other districts might be subjected to the exarchate, should two-thirds of the inhabitants so desire. In virtue of the latter provision the districts of Veles, Ochrida, and Uskub declared for the exarchate, but the Turkish government refrained from sanctioning the nomination of Bulgarian bishops to these dioceses. It was not till 1891 that the Porte, at the instance of Stambulov, the Bulgarian prime minister, whose demands were supported by the Triple Alliance and Great Britain, issued the *berat*, or exequatur, for Bulgarian bishops at Ochrida and Uskub; the sees of Veles and Nevrokop received Bulgarian prelates in 1894, and those of Monastir, Strumnitza, and Dibra in 1898. The Bulgarian position was further strengthened in the latter year by the establishment of "commercial agents" representing the principality at Salonica, Uskub, Monastir, and Serres. During this period (1891-1898) the Bulgarian propaganda, entirely controlled by the spiritual power and conducted within the bounds of legality, made rapid and surprising progress. In later years the interference of the Macedonian committee at Sofia, in which the advocates of physical force predominate, has done much to injure the movement.

In connection with its religious propaganda Bulgaria busily established schools in Macedonia, and in 1898 there were seven hundred and sixty-two with nearly forty thousand pupils. But the Bulgarians were not alone in their propagandising movement. In 1886 a Rumanian gymnasium was established at Monastir, and there are now some forty Rumanian schools in Macedonia supported by the Rumanian ministry of education. The Servian government has not been behind, and although it did not enter the field actively until 1890, the Servian schools in Macedonia now number a hundred and seventy-eight, with seven thousand two hundred pupils. Even the Albanians are demanding schools in which their language shall be taught, but so far none has been founded. Greek schools are still in the majority, in spite of all attempts of rival nationalities, and in addition to all these Christian schools there are the Turkish ones; so that it is small wonder if the population, which to begin with is racially so divergent, should not have become welded together.

The one hope of Macedonia to escape from under Turkish rule is by causing such horrors to take place that the European powers will feel obliged to interfere as they did in Bulgaria and to establish an autonomous government. Russia, however, in 1896, declared that she would not interfere, and in 1897 entered into an agreement with Austria to preserve the *status quo*, in consequence of which Macedonia and Turkey have been left, more or less, to settle their disagreements between them. The Macedonian committee in Bulgaria has been none the less active, stirring up agitations and disturbances which, although frowned upon by the Bulgarian government, receive hearty sympathy from the people, which fact is not surprising since one half of the capital, Sofia, itself is Macedonian; in April, 1901, the president of the committee, M. Sarafop, was arrested together with the leading members. An insurrection broke out in 1902, which was promptly and severely put down by Turkish troops. Diplomatic efforts were made to prevent a repetition of the uprising; a Russian minister visited Vienna and the Balkan capitals, and the Bulgarian government again arrested the leaders of the revolutionary movement. In February, 1903, the Russian and Austrian ambassadors at Constantinople demanded reforms in Macedonia which were accepted by the sultan and approved by Europe, but as a writer in the *Review of Reviews* for

[1903-1908 A.D.]

October, 1903, says, "There were only two obstacles in the way of complete success in pacifying Macedonia—the plan was a sham and the Bulgaro-Macedonian committee was not. It had those glad to die, and where men die a cause lives."

The insurrection broke out again in the spring, and from March to September the country was filled with horrors and outrages that defy description. Christians murdered Mohammedans and Mohammedans assassinated Christians; villages were burned and railways destroyed. By the time the insurrection was put down in September more than a hundred villages had been burned and whole districts devastated. Many fled to Bulgaria. In November, 1903, the Turkish government again promised to introduce reforms, but even with the best intentions, considering the jealousies of foreign powers and the rival factions in the country, the problem is too difficult for the Porte to deal with.

When war broke out between Russia and Japan, and Russia's hands were tied in the Balkans, war between Bulgaria and Turkey seemed imminent, and desultory fighting on the frontier has been reported from time to time. Peace will probably never be restored so long as Macedonia remains under Turkish subjection. In strong contrast to this general upheaval is the monastic community living on Mount Athos, on a promontory projecting from the southern part of Macedonia.

MOUNT ATHOS

The triple peninsula of Chalcidice, which protrudes far into the sea like a gigantic hand stretched out over the waters, is completely separated from all the spurs of Despoto-Dagh, and is joined to the continent only by a thin stalk of lands slightly elevated; almost all the root of the peninsula is covered with lakes, swamps, and alluvial plains. It is a miniature Greece in the structure of its coasts, oddly cut up into bays and promontories, and in its distinct mountain ranges, which rise from the midst of the lowest lands like the islands of the Archipelago from the midst of the waters. Greek in aspect, this strange appendix of the continent is equally Greek in population; a rare thing in Turkey, the inhabitants belong to only one race, except in the little village of Nisvoro, where Turks live, and on Mount Athos, where a few monks are of Slavic origin.

Of the three tongues of land which Chalcidice projects into the Ægean Sea, that on the east is almost completely isolated; once it was even separated from the mainland by a canal of 1,200 metres constructed by Xerxes across the connecting isthmus, either to save his fleet from the dangerous circumnavigation of the promontory of Athos or else to give to the astonished inhabitants a proof of his power. This peninsula is that of the Hagion Oros, the Monte Santo of the Italians. A superb mountain of chalky rocks, the most beautiful perhaps of the whole eastern Mediterranean system, raises its point at the extremity of the peninsula; it is the celebrated Mount Athos, in which an architect, Dinocrates, wished to carve a statue of Alexander holding a city in one hand and the source of a torrent in the other; it is also the summit to which, according to the local tradition, the devil took Christ to show him all the kingdoms of the earth stretched out at his feet. The panorama is not exceedingly vast, but the view, which embraces the whole coast of Chalcidice, of Macedonia, and of Thrace, the vague outlines of the Asiatic shores, the abrupt cone of Samothrace, and the blue waters of the sea, is very beautiful, one's glance travels an immense distance from Thessalian Olympus to Mount

Ida in Asia Minor. The vigorous lines of fortified buildings rising here and there on the slopes of the mountains from the midst of woods of chestnut, oak, or pine contrast in the most happy manner with the fleeting horizon of indistinct coast lines.

This peninsula, which one traveller compares to a "sphinx crouching upon the water," belongs to a republic of monks, naming their own council and administering their government in their own fashion. In return for paying a tribute, they have the right to live there in complete seclusion; no one can enter without their permission. A company of Christian soldiers keeps watch at the frontier of the isthmus to prevent any woman from desecrating the sanctified soil by her presence; the Turkish governor himself must leave his harem outside of the Hagion Oros; for fourteen centuries, says the history of Mount Athos, no person of the female sex has put foot on the holy mountain. Furthermore, the introduction of any female animal is very severely prohibited: even hens would profane the monasteries by their vicinity; hence it is necessary to bring all eggs from Lemnos. With the exception of the farmers who live in the village of Caryes, in the centre of the peninsula, the inhabitants to the number of about six thousand, monks and servants, reside in the monasteries or in the scattered hermitages, about the 935 churches of the district. Almost all the monks are Greek; however, among the twenty large monasteries, one is of Russian foundation, and two were erected at the expense of the old sovereigns of Servia.

These edifices, built on promontories in the form of citadels with high walls and towers of defence, present for the most part a very picturesque appearance; one of them, Simopetra, placed on a rock on the western side, looks absolutely inaccessible. It is in these retreats that the "good old men," or *caloyers*, pass their lives in contemplative inaction; according to their discipline they pray eight hours a day and two hours a night, without once sitting down during their orisons. Thus the monks have neither strength nor time for the least study or for the most simple manual labour. The books in their libraries, several times explored by erudite scholars, are to them incomprehensible, and in spite of their temperance they would be in danger of starvation if the lay brethren did not work for them, and if they did not possess numerous farms on the mainland. A few crops of nuts are the sole products of the fertile peninsula of Mount Athos.^d





CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN GREECE

GREECE UNDER THE SLAVS; THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

AFTER the battles of Philippi and Actium, Greece, being incorporated into the Roman possessions, ceased to play an important rôle in Europe and in Asia. The loss of her independence was not slow to bring about such a change in her condition that the taste for art and philosophy became extinguished at almost the same time as the love of glory. The Peloponnesus (Morea) and Attica had promptly been swallowed up by a foreign population, a mixture of Romans and Asiatics. The Ionian Islands had met with the same fate, and the shadow of liberty which Greece owed to its philosopher-ministers (year 54), whose reign was so short under the execrable Nero, could not raise again the energy of the Athenians and Spartans who were still left in Attica and Laconia. In a short time the various districts of this famous land descended into a state of barbarity almost as great as had been their military and scientific glory. The language of Homer became corrupted in provinces where the cupidity of a Roman officer made out of a generous people a people of slaves.^b

Phœnician merchants and Roman conquerors, however, hardly modified the elements of the Hellenic population, but at the time of the migrations of the barbarians the latter penetrated into Greece in multitudes. During more than two centuries the Avars maintained their power in the Peloponnesus; then came the Slavs, who were aided more than once by the pest in depopulating the country. Greece became a "*Slavia*," and the common idiom was a Slavic tongue, probably Servian, as is still shown by a large majority of local names.^c

Still the coast towns, most of which were well fortified on the land side, remained in the possession of the old inhabitants; whereas the interior, the

plains and valleys and in time even the old inland towns, became occupied by Slavic tribes. During the fights and feuds with the Grecian inhabitants of the cities and the Byzantine governors, the power of the Slavs and their spirit of freedom and independence grew ever stronger, so that they threw off the supremacy of the East-Roman emperors and lived according to their own laws. Under Empress Theodora, however, they succumbed to the sword of her general Theoktistus, and again fell into a state of dependence wherein they were tributary to Byzantium. "With the loss of political independence there disappeared among the Slavs the old spirit of liberty; the habits and customs, the language and religion of their ancestors, were gradually transformed by the preponderating influence of Byzantine Hellenic individuality." Byzantine supremacy in the peninsula was further strengthened by the spread of Christianity, which through the propaganda of Byzantine priests and monks took place under Basil the Macedonian and his successors. The new religion overthrew not only the idolatry of the Slavs but also the Hellenic popular beliefs of the Mainotes in the mountain gorges and valleys of the Eurotas (Tri or Tris). This transformation appears to have initiated a new epoch in the development of the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus. At any rate we find in the course of the ninth century, in single districts of Slavonicised Greece, traces of prosperity, wealth, and even luxury, which we should probably seek in vain in every other part of the Byzantine Empire at that time. Even if we acknowledge some exaggeration in the description by Constantine Porphyrogenitus of the journey, the display, and the presents of the rich widow of Danilis of Patras, the patroness of the first Basil, we are justified in crediting its main features, and through them we receive a startling conception of the wealth of private families. Silk weaving, purple dyeing, and extended sea commerce flourished among both the Christians and the numerous Jews who, in the succeeding period of tranquillity, had settled in Hellas and the Morea. In the Greek histories the old name Peloponnesus was still employed, whereas in the Occident the name "Morea" became more usual. The mulberry trees planted there on account of the silk culture may have given rise to this name, or else the latter is of Slavic origin and means "coast land," "sea land," "littoral."^d

In time the polished language of the Hellenes resumed the supremacy, and the race itself has regained such thorough preponderance that it is impossible now to find the Slav elements of the population. But, after having been almost completely Slavonicised, Hellas ran the risk of becoming Albanian, especially during the Venetian domination. Even at the beginning of the last century Albanian was the preponderating language of Elis, of Argos, of Bœotia, and of Attica; in our days more than a hundred thousand pretended Greeks still speak it. The actual population of Greece is thus very mixed, but it would be difficult to say in what proportions the different elements, Hellenic, Slavic, and Albanian, are united.

It is certain, however, that in spite of invasions and cross-mixtures, the Greek race, aided perhaps by the climate which is native to it, has preserved most of its distinctive traits. In the first place, it has succeeded in keeping its language, and it is truly a cause for wonder that the vulgar Greek, emanating from a rural idiom, does not differ more from the ancient literary Greek. Physically, also, the race has not changed; the ancient types may still be recognised in many a district of modern Greece. The Bœotian has that awkward gait which made him the laughing-stock of the other Greeks; the young Athenian has the suppleness, the grace, and intrepid bearing which we admire in horsemen sculptured on the friezes of the Parthenon; the woman of Sparta

[1100-1460 A.D.]

has kept that severe and proud beauty which the poets used to praise in the Doric virgins.^c

The first crusaders did not appear in Greece proper, but towards the middle of the twelfth century the Venetian, Sicilian, and other adventurers overran the Peloponnesus and Attica. Greece was then governed, or rather distracted, by different petty tyrants, and the people were plunged in the grossest ignorance and superstition. There were never wanting, however, pious and learned prelates, whose writings serve as stars to throw a feeble light upon these obscure ages—in fact, from the days of Cadmus to those of Coray the Greeks never have been wanting for any considerable length of time in industrious and faithful writers.

GREECE BECOMES A DISPUTED LAND

In the year 1204 the French, under the marquis of Montferrat, with the Venetians, and Baldwin of Flanders, took Constantinople from the Greek emperor. The French under the marquis of Montferrat pushed their conquests through Greece proper, took Athens and Thebes, and penetrated into the Peloponnesus. The marquis bestowed the government of Athens on de la Roche; hence the singular title Duke of Athens, which we hear mentioned in the thirteenth century. Some French crusaders returning from the Holy Land were driven upon the shores of the Peloponnesus; they there joined the marquis of Montferrat, who was besieging Nauplia, and this little army, to which were added some Venetians, subjugated all the Peloponnesus, except Lacedæmon, which was held by a petty native prince. The Peloponnesus, then called the Morea, was afterwards delivered by treaty to the Venetians, though the possession was disputed by the Genoese. In all these conquests the Greeks were regarded as scarcely different from cattle belonging to the soil, and, of course, were the property of its possessor.

But the Europeans did not long hold Constantinople; it was wrested from the family of Baldwin about the middle of the thirteenth century by the Greek emperors of Nice. From this time to the middle of the fifteenth century the possession of Greece was the subject of dispute between the emperors of Constantinople, the Venetians, Florentines, and other European powers, who in those fluctuating times were continually gaining and losing possessions in the eastern part of Europe. By all these different lords of the soil the Greeks were harshly treated, since they were too ignorant and too degenerate to defend their rights. The sufferings of the country had been such that the population had materially decreased and no spirit of improvement was visible. But still the Greeks preserved in a strange degree many of their national characteristics; they did not mingle with their masters, but kept distinct in manners, language, and feelings; cruel treatment they often suffered, but not direct persecution.^e

THE MOHAMMEDAN GOVERNMENT.

The conquest of Greece by Muhammed II (1460) was felt to be a boon by the greater part of the population. The government of the Greek emperors of the family of Palæologos, of their relations the despots in the Morea, and of the Frank princes, dukes, and signors, had for two centuries rendered Greece the scene of incessant civil wars and odious oppression. The Mohammedan government put an end to the injustice of many petty tyrants, whose rapacity and

feuds had divided, impoverished, and depopulated the country. When Muhammed II annexed the Peloponnesus and Attica to the Ottoman Empire, he deliberately exterminated all remains of the existing aristocracy, both Frank nobles and Greek archonts, in these provinces, and introduced in their place the Turkish aristocracy, as far as such a class existed in his dominions. The ordinary system of the Ottoman administration was immediately applied to the greater part of Greece, and it was poverty, and not valour, which exempted a few mountainous districts from its application.

Saganos Pasha was left as governor of Morea and the duchy of Athens. Garrisons of the sultan's regular troops were stationed in a few of the strongest fortresses under their own officers; but the general defence of the country and the maintenance of order among the inhabitants was intrusted to Saganos, who was invested with the revenue necessary for the purpose. The arbitrary power of the pasha and the licence of the regular garrisons were restrained by the timariot system. The feudal usages, which the earliest Ottoman sultans had inherited with their first possessions in the Seljuk Empire, were introduced by Muhammed II into Greece, as the natural manner of retaining the rural population under his domination. Large tracts of land in the richest plains having reverted to the government as belonging to the confiscated estates of the princes and nobles, a certain proportion of this property was divided into life-rent fiefs, which were conferred on veteran warriors who had merited rewards by distinguished service. These fiefs were called timars, and consisted of a life-interest in lands, of which the Greek and Albanian cultivators sometimes remained in possession of the exclusive right of cultivation within determined limits, and under the obligation of paying a fixed revenue and performing certain services for the Mussulman landlord. The timariot was bound to serve the sultan on horseback with a number of well-appointed followers, varying according to the value of his fief.

These men had no occupation, and no thought but to perfect themselves in the use of their arms, and for a long period they formed the best light cavalry in Europe. The timars were granted as military rewards, and they never became hereditary while the system continued to exist in the Ottoman Empire. The veteran soldiers who held these fiefs in Greece were bound to the sultan by many ties. They looked forward to advancement to the larger estates called *ziamets*, or to gaining the rank of *sandjak beg*, or commander of a timariot troop of horse. This class, in Christian provinces, was consequently firmly attached to the central authority of the Ottoman sultan, and constituted a check both on the ambitious projects and local despotism of powerful pashas and on the rebellious disposition of the Christian population. The rich rewards granted by Muhammed II to his followers drew numerous bands of Turkoman and Seljuk volunteers to his armies from Asia Minor, who came to Europe, well mounted and armed, to seek their fortunes as warlike emigrants. The brilliant conquests of that sultan enabled him to bestow rich lands on many of these young volunteers, while their own valour gained for them abundant booty in female slaves and agricultural serfs. These emigrants formed a considerable portion of the population of Macedonia and Greece after its conquest, and they were always ready to take the field against the Christians, both as a religious duty and as a means of acquiring slaves, whom, according to their qualifications, they might send to their own harems, to their farms, or to the slave-market. The timariots of the Ottoman Empire, like the feudal nobility of Europe, required a servile race to cultivate the land.

Difference of religion in Turkey created the distinction of rank which pride of birth perpetuated in feudal Europe. But the system was in both cases

[ca. 1460 A.D.]

equally artificial, and the permanent laws of man's social existence operate unceasingly to destroy every distinctive privilege which separates one class of men as a caste from the rest of the community, in violation of the immutable principles of equity. Heaven tolerates temporary injustice committed by individual tyrants to the wildest excesses of iniquity; but history proves that divine providence has endowed society with an irrepressible power of expansion, which gradually effaces every permanent infraction of the principles of justice by human legislation. The laws of Lycurgus expired before the Spartan state, and the corps of janissaries possessed more vitality than the tribute of Christian children.

The Turkish feudal system was first introduced into Thessaly by Bayazid I, about the year 1397, when he sent Evrenos to invade the Peloponnesus. He invested so large a number of Seljuk Turks with landed estates, both in Macedonia and Thessaly, that from this period a powerful body of timariots was ever ready to assemble, at the sultan's orders, to invade the southern part of Greece. Murad II extended the system to Epirus and Acarnania, when he subdued the possessions of Charles Tocco, the despot of Arta; and Muhammed II rendered all Greece subject to the burden of maintaining his feudal cavalry. The governmental division of Greece and the burdens to which it was subjected varied so much at different times that it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact amount of the timariots settled in Greece at the time of Sultan Muhammed's death. The number of fiefs was not less than about three hundred ziamets and sixteen hundred timars.

Along with the timariot system, Muhammed II imposed the tribute of Christian children on Greece, as it then existed in the other Christian provinces of his empire. A fifth of their male children was exacted from the sultan's Christian subjects as a part of that tribute which the Koran declared was the lawful price of toleration to those who refused to embrace Islam.

By these measures Greece was entirely subjected to the Ottoman domination, and the last traces of its political institutions and legal administration, whether derived from the Roman cæsars, the Byzantine emperors, or the Frank princes, from the code of Justinian, the Basilica of Leon, or the assize of Jerusalem, were all swept away. Greece was partitioned among several pashas and governors, all of whom were under the orders of the beylerbey of Rumelia, the sultan's commander-in-chief in Europe. The islands and some maritime districts were at a later period placed under the control of the captain pasha. The Greeks, as a nation, disappear from history; no instances of patriotic despair ennobled the records of their subjection. A dull uniformity marks their conduct and their thoughts. Byzantine ceremony and orthodox formality had already effaced the stronger traits of individual character, and extinguished genius. Ottoman oppression now made an effort to extirpate



A JANISSARY IN HIS DRESS OF CEREMONY

the innate feelings of humanity. Parents gave their sons to be janissaries, and their daughters to be odalisques.

The history of the Ottoman government during the period when its yoke bore heaviest on the Greeks nevertheless deserves to be carefully studied, if it were only to institute a comparison between the conduct of the Mussulmans and the manner in which the most powerful contemporary Christian states treated their subjects. Unless this comparison be made, and the condition of the rayah in the sultan's dominions be contrasted with that of the serf in the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans, and in the dominions of the kings of France and Spain, the absolute cruelty of the Ottoman domination would be greatly overrated. The mass of the Christian population engaged in agricultural operations was allowed to enjoy a far larger portion of the fruits of their labour under the sultan's government than under that of many Christian monarchs. This fact explains the facility with which the sultans of Constantinople held millions of Christian landed proprietors and small farmers in submissive bondage to a comparatively small number of Mohammedans in the European provinces of their empire.

Indeed, the conquest of the Greeks was completed before the Ottoman government had succeeded in subduing a considerable part of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor, and for several centuries the Mussulman population in Asia proved far more turbulent subjects to the sultans than the orthodox Christians in Europe. Muhammed II and many of his successors were not only abler men than the Greek emperors who preceded them on the throne of Byzantium; they were really better sovereigns than most of the contemporary princes in the west. The Transylvanians and Hungarians long preferred the government of the house of Othman to that of the house of Habsburg; the Greeks clung to their servitude under the infidel Turks rather than seek a deliverance which would entail submission to the Catholic Venetians. It was therefore in no small degree by the apathy, if not by the positive good-will, of the Christian population that the supremacy of the Sublime Porte was firmly established from the plains of Podolia to the banks of the Don. So stable were the foundations of the Ottoman power, even on its northern frontier, that for three centuries the Black Sea was literally a Turkish lake. The Russians first acquired a right to navigate freely over its waters in the year 1774.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATHERINE II

After the Turkish conquest, in the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece was considered of no consequence except as a field of battle in the wars between the Turks and Venetians who had alternate possession of the country and who were the tyrants and oppressors of the people, whom they treated like slaves. It was not until 1715 that the Turks got complete and undisturbed possession of the country; and from that time we lose sight of the Greeks, or hear them spoken of only as degenerate slaves by those travellers who were led by an admiration of the genius of the ancients to take a pilgrimage to Athens to contemplate the ruins of antiquity.

In 1770 Catherine II planned and effected a revolt in Greece, in order to win for Russia the sympathy of the Greeks in her war with Turkey. She sent emissaries into every part of the country, to prepare the population for an insurrection, and the people were excited by hopes of being freed by Russia. Emancipation seemed very possible, for the Greeks had become somewhat enlightened, and thousands were flattering themselves that any attempt at independence would be encouraged and supported by the European powers.

A Russian fleet was sent round to the Mediterranean; twelve hundred soldiers were landed in Morea and the Greeks were summoned to arms. They rose, but not to arms, for arms had not been allowed them by the Turks; nevertheless they rushed upon their oppressors with fury, killed great numbers, took the fortress of Navarino, and drove the Turks from every part of Morea, forcing them to shut themselves up in the fortresses.

But they were miserably seconded by the Russians; no means were given them to continue the war, and when the Turks called in the Albanians the Greeks were driven in their turn to take refuge in the mountains and under the walls of Navarino, where the Russian commander, Orlov, had shut himself up with his soldiers. He refused the Greeks admittance, and thousands were cut to pieces before his eyes. The enterprise was most shamefully abandoned by the Russians, who, after leading the Greeks into a rebellion, refused them support, evacuated the country, and left the victims of their guilty undertaking to suffer the terrible vengeance of the Turks.

THE TREATY OF KUTCHUK-KAINARDJÍ (1774 A.D.)

Meantime, in July 1770, the Russian fleet, under the bold Scot, Elphinstone, attacked and burned the Turkish fleet at Tchesme; and this success served in the eyes of the Russians to atone for the disgraceful termination of their attempt on the Peloponnesus. By the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, signed in 1774, Russia resigned all her pretensions in the Archipelago; she made, it is true, some vain stipulations in favour of the Greeks, but they were utterly disregarded by the Turks, who continued to deal vengeance upon them. So far was the divan exasperated, or alarmed, that the much agitated question of the extermination of the Greek people was resumed. The execution of this plot was prevented only by the exertions of Hassan Pasha. That truly great man, after urging other reasons in vain, brought the divan to its senses by asking, "If you exterminate the rayahs, who will pay you the great capitation tax which you now get from them?"^e

FINLAY ON THE OTTOMAN DOMINION

For three centuries the position of the Greek race was one of hopeless degradation. Its connection with the old pagan Hellenes was repudiated by themselves and forgotten by other nations. The modern Greeks were prouder of having organised the ecclesiastical establishment of the orthodox hierarchy than of an imaginary connection with an extinct though cognate society which had once occupied the highest rank in the political and intellectual world and created the literature of Europe. The modern identification of the Christian Greeks with the pagan Hellenes is the growth of the new series of ideas disseminated by the French Revolution. At the time when ecclesiastical orthodoxy exerted its most powerful influence on the Greeks as a people they were content to perpetuate their national existence in the city of Constantinople, in a state of moral debasement not very dissimilar to the position in which Juvenal describes their ancestors at Rome. The primates and the clergy acted as agents of Turkish tyranny with as much zeal as the artists and rhetoricians of old had pandered to the passions of their Roman masters.

On the other hand, the slavery of the Greeks to the Ottomans was not the result of any inferiority in numerical force, material wealth, and scientific

knowledge. The truth is, that the successes of the Ottoman Turks, like those of the Romans, must be in great part attributed to their superiority in personal courage, individual morality, systematic organisation, and national dignity. The fact is dishonourable to Christian civilisation. After the conquest of Constantinople the Greeks sank, with wonderful rapidity and without an effort, into the most abject slavery. For three centuries their political history is merged in the history of the Ottoman Empire. During this long period the national position, for evil and for good, was determined by the aggregate of vice and virtue in the individuals who composed the nation. Historians rarely allow due weight to the direct influence of individual conduct in the mass of mankind on political history. At this period, however, the national history of the Greeks is comprised in their individual biography.

The power and resources of the Ottoman Empire, at the time when the sultans of Constantinople were most dreaded by the western Christians, were principally derived from the profound policy with which the Turkish government rendered its Christian subjects the instruments of its designs. It gave to its subjects a modicum of protection for life and property and an amount of religious toleration which induced the orthodox to perpetuate their numbers, to continue their labours for amassing wealth, and to prefer the domination of the sultan to that of any Christian potentate. In return, it exacted a tithe of the lives as well as of the fortunes of its subjects. Christian children were taken to fill up the chasms which polygamy and war were constantly producing in Mussulman society, and Christian industry filled the sultan's treasury with the wealth which long secured success to the boldest projects of Ottoman ambition. No accidental concurrence of events could have given permanence to a dominion which maintained its authority with the same stern tyranny over the Seljuk Turk, the Turkoman, the Kurd, the Arab, and the Moorish Mussulman as it did over the Greek, the Albanian, the Servian, the Bulgarian, the Wallachian, and the Armenian Christian. An empire whose greatness has endured for several centuries must have been supported by some profound political combinations, if not by some wise and just institutions. Accumulations of accidental conquest, joined together by military force alone, like the empires of Attila, Genghiz Khan, and Timur, have never attained such stability. †

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

Dispossessed of political rights by their conquerors, the Greeks had not been dispossessed of that which constitutes the real existence of a people, religion, nationality, property; they were no longer sovereign, they were not Turkish citizens, but they were still men, Greek people and citizens. Dependent though they were in their public life upon Turkish proconsuls established in their cities and in their villages, in civil life they yet enjoyed all that constitutes the common rights of civilised peoples. They possessed their temples, their clergy, their patriarchs, their local magistrates, freely elected, their ships, their commerce, their privileges as Christians or Greeks guaranteed by the officious protection of foreign nations to which the Porte had conceded the patronage over this portion of its subjects. By reason of their genius, a genius which no other nation has equalled, by reason of their activity, their pliability, their subtleties, their power of intrigue, their astuteness (largely the outcome of slavery), their acquisitiveness, their complaisant servility towards vizirs and pashas whose favour they exploited and whose treasures they shared, and finally by force of their education, more advanced and

[1770-1820 A.D.]

more European than that of the Turks, the Greeks formed the intellectual aristocracy of the empire. Almost as numerous as and much more wealthy than their masters, they covered western Asia, the Archipelago, the Peloponnesus and other Turkish provinces of Europe with a population of eleven million souls. The long oppression of the domination of their conquerors had weakened without exhausting the ever-existing vigour of their nationality. Belonging to one race, possessing one religion, one language, they were united by a spirit of consanguinity which might readily have found expression in national independence. Had they possessed arms and knowledge of their use they could have revindicated their name and their laws.

If the emperor Alexander, who after the invasion of France in 1814 had become the Agamemnon of the kings of Europe, had had the perfidy of Catherine II, Greece, provoked or even encouraged by him, would have long before arisen in rebellion against Sultan Mahmud. But the emperor Alexander refused obstinately to provoke or even to tolerate revolt among the Greeks. It was not only the incontestable probity of that prince, it was also his policy which was opposed to the solicitations of the Greeks. Without doubt the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire would enfeeble in Mahmud a frequently hostile neighbour, but the Greek revolution would enfeeble the theory of the sovereignty of a great empire, and that theory of the legitimacy of thrones which he was sincerely trying to make a political religion in Europe.

Accordingly he rejected all the covert propositions which the Greeks, hoping to incline him towards a Greek revolution, addressed to him. He knew how to await the future gifts which an unknown destiny might bestow on his empire; he did not wish to purchase them at the price of disloyalty towards the sultan. But if he was the czar of his armies, he was not of public opinion. Opinion resolved to do violence to his scruples, and entreaty was changed into conspiracy.

This Greek conspiracy in spite of the emperor had its cradle in Russia; it was hatched by European liberalism in the armies of Alexander, not on the mountains of Olympus. There was filial vengeance in its patriotism. Prince Ypsilanti, the first conspirator, was the son of one Ypsilanti beheaded by Selim III for having corresponded with the hospodar of Wallachia.^g Ypsilanti entered the Rumanian principalities in 1820, and we have already seen the results of his intrigues in Moldavia and Wallachia, ending in his flight and death.^a

The proclamation and the emissaries of Ypsilanti had given to the Peloponnesus the signal for independence. Kolokotronis, a leader in the first unsuccessful insurrection, who had retired some years before to the isle of Zante, and in whom years and exile had only ripened heroism, and whose father, brothers, and near relatives had all perished under the sword of the Turks, had again landed upon the continent and had reorganised his bands of exiles in the mountains. The archbishop of Patræ (or Patras), Germanos, orator, pontiff, and warrior, had convened all the chiefs of the clergy in the caverns of the Erymanthus mountains to arrange with them the insurrection of all their churches. He had summoned the Christians to separate themselves forever from the infidels, and to retire with their priests, their wives, and their children into the mountains, to organise there the holy war and thence to burst forth upon the Ottomans. At his voice the cities and the villages were deserted; the Turks, astonished at the solitude, attempted a few assaults upon these bands of men whom they thought could easily be brought back to servitude; they were everywhere driven from the mountains, and soon ejected from the cities in which they had reigned the day before.

[1820-1827 A.D.]

Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, the Peloponnesus, Eubœa, and the Archipelago had become battle-fields on which perished alternately tyrants and slaves. Ali Pasha, the Albanian rebel, in order to gain allies against the Turks, addressed a proclamation to the Suliotes, whom he had formerly expelled, and gave back to them their lands and fortresses, together with cannon and ammunition. At the approach of the peasants, following their priests and leaders, and descending in thousands from the mountains, all the towns arose and massacred the Turks, and drove them back into the forts. The massacres and crimes of liberty equalled those of



GRECIAN NOBLEMAN

(Sixteenth Century)

tyranny. The Peloponnesus was fire and blood, under the cross as under the crescent; three centuries of cumulative servitude were the revenge for three centuries of oppression. The two races and the two religions counted as many hangmen, as many victims, the one as the other. Europe shuddered with horror at the recital of atrocities. Two races, two nations, two religions grappled with each other, from the shores where the waves beat upon the islands to the summits of Pindarus and of Thessaly. Patræ, Missolonghi were entombed under their ruins. The popular hymn of insurrection and despair, the *Marseillaise* of the cross, written by the Thessalian Rigas, burst forth upon the mountains, and blended with the sacred songs of the Hellenic clergy.

"Until when," it cried, "shall we live in exile

among the rocks of the mountains, wandering in the forests, hidden in the caverns of the earth? Let us arise, and if we must die, let our country die with us. Arise! the law of God, the sacred equality of his creatures, let these be our cause. Let us swear on the crucifix to break the yoke which bows down our heads! Suliotes! and you, Spartans! emerge from your retreats, leopards of the mountains, eagles of Olympus, vultures of Agrapha, Christians of the Save, and of the Danube, brave Macedonians, to arms! let your blood burn like fire! Dolphins of the seas! Alcyons of Hydra, of Ipsara, of the Cyclades, do you hear in your waves the voice of your country? Ride upon your ships, seize the thunderbolt, strike, burn to its roots the tree of tyranny; unfold your banners and let the cross triumphant become the flag of victory and of liberty!"

Fanaticism of religion, of race and of nationality did not burn with a less brilliant flame among the Ottomans. They felt themselves called to a second conquest of the land conquered by their ancestors, by the sovereignty of Islam. The sultan in repressing the rebellion would have liked to preserve the rebellious population from ruin and death, for the annihilation of six million Greeks with their wealth and strength was suicide for the Porte. But the people and the janissaries, irritated and afraid, saw safety only in the extermination of the Christians and urged the government to executions and barbarities proportionate to their terror. The panic of the Moslems animated their ferocity. In the capital, people talked only of a universal conspiracy among the Christians to destroy the Turks.

The Greek patriarch Gregory, a man eighty years of age, was seized on Easter Sunday, clothed in his pontifical robes as he descended from the altar, and was hanged from the door of his cathedral. All the chiefs of the Greek clergy were seized at their altars the same night and were sacrificed on the steps of their churches. Europe looked on and shuddered, but no power as yet openly took up the cause of Christendom. Mahmud armed his fleet and intrusted it to his grand admiral Kara Ali.

All the islands of the Archipelago had responded to the massacres at Constantinople, to the threats of disarmament, to the departure of the Turkish fleet, by a general armament of their merchant ships. Tombasis, a bold mariner, on board the *Themistocles*, was appointed grand admiral of the insurgents. The fleet of Ipsara joined that of Tombasis. They cleared the sea of isolated Turkish war-ships, and, imitating the atrocities of the Ottomans, killed, drowned, or sold at auction the prisoners or Turkish pilgrims found on these vessels.

During these combats and these reciprocal massacres on the waters and shores of the Ægean Sea, Kurshid Pasha, at the head of the Ottoman army of Epirus, with half of his troops blockaded Ali Pasha in his capital, while with the other half he fought the rebellion in the Peloponnesus. In a desperate assault the aged Ali, causing himself in the midst of the firing to be carried to the breach in a litter, had triumphed and had sent back the prisoners. "The bear of the Pindarus is still alive," said Ali Pasha to his enemy; "thou mayest send to fetch thy dead for burial; I shall always act justly as long as thou fightest like a brave man, but two men will lose Turkey; it is a question of us two!"

European Sentiment

There were many influences which popularised in Europe the cause of Greek independence. The name of Greece became a sort of religion of the imagination in the literary world; the exploits—enlarged in the telling—of Bozzaris, Canaris, Kolokotronis, Mauromichales, Tombasis, those worthy descendants of Miltiades, of Leonidas, and of Themistocles; the sonorous echoes of that land, full of memories, the almost fabulous reports of victories won by a population of shepherds from the armies of a powerful empire, the prodigies of cruelty on the one side and of bravery on the other, thrilled popular sentiment, which has no other policy than its emotions. The public responded to the suffering of Greece with a cry of indignation against the persecutors, and of enthusiasm for the martyrs. Even the cause of American independence in 1775 had aroused France to less enthusiasm than that now aroused on the Christian continent by the cause of the Hellenes. This sentiment was purely individual, and did not involve the governments, which were still neutral and undecided. It gave to the Greeks, however, encouragement,

ammunitions, arms, and auxiliaries. Greek committees formed in all the capitals voted subsidies, armed ships, recruited officers and men, published journals, held lectures, wrote poems, multiplied even among the people legends in favour of the popular cause. Literature as a whole, that spontaneous and irresistible expression of unreflected and disinterested generosity in the heart of the people, was on the side of the sons of Homer, of Demosthenes, and of Plato by a sort of filial tradition for those fathers of human thought. Courageous adventurers of France, Germany, and England, such as General Fabvier, disembarked from merchant ships upon the coast of Morea, and assumed the nomadic life of the Mainotes or of the Palicari in order to teach war and tactics to shepherds. Byron, having a heart as heroic as his imagination, threw name, fortune, life itself into the cause of Greece. He equipped a ship, paid troops, gave subsidies to the treasury of the insurrection, shut himself up in the most dangerous city, took part in battle, and was ready to die for the glorious past and the doubtful future of a people which had been unacquainted even with his name.

Fabvier had followed the peasants into the mountains, and had disciplined them and trained them for war. At that moment Sultan Mahmud called Mehemet Ali, the pasha of half-independent Egypt, to the aid of imperilled Islam, and in consequence Ibrahim Pasha disembarked in the Morea with an Egyptian army and attempted the conquest of the Morea for the sultan.

The Attitude of Foreign Governments

But although the people heard the voices of the Greeks, their sovereigns still refused to hear them. The emperor of Russia, fearing to encourage in Greece the spirit of revolution which he had sworn to extinguish in France, in Italy, in Spain, and in Germany, abandoned his ambition to follow his principle. Metternich feared for Austria the eruption of revolutionary thought such as disturbed Germany. Prussia hesitated, as always, between England, Austria, and Russia. England regarded with disapproval the resurrection of a nation whose power would be disastrous to her, would enfeeble Turkey, would open the Dardanelles, perhaps to the future fleets of Russia, and would place in the Mediterranean a merchant marine to rival her own commercial advantages. France, finally, who does not calculate but feels, vacillated, sympathetic but undecided, between her pity for a Christian race and her old alliance with the sultans.

In 1827, Russia, France, and England assumed the rôle of armed arbitrators between Greece and the Ottoman Empire. Greece at that moment, having successively devoured the Turkish armies sent by Mahmud to reduce her to obedience, had finally succumbed to the Egyptian armies called to the aid of Islam and commanded by Ibrahim Pasha. Ibrahim, master of the Morea by his troops, and master of the sea by the Egyptian and Turkish fleets united in the harbour of Navarino, was waiting inactive for the result of the negotiations between the powers and the sultan, ready to execute the conditions of the treaty which should ensue and to evacuate or to retain the Greek continent. A month's armistice, to give time for negotiations, had been concluded between the belligerent parties. This armistice would expire October 20th, 1827. No declaration of war had been addressed to the Porte; on the contrary, a tacit peace existed between the Christian powers and the generalissimo of the Ottoman forces. The three admirals, Von Heyden, Codrington and de Rigny, stationed their fleets off the coasts of Morea like pacificatory witnesses and not like enemies, and held daily communications with

[1827 A.D.]

Ibrahim. They imposed on him only a cessation of hostilities against the Greeks in the interests of humanity—an appeal which Ibrahim understood and respected while waiting the result of the negotiations begun at Constantinople.

After some time the three foreign fleets entered the harbour and anchored, as in times of peace, deck to deck, opposite the Ottoman vessels, whose chief officers were on shore in full security. The laws of peace, the laws of war, neutrality, loyalty, humanity, alike imposed on the commanders of these fleets a peaceful attitude conformable indeed to the intentions of their governments, but inoffensive towards a friendly fleet. Such was the course imposed by the written instructions given the three admirals. But, urged on by the popularity which was at that moment possessed by the Greek revolution, and impatient to distinguish themselves by brave deeds at any price, they allowed themselves to be governed by their own initiative.

The "Battle" of Navarino (1827 A.D.)

A chance or else a premeditated shot—it is not known from what ship, so great was the confusion of five fleets in one harbour—gave the pretext or the signal for the engagement. The English admiral commanded by right of age; sure of the support of his two colleagues, he was the first to fire upon the Ottoman fleet; Admiral de Rigny and Admiral von Heyden opened fire on the still mute vessels before them. A continuous fire from the volleys of the three squadrons demolished the Turkish ships one by one. At anchor, motionless, pressed one upon another, communicating from deck to deck the fire which was devouring them, the Egyptians and Turks responded to the fire of the Christians with the courage of fatalism. Their batteries being extinguished by the waves into which they sank, the men shot through the gun-holes, to the last cannon which remained above the level of the water; the vessels, bursting under the explosion of the magazines, covered the sky with their smoke and the harbour with their débris; the cordage cut by bullets or burned by flames let the smoking hulls of their ships drift upon the reefs. In two hours eight thousand of their mariners had filled up the decks with their dead bodies. A few hundred men, themselves wounded by the batteries of the forts, alone survived to testify on the European ships to the distress of the Ottoman fleet. The smoke as it cleared away discovered only the fiery remnants of ninety ships of war, of which the waves threw the débris, as if in expiation, at the foot of the cliffs of New Greece.

Such was not the victory but the crime of Navarino. A cry of horror was raised in Asia, a cry of deliverance saluted the event in Greece, a cry of enthusiasm applauded it in Europe. Europe hesitated as to what name should be given to this conflagration of two fleets. Heroic it seemed to some men, to others it was an act of dishonour. Silence at length swathed it, lest scrutiny should too clearly reveal its iniquity.⁹

Müller on the Battle of Navarino

Ibrahim's fleet consisted of 130 ships, among them eighty-seven war-ships with 2,438 cannon, to which the allies could oppose only twenty-seven ships with 1,276 cannon. Codrington was commander-in-chief of the fleet of the allies. His ship *Asia* was anchored at the distance of a pistol-shot from that of the Turkish admiral. The command was not to fire unless the Turks began first. The latter had already fired several shots, several people had

already been killed on the English ships, and yet Codrington held back. Thereupon the hostile admiral's ship fired on the *Asia* and the fight began. Vehemently did the Englishman deal destruction to his enemies; the French and Russian fleets were equally successful; courage and discipline were on their side, confusion, bewilderment, and cowardice on the other. The enemy's ships were in confusion; three thousand cannon volleyed forth in a narrow basin surrounded by mountains. Fearful was the sound of their thunder! The battle lasted from four to six in the afternoon; between five and six thousand of the enemy were killed, and almost their whole fleet was destroyed. Only twenty-nine war-vessels, which were hardly seaworthy, remained. The harbour was covered with débris, and through the whole night might be heard the explosions of useless ships blown up by the Turks. Ibrahim returned to Navarino in the evening and saw nothing before him but destruction. The admirals informed him that at the least sign of hostility the remainder of his ships and the forts would be completely destroyed by their batteries. Thereupon he hoisted the white flag, and sent to Alexandria as many of his boats as could be made fit for sea; the allies retreated and repaired their ships.

THE ORGANISATION OF GREECE

Even then the Porte would enter into no negotiations concerning the pacification of Greece, and the disagreement between it and the ambassadors of the three powers became so violent that the latter left the country. Thereupon a number of European inhabitants were turned out of Turkey. The Russo-Turkish war was beginning. In order to reap the last possible advantage from the occurrence at Navarino, the French general Maison, in accordance with a resolution of the congress of London, landed in the Morea with fourteen thousand men, forced Ibrahim to set sail for Egypt, and compelled the garrison to capitulate, so that in October, 1828, the Morea at least was free, and nothing stood in the way to prevent the Greeks from establishing an independent government.

President Capo d'Istria had entered upon Greek soil on January 18th, 1828, hailed as a saviour by all parties. He might have been one had he not, as Russian minister, become too accustomed to absolute rule, and if he had not wrongly judged conditions upon his return to Greece. His presidency was a sort of dictatorship; his board of councillors consisted of his own creatures. The independence of the provincial and commercial magistrates was abolished, and an administration by prefects introduced in which no free election of magistrates was possible. In order to make his will all-powerful, he had his spies, like Metternich; he limited the freedom of the press and violated the secrecy of correspondence. Schools were indeed established, but care was taken that no independent ideas might penetrate their precincts. In the home of Plato, Plato's *Gorgias* might not even be read because the author expressed himself too strongly against tyrants. Towards all who had acquired power during the Greek revolution he showed no less hatred than the Spanish Ferdinand showed against the victorious opponents of Napoleon. Towards the Hydriots, towards the independent Mainotes, towards those proud chiefs who for eight years had carried the fate of their land on the points of their daggers, he acted like a Russian pasha.

On March 22nd, 1829, it was decided by the three powers that Greece should form a hereditary monarchy; that it should reach to the bays of Ceuta and Vola on the north, but that it should be tributary to Turkey. On Feb-

[1830-1862 A.D.]

ruary 3rd, 1830, these measures were altered in order to make Greece wholly independent and free from tribute; its boundaries on the north were considerably limited, and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was named prince. But the prince, who saw that with such narrow boundaries he would have to begin his rule by recovering from the Porte by force of arms the remaining Greek provinces, declined the proffered crown. To whom was this more acceptable than to Capo d'Istria? But his days were numbered.^h

On October 9th, 1831, he was murdered on his way to church by George Mauromichales, a member of the Mainote family of patriots towards whom Capo d'Istria had behaved in a high-handed manner. His brother was at once appointed ruler by the senate, but he was obliged to abdicate on April 9th, 1832. The conference of London then chose Prince Otto of Bavaria to be king of Greece.^a

KING OTTO (1833 A.D.)

On January 30th, 1833, King Otto landed in Nauplia. Since he was not yet of age a regency of three persons was appointed; three thousand five hundred Bavarian soldiers were to keep order until a national army was created. On December 25th, 1833, the seat of government was transferred from Nauplia to Athens, which was now little more than a heap of ruins, but it soon received a university, and in a short time became one of the most important ports in the Orient. King Otto, who had assumed the reins of government upon July 1st, 1835, and in the following year had married Princess Amalie of Oldenburg, first had Armansperg, and then von Rudhardt, as his prime minister. After the latter had been dismissed in 1837 in consequence of a conflict with the English ambassador Lyons, who accused him of friendship for Russia, only Greeks were received into the ministry; but the harmony was no greater. On September 15th, 1843, a military revolt compelled the king, who made no objection, to give Greece a representative assembly. But even this could not remove the dissatisfaction of the people, who dreamed of a Byzantine Empire.

There was intense excitement in Greece over the Crimean war. Hatred against the old oppressors was aroused; the narrowness of the northern boundary was more keenly felt; the moment seemed to have come to expand; there was talk even of a renewal of the Byzantine Empire. To dampen these warlike desires the Western powers sent a few ships into the Piræus; French troops landed and compelled the government with their aid to keep revolutionary tendencies in check. Besides a few sorties of plundering Klephts in Thessaly and Epirus, nothing of importance transpired. The lack of energy, however, on the part of King Otto gave great offence to the Hellenic people, and there began to be talk regarding the appointment of a new monarch.

The Peace of Paris, which guaranteed its old boundaries to Turkey, gave great dissatisfaction to Greece. From that time on King Otto was in a difficult position. In February, 1862, a military revolt broke out in Nauplia, which was mildly suppressed by Otto. But while the king with his wife was visiting Morea in October, the cities of Vonitsa, Patræ, and Athens arose against him; a provisory government was established which demanded the abdication of Otto.

Upon hearing of this rebellion the royal pair returned to the Piræus on October 23rd, but were not allowed to land; they went back to Salamis and embarked there upon an English ship, which took them to Trieste, whence they went home. The Greeks then chose Prince Alfred, the second son of

the queen of England, to be their king, but the English cabinet declined this honour. On March 30th, 1863, they chose Prince George of Glücksburg, whose father had been destined by the London protocol to be king of Denmark.

KING GEORGE (1863 A.D.)

The young George landed at the Piræus on October 30th. He had made the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece a condition of his acceptance. England acquiesced in this, and the Greek nation regarded it as a favourable augury that the new king brought this inheritance as a dowry, and hoped that he would meet the national desires in regard to Turkey. This hope was confirmed in 1866 when King George openly took sides with the Cretans in their revolt against Turkey and did not hinder the departure of volunteers for Crete.

Crete Becomes the Property of the Porte (1868 A.D.)

The ambassadors of France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy, for fear that an oriental war might arise and all Europe be involved therein, advised the Porte in March, 1867, to cede Crete to Greece. But England, who feared that Russian influence in the Orient would be increased thereby, encouraged the Porte not to give way. The Cretans would have been forced even then to succumb if they had not been supported by volunteers, weapons, and money from Greece. If King George did not wish to be dethroned like his predecessor Otto, it was necessary for him to have more sympathy than the latter had shown for the Great Greek movement, which regarded Thessaly, Epirus, and the Archipelago as stations and Constantinople as the goal. The Turkish threats of war did not alarm the Greek government; but when in November, 1868, the Greek foreign minister declared openly in the chamber that the policy of the government with regard to Crete was one of annexation, and when bands of volunteers with colours flying passed the windows of the Turkish embassy in Athens, the patience of the Turk was finally exhausted. On December 10th he sent an ultimatum to Athens, and when this was rejected the Grecian ambassador in Constantinople received his passes. Both powers prepared for war. Diplomacy scarcely dared breathe. Count Bismarck suggested to the French foreign minister that he summon the signatories of the Peace of Paris to a special conference. This began its sittings at Paris on January 9th, 1869. The demands of Turkey—that Greece should stop the organisation of troops of volunteers, should disarm or exclude from its ports the corsair ships, and should permit the return to Crete of the Cretan families which had emigrated to Greece—were recognised as just, and, through a delegate from the conference, Greece was invited to accept them. A change of ministry made this possible, and diplomatic relations between the Porte and Greece were resumed. The island of Crete was obliged to become subject to the Porte.^h

Greece is Again Brought to War with Turkey (1897 A.D.)

In 1875 Charilaos Trikoupis was made prime minister, and for twenty years he played a conspicuous part in Greek politics, occupying most of that time alternately with Delyannis, the office of chief of the cabinet. Delyannis, contrary to Charilaos Trikoupis, was an exponent of the martial desires of the nation. The policy of Trikoupis was wise and far-sighted and aimed at devel-

[1877-1897 A.D.]

oping the country to the extent of its ability. But as it was so often interrupted by the rash measures of his opponent Delyannis, nothing great was accomplished.

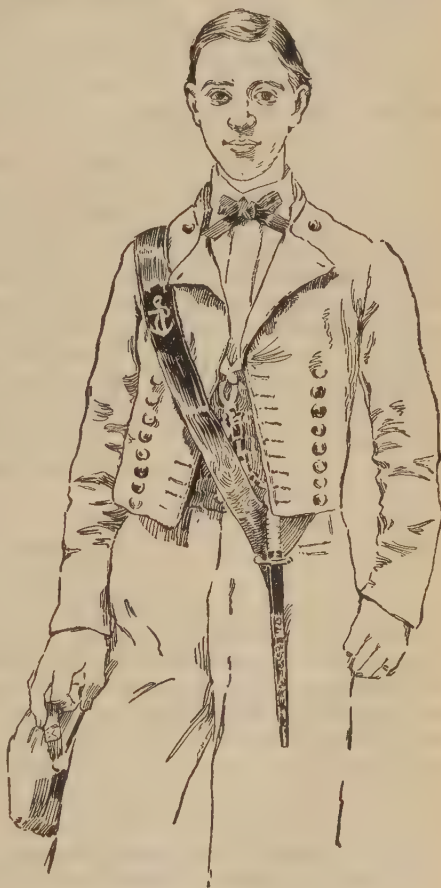
The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 caused intense excitement in Greece, and a coalition ministry was formed under the old patriot Canaris, but Trikoupis was the controlling spirit and prevented Greece from taking an active part in the war. After the capture of Plevna, Delyannis came into power and at once organised an invasion of Thessaly, but the peace between the belligerent parties checked this warlike movement.

The congress of Berlin left the question of the frontier between Greece and Turkey to be settled jointly by those two countries, but as they failed to come to an agreement, a convention at Constantinople in 1881 intrusted the definition of the boundary to a commission consisting of representatives of the six powers and of the two interested parties. The question was settled in the same year, and Greek troops occupied the territory ceded to them by the decision of the commission.

Another question between Turkey and Greece was still unsettled—that of Crete. The disagreement was increased by the organisation of the Greek nationalist movement and the formation of the patriotic society *Ethniké Hetæria* in 1894. This secret society aimed at arousing an insurrection in Macedonia, and in 1896 it sent its emissaries into Crete also. The evident determination of the Porte not to carry out the promised reforms in that island caused great indignation in Greece. The matter came to a head in 1897, when Turkish troops fired on the Christians in Canea. Two days later (February 6th) two war-ships were sent to Canea from Greece, and on the 10th Prince George left for the scene of action.

The powers, however, intervened as in every instance when trouble occurs between Turkey and her neighbours or dependents. It was declared that Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that the island should receive an autonomous administration under the suzerainty of the sultan. This decision only increased the hostile attitude of the Greeks, who were now eager for war with Turkey and commenced to make active preparations.

Turkey declared war on April 17th, 1897, and in a little over a month the Greeks had been defeated and the campaign was over. The war had been provoked rashly and with undue cause; the Greek troops were unprepared, and were easily driven to retreat before the superior numbers and discipline



GEORGE I
(1845-)

of their opponents. Their hasty abandonment of Larissa after the fighting at Mati on April 23rd was disorderly in the extreme. That event and the battles of Pharsalus, Velesino, and Domokos were the main incidents deciding the campaign in Thessaly. The campaign in Epirus, the other scene of operations, was no more successful than that of Thessaly. An armistice was signed on May 20th, and peace was definitely concluded on December 6th. Turkey received an indemnity of four million pounds Turkish, and the frontier was slightly modified. The only result to Greece of all the agitation—besides the impoverishment of many of its inhabitants—was that Crete was taken away from Turkish rule; in 1898 Prince George of Greece was made high commissioner of the island. Under him quiet was restored to Crete, and the Moslem population became gradually more reconciled to its Christian neighbours. In 1901, although the Cretan assembly voted for a union with Greece, the powers objected, and Prince George was appointed to hold the position of high commissioner for three years more. An unsuccessful insurrection took place in 1905. In August, 1906, it was announced that the protecting powers had agreed to reorganize the gendarmerie, to withdraw the international troops as soon as the Cretan gendarmerie and militia showed themselves competent to preserve order, and to extend the control of the international finance committee over the island. In September, Prince George resigned and was succeeded by M. Zaimis, ex-premier of Greece. In July, 1907, M. Zaimis conferred with M. Theotokis about the selection of Greek officers who are to be entrusted with the organization of a Cretan militia to take the place of the international forces. In the same month the Christian members of the Cretan chamber passed a resolution asking the powers to consent to the union of the island with Greece.

Domestic Agitation

In Greece itself political agitation still continued. In 1901 the ministry was forced to resign in consequence of the excitement caused by the proposal to publish a translation of the Gospel into the modern Greek usually spoken in the kingdom. The translation had been made at the order of the queen, but the opposition was so violent, particularly on the part of the students, that the plan was abandoned. The next year, 1902, there was another change of ministry; Zaimis, a moderate conservative, went out of power and Delyannis came in. Owing to the opposition of the hostile party, which had hidden the keys to the house of parliament, the members of the government were forced to the undignified proceeding of entering the house by the fire-escape through the back windows. Early in 1903 Delyannis resigned, and M. Theotokis, M. Ralli, M. Theotokis again, and then M. Ralli again headed ministries. In 1904 Delyannis once more became premier, and in March of the following year his party secured a large majority at the general election; but in June he was assassinated by a young man who felt himself aggrieved because the government had taken repressive measures against gambling. M. Ralli then once more formed a cabinet, but in December, 1905, he resigned and M. Theotokis again came into power. The elections in April, 1905, gave the new ministry an overwhelming majority. In the first legislative session following the election a series of military laws were passed, the gendarmerie was reformed, and a system of electric railways between Athens and the Piræus was authorized.^a

BALKAN PENINSULA

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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE BALKAN STATES AND MODERN GREECE

I. RUMANIA

ROMAN ERA

Country now called Rumania is occupied in the fourth century by Getæ and Dacians. They are mentioned in connection with Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, and Lysimachus. First authentic date is from about a century before our era.

B.C.

111 First conflict between Romans and Dacians.

A.D.

86 Decebalus crosses into Mœsia and defeats Romans.

89 Decebalus conquered by Julianus.

90 Domitian makes peace with Decebalus.

101 Trajan makes expedition into Dacia.

102 Dacians defeated by Trajan.

105-106 Second expedition of Trajan ending in complete defeat of Dacians. Dacia becomes Roman province, colonised by Romans.

ca 270-275 Aurelian withdraws Roman legions and establishes province called *Dacia Aureliana* on south bank of Danube.

BARBARIAN ERA

For about a century after departure of Romans the country is overrun by Goths.

327 Constantine incorporates land with the empire for a brief space.

361 Goths said to accept Christianity.

375 to about 453 country overrun by Huns.

453 to about 576 land is ruled by Gepidæ.

564 or 576 Gepidæ give way to Lombards and Avars. Avars rule intermittently until

610-614 when they are defeated by Heraclius.

678-680 Bulgars cross the Danube, and from 893-1018 Rumania is largely in Bulgarian hands.

839 Hungarians settle in eastern Wallachia.

894 Hungarians are driven into the Carpathians. They are succeeded in Rumania by Petchenegs and Kumani.

1227 Kumani converted to Christianity.

1240 Succumb to Tatars.

INDEPENDENT PRINCIPALITIES OF WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA.

WALLACHIA

1290 Principality of Wallachia is founded by **Radul Negru**, at head of emigrants from Transylvania, in revolt against Hungary.

- 1310 Radul dies and is succeeded by his sons **John Bessaraba** and
 1325 **Alexander Bessaraba**.
 1330 Alexander defeats Charles of Hungary.
 1365 Alexander is succeeded by his son **Ladislaus**. He fights successfully against Louis of Hungary.
 1372 Ladislaus dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Radul II**. Wallachia throws off Hungarian yoke almost completely.
 1385 Radul is succeeded by his son **Dan**.
 1386 He is dethroned and killed by his brother, **Mircea the Great**.
 1387 Mircea makes alliance with Poland.
 1389 Battle of Kosovo.
 1391 Turks first cross Danube.
 1393 Mircea makes treaty with Bayazid II.
 1396 Mircea takes part in battle of Nikopoli and is punished by Turks for so doing. Wallachia becomes tributary to Turkey.
 1418 Death of Mircea. Country is torn by civil war. **Michael**, son of Mircea, **Dan II**, his cousin, **Radul III**, **Vlad the Devil**, occupy the throne at different times and for short intervals.
 1448 In second battle of Kosovo, between Hunyady and Turks, Wallachians go over to Turks.
 1452 **Ladislaus III** begins to rule.
 1456 Ladislaus is succeeded by **Vlad the Impaler**, who fights successfully against the Turks.
 1460 Vlad capitulates to Muhammed II.
 1462 Vlad is attacked and dethroned by Stephen of Moldavia. Wallachia is now completely under Moldavian control. Turks place **Radul the Handsome** on the throne, but in
 1465 Stephen dethrones Radul and gives rule to **Laiote Bessaraba**.
 1476 Stephen dethrones Laiote, who has been unfaithful to him, and places Vlad the Impaler again on the throne. He is soon overthrown and killed by Laiote.
 1481 Laiote is killed in battle by Stephen, who places Vlad's son, **Vlad the Monk**, on the throne.
 1494 Vlad is overthrown by his son **Radul**, called the **Great**, who goes over to Hungarians.
 1507 Radul dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Mihnea the Bad**.
 1511 Mihnea is succeeded by **Vlad**, a brother of Radul the Great.
 1512 **Nagul Bessaraba** is placed on the throne by Turks.
 1521 Nagul dies, and in disturbed period which follows eleven princes succeed one another in space of twenty-five years. 1521, **Theodosius**; 1521-22, **Radul the Monk**; 1522-24, **Radul of Afumatzi**; 1524-26, **Ladislaus**; 1526-29, second reign of Radul Afumatzi; 1529-30, **Moses**; 1530-32, **Vlad**; 1532-34, **Vintila**; 1534, **Radul Paisii**; 1534-36, **Peter Arghesh**; 1536-46, second reign of Radul Paisii.
 1526 Battle of Mohacs decides Turkish supremacy. Turks begin to settle in land and build mosques.
 1591 **Alexander** becomes voyevod, and introduces janissary guard.
 1593 **Michael the Brave** is chosen voyevod, and during his reign Turkish yoke is thrown off. Michael allies himself with Sigismund Báthori of Transylvania and with Aaron of Moldavia.
 1594 "Wallachian Vespers." All Turks in two principalities are massacred. Michael invades Turkish territory.
 1595 Turks are defeated at Mantin on the Danube. Sivan Pasha, the grand vizir, is likewise defeated by Michael.
 1597 Michael makes peace with sultan.
 1599 Michael defeats Andreas Báthori, who has succeeded Sigismund, and seizes Transylvania. He also expels voyevod of Moldavia, thus ruling over three principalities.
 1601 Transylvania revolts. Michael is murdered and country falls under Turkish rule. After him rulers buy their appointments at Constantinople. Greek influence gradually gains ground. At first **Serban** of Bessaraba family rules.
 1610 Serban is deposed. Turks continually change rulers.
 1633 **Matthew Bessaraba** introduces short period of prosperity.
 1640 First book printed in Rumanian is published at Bukharest.
 1656 Matthew dies. Turks transfer Wallachian capital from Tirgovist to Bukharest.
 1674 Wallachia and Moldavia ask aid of Russia against the Turks, but negotiations come to nothing.
 1679 **Serban Cantacuzenus** mounts throne of Wallachia and country benefits by his reign.
 1683 Wallachia and Moldavia are forced to take part in siege of Vienna, but secretly aid the besieged.
 1688 Cantacuzenus dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, **Constantine Brancovano**.
 1709 Constantine concludes secret treaty with Peter the Great.
 1714 Brancovano is deposed and beheaded by Turks.
 1716 His successor of the Cantacuzenus family is likewise deposed and killed. Wallachia falls under Fanariot régime. **Nicholas Maurocordatos** is first ruler.

MOLDAVIA

Different dates ranging from 1288 to 1342 are given for the foundation of the principality.

- It is probably established soon after that of Wallachia, under **Dracosh**, who is succeeded by his sons, **Sas** and **Balk**, during which time Moldavia is dependent on Hungary.
- 1349 **Bogdan** makes Moldavia independent.
- 1370 Bogdan dies, and is succeeded by his son **Latzcu**.
- 1374 Latzcu dies, and the Bogdan dynasty comes to an end. He is succeeded by a Lithuanian prince, **Juga Koriatovich**.
- 1375 Juga is killed by boyars, and is succeeded by a Wallachian prince of the Bessaraba family called **Peter Muchat**. Poland begins to lay claim to sovereignty over Moldavia.
- 1390 Peter is succeeded by his brother **Roman**.
- 1395 **Stephen**, brother of Roman, rules for one year. After him there is a struggle for supremacy between his sons **Stephen II** and **Peter II**.
- 1399 **Roman II** rules for a year.
- 1400 **Juga II**, son of Roman, rules for a short period.
- 1401 **Alexander the Good** is placed on throne by Mircea of Wallachia. He devotes himself to organising the country.
- 1433 Alexander dies, and a period of civil war sets in, the throne being disputed by his legitimate and illegitimate sons, who divide the country, sometimes two or three ruling at one time. First, **Elie** rules. Then, 1433-35, **Stephen III**; 1435-44, **Elie** and **Stephen III** together; 1444-47, **Stephen III**, **Roman III**, and **Alexander II**; 1455-57, **Peter III**.
- 1457 **Stephen the Great** mounts throne of Moldavia.
- 1462 Deposes Vlad the Impaler.
- 1475 Stephen defeats Turks.
- 1479 Stephen is defeated by Turks at Valea Alba.
- 1504 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Bogdan III**.
- 1510 Bogdan concludes treaty with Poland.
- 1517 Bogdan dies, and during minority of his son country is governed by the council.
- 1522 **Stephen the Young** declares himself of age. He proves himself an unwise ruler, and in 1526 is poisoned by his wife at the instigation of the Poles. He is succeeded by **Peter Raresch**, a natural son of Stephen the Great.
- 1529 Peter defeats army of Ferdinand in supporting John Zapolya's claims to Hungary.
- 1531 Peter is defeated by Poles.
- 1538 Peter, who has become obnoxious to Turks, is defeated by them, and **Stephen Locusta** is placed on the throne.
- 1541 Peter again rules in Moldavia, having bought favour of Turks.
- 1546 Peter dies, and country passes wholly under Turkish domination. **Elias**, who now succeeds, becomes Mohammedan.
- 1551 Elias' rule comes to an end. He is succeeded by **Alexander**.
- 1561 **Jacob Basilicus**, an impostor of Greek origin, dethrones Alexander and seizes reins of government. He founds schools and introduces reforms.
- 1563 People rise and murder Jacob. Alexander is reinstated by Porte.
- 1572 Alexander is succeeded by **John the Terrible**, who gains some victories over the Turks, but in 1574 he is defeated and slain by them. Voyevods are now quickly made and deposed by the Porte.
- 1594 Moldavia under **Aaron** unites with Wallachia in killing Turks.
- 1600 Moldavia is annexed to Wallachia. **Jeremiah** flees to Poland. Upon Michael's defeat in Transylvania, Moldavia revolts and Jeremiah is reinstated. For some years Moldavia is under Polish supremacy.
- 1618 Turks again assert their power, and set up two rulers in succession, **Gratiani**, an Italian, and **Alexander**, a Greek.
- 1634 **Basil the Wolf** succeeds to throne and for twenty years the country enjoys prosperity. Basil introduces reforms, founds schools, revises laws. He fights, however, with Bessaraba of Wallachia, and is deposed by his subjects.
- 1683 **Duka** is obliged to supply contingent for siege of Vienna.
- 1711 **Dmetri Cantemir** concludes treaty with Peter the Great, making Moldavia protected vassal of Russia.
- 1716 Russian campaign against Turkey is unsuccessful. Cantemir takes refuge in Russia. Fanariot régime is now firmly established in Moldavia.

FANARIOT RÉGIME IN WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

From 1716 until 1822 the principalities are governed by Greeks from the Fanar (light-house) quarter of Constantinople, who obtain their appointments for money. In this period there are thirty-five different governors in Wallachia and thirty-three in Moldavia. The period is also characterised by Russo-Turkish wars and treaties.

- 1736 Russo-Turkish war.
 1739 Peace of Belgrade. Principalities restored to Turkey.
 1747 **Constantine Maurocordatos** of Wallachia tries to abolish serfdom.
 1769 Russo-Turkish war. Principalities occupied by Russian troops.
 1774 Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Principalities restored to Turkey, but Russian right of interference recognised. Bukowina occupied by Austrians. Gregoriu Ghika of Moldavia founds school at Jassy. Sultan, in spite of treaty, appoints **Alexander Ypsilanti** to rule in Wallachia.
 1777 Bukowina is formally ceded to Austria. **Constantine Murusi** appointed governor of Moldavia.
 1783 Russians force a hatti-sherif from the Porte defining status of principalities.
 1787 Russo-Turkish war in which Austria joins against Turkey.
 1792 Peace of Jassy. Dniester made boundary of Russia.
 1801 Rebels ravage Wallachia and are then succeeded by Turkish troops.
 1802 Russia obtains provision that rulers are to hold their positions for seven years.
 1806 Russo-Turkish war. Russians again overrun principalities.
 1812 Peace of Bukharest. Principalities handed over to Turkey. Bessarabia ceded to Russia.
 1821 Greek war of independence breaks out. Moldavia, incited by Ypsilanti, takes part of Greeks. Wallachia under Vladimirescu opposes them. Turkish troops occupy countries and Fanariot rule is abolished.

UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES

- From this time national feeling continues to increase, which ends in uniting the two principalities.
 1822 Native rulers are appointed, **Gregoriu Ghika** in Wallachia and **John Sturdza** in Moldavia. Russo-Turkish war again breaks out. Russians occupy principalities.
 1826 Treaty of Akermann. Principalities placed under Russian protection while tributary to Porte.
 1828 Russo-Turkish war. Principalities occupied by Russian troops.
 1829 Treaty of Adrianople ratifies privileges granted to principalities in 1826; governors to be appointed for life. First Rumanian newspaper issued.
 1834 *Règlement organique* regulating internal administration of country is ratified by Porte. Russian troops withdraw. **Alexander Ghika** rules in Wallachia; **Michael Sturdza** in Moldavia.
 1842 **George Bibesco** succeeds in Wallachia. He, like his predecessor, is wholly under Russian influence.
 1848 Revolution breaks out, but is suppressed by Turks and Russians.
 1849 Treaty of Balta-Limani. Privileges of principalities are restricted. **Gregoriu Ghika** appointed ruler in Moldavia and **Barbu Stirbeiu** in Wallachia.
 1853 Crimean War breaks out. Russians occupy country. They are succeeded by Austrians.
 1856 Treaty of Paris. Russian protection over country abolished. European commission appointed to revise laws. Independent internal administration guaranteed by Porte.
 1857 Representative councils of two countries vote to unite into one principality Rumania.
 1858 Congress of Paris rejects this plan, but appoints one chief common council for two countries, under separate rulers.
 1859 Two assemblies elect the same ruler, **Alexander Cuza**, whose election is finally ratified by powers and Porte.
 1862 Two special assemblies are replaced by one assembly, and a single ministry is established.
 1864 Cuza by a *coup d'état* abolishes national assembly.
 1866 Cuza is forced to abdicate. Prince **Karl Ludwig** of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen chosen ruler. New constitution drawn up.
 1869 Charles marries Princess Elizabeth of Wied, widely known by her name "Carmen Sylva."
 1877 Rumania makes treaty with Russia, allowing latter a passage through her country. Porte objects, and Rumania declares her independence, joins Russia, and storms the Grivitza redoubt at Plevna. She is rewarded by being compelled to cede Bessarabia to Russia, in Treaty of San Stefano, getting Dobrukscha in return.
 1878 Treaty of Berlin ratifies this decision.
 1880 Independence of Rumania formally recognised by powers.
 1881 Prince **Charles** crowned king of Rumania.
 1885 Independence of Rumanian Orthodox Church recognised by patriarch at Constantinople.
 1891 Bratiano, one of most prominent Rumanian statesmen, dies at age of seventy-six. Twenty-fifth anniversary of king's reign celebrated with great enthusiasm.
 1893 Prince Ferdinand of Rumania, nephew of the king and heir-apparent to the throne, marries Princess Maria of Coburg, granddaughter of Queen Victoria and of Czar Alexander.

II. BULGARIA

EARLY HISTORY TO END OF FIRST EMPIRE

Between third and seventh centuries A.D. Balkan Peninsula becomes settled by Slavs. In the second half of the seventh century a tribe of Finnish Bulgars cross Danube and occupy country now called Bulgaria.

- A.D.
 164-679 Old Bulgarian chroniclers mention fifteen princes who ruled during this period.
 634-641 **Kurt** or **Kurat**, a Bulgarian prince, makes treaty of peace with Emperor Heraclius.
 679 **Asparuch** (640-700) subdues Slavs and founds a powerful monarchy in Mœsia. Although Slavs lose their names, Bulgarians lose their nationality. Amalgamation of two races takes two hundred and fifty years.
 700 **Tervel** succeeds Asparuch; protects Justinian II in his exile.
 705 Justinian confers title of czar upon Tervel.
 707 Justinian violates treaty with Bulgarians and is defeated by them.
 717 Bulgarians help Greeks against Arabs.
 720 Tervel is succeeded by a king of the **Dulo** dynasty.
 748 He is succeeded by **Sevar**. Nothing more is recorded of these two princes.
 753 **Kormisos** usurps the throne. Constantine V undertakes a campaign against him.
 755 Constantine forces Kormisos to make peace.
 759 Kormisos defeats emperor at Varna.
 760 Rebellions break out in Bulgarian empire. Kormisos disappears from the scene. Many Slavs migrate to Asia Minor. Bulgarians name **Telek** to be their prince. He falls upon the Byzantine provinces.
 763 Telek is defeated by Constantine and killed by his own subjects. His successor, **Salim**, son-in-law of Kormisos, makes peace with Byzantines and is therefore deposed.
 764 His successor, **Bajan**, makes peace with Constantine. Bajan's successor, **Toktu**, is killed in a battle with the emperor.
 765 Byzantine troops ravage a large part of Bulgaria. A change in the inner confusion of the realm is brought about by the accession to the throne of **Cerig**.
 774 Constantine makes peace with Cerig, but treacherously attacks him.
 775 In another expedition the Byzantines are defeated. Cerig by a clever trick finds out from the emperor the names of all the traitors in his kingdom and kills them.
 777 Cerig, for an unknown reason, flees to Constantinople to Leo IV, is baptised, and marries a royal princess. His successor, **Kardam**, renews war with the Byzantines, and compels the Romans to pay tribute (791-797).
 802 **Crum**, the most powerful of Bulgarian princes, mounts the throne. He conquers a large part of eastern Hungary and the Byzantine provinces up to Constantinople.
 809 Crum captures Sofia. Nicephorus undertakes to avenge himself.
 811 Nicephorus is defeated and killed, with slaughter of the whole Byzantine army.
 814 Crum appears before Constantinople, but is bought off.
 815 Crum dies of apoplexy, and is succeeded by **Cok**, or, according to another account, by **Dukum** and the latter by **Diceng**.
 820 **Omortag** succeeds to the throne. He concludes a treaty of peace with Leo for thirty years. Devotes his attention to the Franks, his neighbours on the west, but his conquests are not permanent. He persecutes the Christians. The name of Omortag's successor is not known with certainty. Both **Presjam** and **Malomir**, the youngest son of Omortag, are mentioned.
 ca 852 **Boris I** mounts the throne. During his reign Christianity is introduced into the country through the preaching of Constantine and Methodius.
 864 Boris is baptised and takes name of Michael.
 869 Church Council decides that Bulgaria belongs to Eastern Church.
 888 Boris abdicates and retires to a monastery, leaving his eldest son, **Vladimir**, to rule, but after four years, on account of Vladimir's misrule, he returns.
 893 Boris places his youngest son, **Simeon**, on the throne. Boris dies in 907 and becomes first national saint of Bulgarians. Simeon is the most important ruler of the Bulgarian people. Begins war with Byzantines, which lasts with few interruptions for thirty years. Under him Bulgarian dominion extends from the Black Sea to Mount Rhodope and from Olympus to the Albanian coast. Servia also is subject to him. Simeon adopts title of czar and elevates archbishopric to patriarchate.
 927 Simeon dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Peter**, a peace-loving man, under whom Simeon's empire begins to decline.
 963 **Shishman** founds rival empire in western Bulgaria.
 967 Russians appear for the first time in Bulgarian history, being summoned by Nicephorus. Peter's reign is further characterised by the rise of the Bogomile heresy.
 969 Peter dies: **David**, son of Shishman I, tries to unite two halves of empire, but is defeated in this plan by **Boris II**, son of Peter. In the summer of this year Sviatoslav, king of Russia, again attacks Bulgarians, and takes Boris captive.

- 970 Sviatoslav crosses Balkans and takes Philippopolis.
- 971 Zimisce comes to aid of Bulgarians, defeats Sviatoslav at Preslav and liberates Boris II, but Danubian Bulgaria becomes Byzantine province. Boris II and the patriarch Damian are deposed. In the west Bulgarian empire Shishman's sons and successors, **David**, **Moses**, and **Aaron**, are killed in the never-ending battles. **Samuel** alone is left. He becomes czar and rules for forty years.
- 976 Death of Zimisce. Bulgarians in Mœsia rise and soon all lands on the Danube are in Samuel's possession.
- 981 Basil II marches against Sofia, but is defeated by Samuel. Fifteen years of peace follow. Samuel fortifies Durazzo and the Adriatic coast land; fights with Vladimir, Servian ruler, forces him to make peace, and gives him his daughter in marriage.
- 996 Second war with Byzantium. Samuel conquers at Thessalonica, but is defeated near Thermopylae and escapes with difficulty to his island fortress of Presba. This marks decline of Samuel's fortunes.
- 1014 Third and last war breaks out. July 29th, Bulgarian army is destroyed at Belasica. Fifteen thousand captives are blinded by Basil II, who leaves every one-hundredth man one eye, so as to guide the others to their czar at Presba. Samuel is overcome with grief at the sight, and dies September 15th. He is succeeded by his son **Radomir**, also called **Gabriel Roman**. He is murdered by his cousin **John**, son of Aaron, who usurps the throne, but is opposed by nobles.
- 1018 Siege of Durazzo; John falls, and Bulgaria, left without a head, is torn between two parties, one wanting to surrender to Byzantium, the other wanting war. Basil II, at news of John's death, marches towards Bulgaria, overpowers the leaders of the war party by force and deceit, and Bulgaria becomes entirely dependent.

BYZANTINE SUPREMACY (1018-1186 A.D.)

This period of one hundred and seventy years has almost no national history.

- 1020 Basil II formally confirms rights of Bulgarian church. Thirty bishoprics, six hundred and eighty-five clergy, and six hundred and fifty-five colons. For governmental purposes Bulgaria is divided into districts called *themata*, each administered by a *strategus* or *dux*.
- 1025 Death of Basil II, followed by anarchy in the land. Bulgarian Czarina Maria mixes in intrigues and is placed in a cloister. In the first ten years after Basil's death the Danubian lands are visited three times by Petchenegs.
- 1040 **Peter Deljan**, son of Gabriel, escapes from confinement and is welcomed as czar by people. Slavs set up rival Czar **Tichomir**. Two armies meet, but people enthusiastically elect Deljan and stone Tichomir. Bulgarians fall upon Byzantine territory and make some progress, but Deljan is treacherously blinded by Alusian, younger brother of Czar Vladislav.
- 1041 Bulgarian leaders grace a triumph of Byzantine emperor.
- 1048-1054 The land is overrun by Petchenegs. They are followed by the Kumani.
- 1073 Bulgarian nobles ask Stephen of Servia to let his son Constantine Bodin rule over them. He is proclaimed czar under name of **Peter**, but is defeated by Greeks.
- 1081 Normans land in Albania, but their conquests are of short duration.
- 1087 **Tzelgu Khan** invades Thrace with Petchenegs and Kumani.
- 1094 Kumani cross Danube.
- 1122 Petchenegs cross Danube for last time and are defeated. Their place is taken by Kumani.
- 1186 Two brothers, **Peter** and **Ivan Asen**, rise and throw off Byzantine yoke. Bulgarians are aided by Servian prince Nemanya and engage with Byzantines in guerilla warfare, in which they are successful.
- 1188 Bulgarian czarina taken prisoner. Armistice ensues.
- 1190 Crusaders appear under Frederick Barbarossa. Peter tries in vain to persuade him to attack Constantinople. Bulgarians defeat Byzantines in pass of Berrhoea and conquer Varna and Sofia.
- 1196 Ivan Asen I is murdered by a noble named Ivanko. **Peter** rules with his young brother **Kaloyan**.
- 1197 Peter is killed and Kaloyan rules alone. In alliance with Kumani he extends Bulgarian dominion from Belgrade to the Black Sea and from the mouths of the Danube to the Struma. Kaloyan desires to establish friendly relations with Rome.
- 1199 Papal messenger appears in Tirnova. Kaloyan asks to be received into Roman Church in return for imperial crown.
- 1204 Latins capture Constantinople. In the same year Kaloyan is crowned by pope. Baldwin insults Kaloyan.
- 1205 Bulgarians, Greeks, and Kumani attack Latins. Baldwin is made prisoner by Bulgarians and his fate is never known.
- 1206 War between Bulgarians and Greeks. Kaloyan meets with military success.
- 1207 Kaloyan is murdered. The throne is usurped by his nephew, **Boril**.

- 1208 Boril is defeated by Franks at Philippopolis. About this time Bogomile heresy reaches its height.
- 1211 Boril persecutes Bogomiles.
- 1213 Frankish emperor Henry marries Boril's daughter.
- 1218 **Ivan Asen II**, son of Asen and rightful heir to throne, defeats and dethrones Boril. Asen extends his empire by his conquests and promotes its prosperity by his beneficent rule. Commerce is advanced and the national church established.
- 1230 Asen defeats Theodorus, ruler of Epirus. His empire touches three seas. He is allied with Serbia by marriage. Asen attacks Constantinople also and forces young emperor Baldwin II to seek aid of France and England.
- 1236 Pope excommunicates Asen for his alliance with Votatzeg, emperor of Nicæa, against the Latins. Asen at different times makes and breaks treaties with Votatzeg, Béla of Hungary, and even with the pope.
- 1240 Asen marries Irene, daughter of captive Theodorus of Epirus.
- 1241 Death of Ivan Asen II. He is succeeded by his son, **Kaliman I**, a boy of nine years. In his reign the Tatars retreat to Russia from Croatia through Serbia and Bulgaria. In three months all of Asen's conquests are lost.
- 1246 Kaliman dies, and is succeeded by his minor brother, **Michael Asen**. His mother, Irene, is regent. He, like his brother, is constantly at war.
- 1257 Michael Asen is defeated and killed by his cousin, who usurps the throne as **Kaliman II**. He is killed shortly after. Civil war sets in.
- 1258 The nobles elect **Constantine**, a grandson of Stephen Nemanya, to be their ruler, who marries a granddaughter of Asen II, and calls himself **Constantine Asen**. His reign of nineteen years is occupied with wars with Hungary and Byzantium, and the intrigues of his second wife, Maria, niece of Michael VIII of Nicæa.
- 1277 Constantine Asen becomes ill, and **Maria** seizes supreme power in the name of her son Michael. Meanwhile empire is invaded by Tatars. At this juncture **Ivailo** rises to power. He is a bold adventurer, originally a shepherd, but gathers together an army and defeats and kills the enfeebled czar Constantine. The people flock to his standard.
- 1278 Maria marries Ivailo. Emperor Michael brings forward another pretender to the throne, whom he marries to his daughter Irene.
- 1279 The report of Ivailo's death is spread and the people accept Michael's nominee, **Ivan Asen III**, as their czar but he cannot maintain his place. Ivailo suddenly reappears.
- 1280 He defeats two armies which Michael sends against him. Ivan Asen III flees, and **George Terterij I** is crowned czar. Ivailo goes to Nogaj, khan of the Tatars, to ask for aid against the new czar and there loses his life.
- 1285 Tatars break into Bulgaria and Hungary. Terterij is obliged to give his daughter to Tchoki, Nogaj's son, to wife. In western Bulgaria **Shishman** reigns as independent prince. Terterij is obliged to flee before Tatars.
- 1288 Osman lays foundation of Ottoman Empire.
- 1292 Tatars establish Bulgarian noble **Smilek** as tributary czar.
- 1293 **Tchoki** drives Smilek from the throne.
- 1295 Tchoki is surprised and killed by **Svetslav**, son of Terterij I. He wins back territory from the Greeks, and under him the country enjoys a short season of peace. In the west Shishman's son **Michael** rules.
- 1320 **Stephen Uros III** succeeds to Servian throne and rules together with **Stephen Dushan**.
- 1322 Death of Svetslav. He is succeeded by his son **George Terterij II**.
- 1323 Death of Terterij II. Anarchy follows. Nobles elect **Michael**, the despot of Widdin. At first his reign is a success, and he seems to be on the point of adding Constantinople to his dominions, but the enmity with Serbia has been growing, largely on account of Michael's having divorced his Servian wife to marry a Greek princess.
- 1330 Bulgarian forces are completely defeated by Servians at Küstendil, and their czar Michael is killed. Uros, however, does not annex the country, but reinstates Anna and makes her son, **Shishman II**, czar.
- 1331 Stephen Dushan is crowned king of Servia, and during the whole of his reign (twenty-four years) Bulgaria is wholly dependent on Servia. Anna and her son are forced to flee, and **Ivan Alexander**, a nephew of Czar Michael, is chosen czar. His sister Helena marries the Servian king and plays an important political rôle. Alexander's wife is a daughter of the Rumanian prince Ivanko Bessaraba, so that these three powers of the peninsula are united against Byzantium.
- 1340 Turks begin to appear in vicinity of Constantinople.
- 1346 Stephen Dushan has himself crowned as czar of Servians and Greeks. Bulgaria suffers from Turkish invasion.
- 1350 Council of Tirnova. Bogomiles denounced.
- 1353 Turks gain first stronghold in Europe (Dzemenlik).
- 1355 Death of Dushan, the last energetic opposer of the Turks.
- 1362 Capture of Eski-Sagra and Philippopolis by Turks. From now on Turks advance rapidly.

- 1365 Death of Czar Alexander. He is succeeded by **Shishman III**, who rules at Tirnova, while rival rulers establish themselves in other parts of the empire. He seizes Palæologus, who has come to implore aid against the Turks, and keeps him captive. Shishman becomes a Turkish vassal, and gives his sister to Murad in token of his good faith.
- 1378 Shishman retakes Sofia from his brother Sracinis, who does not cease his attacks on him.
- 1382 Sofia taken by Turks.
- 1388 Shishman, attacked by Turks, revolts almost immediately, but is forced to beg the sultan for his life, which is granted him.
- 1389 Battle of Kosovo, in which Turks completely defeat Christians.
- 1393 Fall of Tirnova after three months' siege. End of Shishman wrapped in mystery.
- 1396 Battle of Nikopoli. Supremacy of Turks finally decided. Strazhimir rules until 1398.

BULGARIA UNDER THE TURKS

Bulgaria is now ruled like any other Turkish province, by governors appointed by the Porte. The national church loses its independence and falls under Fanariot rule.

- 1405 Constantine, son of Strazhimir, and Fruzin, son of Shishman, stir cities to rebel, but are soon quelled by Sultan Suleiman.
- 1595 A Ragusan agent induces Sigismund Báthori, prince of Transylvania, to summon Bulgarians to arms against the Turks, but the revolt is short-lived. Men and even women give vent to their warlike inclinations by engaging in a sort of chivalrous brigandage, directed only against Mohammedans. They are called *haiduti*, and play an important part in the history of the period.
- 1762 Paisii, at Athos, writes history of Bulgaria, which marks beginning of Bulgarian national movement.
- 1792 Another class of robbers called *krjali* appear. They devastate the country and are a terror to the inhabitants. They are patronised by Pasvan Oglu, a bold rebel who has established himself at Widdin in defiance of the Porte. Turks are powerless against them.
- 1804 *Krjali* are defeated in Rumelia, and survivors enter service of Pasvan Oglu.
- 1807 Pasvan Oglu dies, and *krjali* take service with government. Peace of Tilsit assigns Bulgaria to Russia.
- 1809 Russians occupy Dobrukscha.
- 1810 Russians overrun the country, and supported by Bulgarian volunteers occupy Plevna and other places.
- 1812 Napoleon's advance on Moscow forces them to retire. They conclude Treaty of Bukharest. Russians receive Bessarabia. Bulgaria profits nothing by Servian revolution and Russian war. Country is overrun with *delibashis* (government soldiers), who plunder everywhere.
- 1828 Bulgarian volunteers take part in Greek revolution. Russians capture Varna.
- 1829 Bulgarians help Russians in war with Turks. Mamarkov raises standard of Bulgarian freedom in Tirnova, but he is arrested by Russians, and Peace of Adrianople puts an end to movement.
- 1833 First move in church dispute. Bulgarians ask for native bishops instead of Fanariots.
- 1835 First public school is opened in Bulgaria. Within ten years there are fifty-three such schools.
- 1837 Sultan Mahmud II makes a tour of inspection through the Danubian and Balkan territories.
- 1839 The *hatti-sherif* of Gulhameh, a document in the nature of a constitution, is promulgated, in which nearly equal rights are granted to Christians and Mohammedans. But the reforms are mostly nominal.
- 1841 Bulgarian revolt in Nish and other places, due to exorbitant taxes.
- 1851 Another revolt breaks out in Widdin. Turks oblige patriarch to consecrate Bulgarian bishops.
- 1856 Hatti-Humayum announces new reforms. Civil and religious liberty for Christians.
- 1860 Congregation in Bulgarian church at Constantinople forces bishop to leave patriarch's name out of prayers. This example followed throughout Bulgaria.
- 1861 Ten thousand Tatars from Crimea colonised in Bulgaria.
- 1862 Commission of six Greeks and six Bulgarians meet to deliberate on church quarrel. The whole country demands expulsion of Fanariots. Bulgarian newspapers take part in demand.
- 1864 Trials of Bulgarians increased by settlement among them of the Circassians.
- 1870 Imperial Turkish firman establishes Bulgarian Exarchate.
- 1875 Revolt in Herzegovina and Bosnia.
- 1876 Rising in Bulgaria. Massacre of Batak. "Bulgarian atrocities" denounced by Mr Gladstone.
- 1877 Czar declares war on Turkey. Bulgarians support Russians. Treaty of San Stefano stipulates for union of Bulgaria proper and Eastern Rumelia under one prince, but this treaty does not stand.

- 1878 Treaty of Berlin makes Bulgaria an autonomous and tributary principality under the suzerainty of the sultan. Boundaries exclude Eastern Rumelia. Ruling princes to be elected by people subject to approval of Porte and assent of powers. Russians practical rulers of country.
- 1879 Assembly of Notables passes constitution drawn up by Russian Prince Dondukov-Korsakov. Prince Alexander of Hesse chosen as ruler. Russian influence predominant. Bulgarian liberals make trouble.
- 1881 Prince Alexander suspends constitution and tries to rule alone supported by Russians, but is wholly under control of latter.
- 1883 Constitution is restored. Russian advisers resign. Liberals rule. Attempt to kidnap prince is frustrated. National movement towards union with Bulgaria in Eastern Rumelia.
- 1885 Gavril Krstovitch Pasha, governor of Eastern Rumelia, is deposed by liberals, and union with Bulgaria under Alexander is proclaimed. As a result a conference of the powers is held at Constantinople. Russian officers are withdrawn from Bulgarian army and Servia declares war on Bulgaria.
- Servians are defeated, November 17th, 18th, at battle of Slivnitsa.
- 1886 Treaty of Bukharest. Bulgaria is persuaded by Austria to make peace with Servia. Union of Bulgaria and Rumelia is recognised in a treaty with the sultan. **Alexander** made governor-general of country, August 22nd. Alexander is seized by his own officers under Russian influence and forced to abdicate. Although he is reinstated through the promptness of the loyalist Stambulov, a second abdication becomes necessary and he leaves the country on September 7th.
- 1887 **Prince Ferdinand** of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha elected ruler. Regents who have ruled country in interim retire. Stambulov becomes Prime Minister. Russia refuses to recognise Ferdinand.
- 1890 Conspiracy of Major Panitza against Ferdinand is crushed.
- 1893 Ferdinand marries Princess Marie-Louise of Parma. Prince Alexander dies.
- 1894 Birth of Boris, heir to the throne. Stambulov dismissed from ministry and succeeded by Stöilov.
- 1895 Stambulov is brutally murdered.
- 1907 Assassination of Petkoff, the premier.

III. SERVIA

- A.D.
- 638 Serbs and Croats migrate into Illyricum and part of Mæsia. For five centuries little is heard of them. They are ruled by shupans.
- 830 **Ladislaus** is grand shupan of Servia. Quarrels with Bulgaria begin.
- 917 The shupan **Peter** is taken prisoner and killed by Bulgarians. Conquerors place **Paul Brankovich** on the throne. He is deposed, and succeeded by **Zacharia**. Country is wholly under Bulgarian power.
- 950 **Ceslav**, son of Brankovich, drives out Bulgarians.
- 1015 **Vladimir** of Servia is killed by Ladislaus of Bulgaria. Servia falls under Greek dominion.
- 1040 **Stephen Voyislav** rebels against Greeks.
- 1043 Greeks are defeated.
- 1050 **Michael Voyislav** succeeds his father, Stephen, and enters into diplomatic relations with the pope.
- 1079 Michael conquers Durazzo.
- 1080 **Constantine Bodin** succeeds his father, and subjugates shupans of Bosnia and Rasa.
- 1122 **Urosh Béla**, shupan of Rasa, ascends throne. His wife is a German princess.
- 1159 **Stephen Nemanya** comes to throne.
- 1169 Stephen unites Bosnia to Servia, but Greek emperor is still suzerain.
- 1185 Stephen proclaims his independence, and Greeks are forced to make terms with him.
- 1195 Stephen abdicates in favour of his son, **Stephen Urosh**, who strengthens internal organisation of kingdom. Earliest Servian coins date from his reign. Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople recognises him as king of Servia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia.
- 1224 Stephen Urosh dies, and is followed by his sons **Stephen III** and **Ladislaus** in succession. Ladislaus marries daughter of the great Asen of Bulgaria and establishes mining industry.
- 1237 Ladislaus dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Stephen IV**.
- 1241 The country is devastated by Mongols.
- 1272 Stephen IV is deposed by his son Dragutin, who reigns as **Stephen V**.
- 1275 He abdicates, leaving his crown to his brother Milutin, who rules as **Stephen VI**.
- 1282 Greek emperor Michael Palæologus starts on campaign against Servia, but he dies, and his successor, Andronicus, accomplishes nothing.
- 1301 Andronicus asks aid of Stephen VI against Turks, and forms matrimonial alliance with him.
- 1303 Stephen defeats Ottomans.

- 1314 Stephen again defeats Turks.
 1319 Hungarians take Bosnia.
 1321 Stephen VI dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Stephen (VII) Urosh**. He defeats Hungarians who had attacked his allies, the Wallachians.
 1330 Stephen defeats Bulgarians at Küstendil, where czar is killed. Bulgaria becomes a dependency of Serbia. Stephen is also successful against Greeks, and annexes half of Macedonia.
 1336 **Stephen Dushan** kills his father and ascends throne. He vastly extends the kingdom.
 1340 A treaty with Byzantium gives Serbia territory from Gulf of Corinth to the Danube, and from Adriatic to near Adrianople.
 1346 Dushan adopts imperial title.
 1349 Dushan publishes his *Book of Laws*.
 1350 Bosnia becomes part of Serbia, together with Herzegovina. Belgrade has also been incorporated into empire.
 1356 Dushan starts on campaign to drive Turks out of Europe and establish himself on Greek throne, but he dies on the way. He is succeeded by his son, **Urosh V**, under whom empire at once begins to fall to pieces.
 1367 Urosh is deposed by **Vukashin**, who proclaims himself king, but is not generally recognized, and is killed while fighting the Turks.
 1371 Servians are defeated by Turks on the Maritza, and Servian possessions in Macedonia fall under Turkish control. **Lazarus** is chosen ruler of Serbia.
 1389 Battle of Kosovo; Servians are completely defeated by Turks. Country becomes tributary to Turkey. Sultan permits son of Lazarus, **Stephen Lazarevich**, to rule as his vassal.
 1402 Battle of Angora, after which Stephen throws off Turkish suzerainty.
 1427 Stephen dies childless, and appoints **George Brankovich** his successor.
 1437 Brankovich is compelled to fly to Hungary to escape anger of Turks. Serbia in power of Turkey.
 1444 Peace of Szegedin, after campaign of Hunyady and Scanderbeg, restores Serbia to **George Brankovich**.
 1457 George falls in battle with Hungarians. He is succeeded by his son **Lazarus**, who survives his father only five weeks. Serbia is formally annexed to Turkey and is governed by despots.
 1689 Several thousand Servians under despot George Brankovich enter German army.
 1691 About thirty-six thousand families emigrate into Hungary; others follow in 1738 and 1788.
 1711 Last Servian despot George Brankovich dies in captivity.
 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz; Austria acquires large part of Serbia.
 1739 Peace of Belgrade restores it to Turks.
 1804 Servians under **George Petrovich**, "Kara George," rebel against Turks.
 1809 Serbia gains her independence for a short time.
 1813 Turks reconquer country; George is forced to fly to Austria.
 1817 George returns, but is killed by **Milosh Obrenovich**, who has become Servian leader. He succeeds in making Serbia independent.
 1839 Milosh is forced to abdicate in favour of his son **Milan**. He soon dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Michael**.
 1842 Michael abdicates, and Servians elect **Alexander Karageorgevich**.
 1859 Alexander is forced to abdicate, and Servians invite Milosh to return.
 1860 Milosh dies, and is succeeded by his son **Michael**.
 1862 Turkish garrisons are removed from Belgrade.
 1868 Michael is assassinated; he is succeeded by his second cousin **Milan**, who becomes Prince of Serbia.
 1872 Milan comes of age.
 1875 Milan marries Russian, Natalie of Keshko.
 1878 Servians declare war upon Turkey, but are unsuccessful, and are saved by Russia from loss of territory. Treaty of Berlin increases Servian territory.
 1882 Prince Milan proclaims himself king.
 1885 Servians attack Bulgaria and are defeated.
 1888 King obtains divorce from Natalie. King promulgates liberal constitution.
 1889 Milan abdicates in favour of his son **Alexander**. Government is in hands of conservative regency.
 1893 Alexander declares himself of age and arrests the regents.
 1894 Alexander invites Milan to return. Constitution of 1869 re-established.
 1900 Alexander marries Mme. Draga Maschin. Her conduct gives great dissatisfaction.
 1901 Alexander promulgates new constitution.
 1903 Alexander and Draga are murdered, together with the premier, the minister of war, and Draga's two brothers. **Peter Karageorgevich** made king. Government is in hands of military dictatorship. All powers except England and America recognise the new king.

IV. MONTENEGRO

- Country originally is part of Illyria, annexed to Rome under Augustus. It is subject to barbarian invasions like the rest of the peninsula. In the seventh century, Montenegro, then called Duklea (or Dioclea), forms part of Serb confederation. About 900 Ragusa is seat of Servian government. Montenegrins distinguish themselves in wars with Bulgaria in eleventh century.
- A.D. 1050 Prince of Duklea proclaims himself king of Servia and reigns for thirty years, being recognised by pope. His son Bodin adds Bosnia to his domain, but Montenegro again falls under rule of Servia.
- 1098 Servia falls under Bulgarian dominion, and Montenegrins refuse to recognise king of Bulgaria as their lord.
- 1115 Zhupan Tcheslas of Servia buys support of Byzantines against Bulgarians. Montenegrins are indignant at this act and continue to fight with Byzantium.
- 1171 Emperor obtains only nominal domination.
- 1180 Stephen Nemanya reunites Servian states, including Montenegro, under his rule. Montenegro with Herzegovina is formed into a special government and is an appanage of the princes of the Servian royal house.
- 1215 Vuk, prince of Montenegro and Herzegovina, who has rebelled against his brother Nemanya, dies, and until death of Dushan (1356) Montenegro has no history apart from Servia.

BALSHA DYNASTY

- 1356 At death of Dushan, Montenegro becomes practically independent under **Balsha I**.
- 1365 Balsha makes alliance with Venice. He takes certain districts in Albania and incurs displeasure of his nominal suzerain, Urosh V.
- 1367 Balsha proclaims himself independent prince of Zeta. Vukashin, usurper on Servian throne, allies himself with him by marriage.
- 1368 Balsha dies, and is succeeded by his son **Stratimir**. He shares government with his two brothers. They take possession of Scutari and make it their capital. Turks occupy attention of Servians.
- 1373 Stratimir dies, and his son and brothers dispute the throne. Country is divided between them and civil war ensues.
- 1379 **George I**, son of Balsha I, dies, and his brother **Balsha II**, and nephew **George II**, divide land amicably.
- 1380 and 1385 Treaties are made with Ragusa. Balsha II attacks Bosnia. He is killed in battle with Turks, and **George II** becomes sole ruler.
- 1387 Turks are defeated by Servians, Montenegrins, and Albanians.
- 1389 Servians are defeated in battle of Kosovo. George II is not present at this battle; a part of his troops take part in it and are killed with Servians; another part arrives too late. Many Servians seek refuge in Montenegro.
- 1394 George II buys aid of Venice against Ottomans by giving up Scutari. This has grave consequences for Montenegro.
- 1405 George II dies, and is succeeded by his youngest son, **Balsha III**; during his reign Stephen Czernovich, the "Black Prince," becomes prominent.
- 1406 After repeated battles peace is signed with Venice, Montenegro retains Scutari and Dulcigno, and Venice pays subsidy, first given in 1394.
- 1410 Turks conquer Servians and enter Montenegro, but are repulsed.
- 1419 Balsha defends Scutari against Venetians and Turks.
- 1420 Venice again tries unsuccessfully to take Scutari. Republic sues for peace.
- 1421 Balsha dies mysteriously in same year while on a visit to Servian czar. He is last of his line and his death is followed by an interregnum, during which Venice and Servia fight for possession of Montenegro. Servians are eventually successful.
- 1424 Stephen Czernovich returns from Italy and gains possession of Dulcigno.
- 1425 George Brankovich, who is ruling country for Servia, grants him domain of Dulcigno. Stephen continues to gain partisans among people.

CZERNOVICH DYNASTY

- 1427 Brankovich summoned to Servia by death of its ruler, and Montenegro is left free for **Stephen Czernovich**.
- 1439 Stephen makes offensive and defensive alliance with Venice.
- 1444 Montenegrins under Stephen Czernovich join Scanderbeg, prince of Albania. Ivan fights, in all, sixty-three battles with the Albanians against the Turks.
- 1450 Muhammed II besieges Kroia and is defeated by Montenegrins and Albanians.

- 1451 Mohammedans revenge themselves by defeating Montenegrins in a battle in which Stephen's son is killed.
- 1456 Stephen makes third treaty with Venice within five years.
- 1459 Serbia is conquered by Turks.
- 1463 Bosnia succumbs to Turkish rule.
- 1465 or 1466 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ivan the Black**. He begins heroic epoch of Montenegro.
- 1468 Death of Scanderbeg.
- 1474 Ivan raises siege of Scutari, which is besieged by Turks. Venetians inscribe his name on their golden book.
- 1476 Conquest of Herzegovina by Turks leaves Montenegro surrounded by enemy.
- 1478 Ivan makes brave but unsuccessful attempt to get provisions to the Venetians besieged by Turks at Scutari.
- 1482 Venice makes treaty with Turkey, leaving Montenegro to fight alone.
- 1484 Ivan burns his capital of Zabljah to prevent its falling into hands of Turks, and establishes himself at Cetinje, which has ever since been capital of country. Turks occupy low lands. Ivan builds a monastery called after him, and founds first Montenegrin printing-press.
- 1490 Ivan dies, and is succeeded by his son **George IV**.
- 1494 George meets and defeats his brother Stephen or Stanicha, who has turned traitor to his country in his father's lifetime and has taken sides with Turks, who have appointed him bey of Scutari, under name Scanderbeg.
- 1496 George is driven out by Scanderbeg and takes refuge in Venice. He is succeeded by his cousin **Stephen II**, who maintains himself in opposition to Scanderbeg, who rules at Scutari. The latter dies about 1528, and his descendants occupy the sandjak of Scutari for several centuries.
- 1515 Stephen dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ivan II**, who dies in less than a year, and is succeeded by his son **George V**.
- 1516 George abdicates, and retires with his Venetian wife to Venice, leaving government of the country to Bishop Babylas. With him ends Czernovich dynasty in Montenegro.

MONTENEGRO UNDER PRINCE-BISHOPS

Montenegro from 1516 to 1833 is governed by prince bishops called vladikas, aided by civil governors subordinate to them. Its history is a succession of attacks by the Ottomans, repulsed with greater or less success.

- 1516 **Babylas** becomes vladika.
- 1520 Babylas is succeeded by **Germain**.
- 1524 Montenegrins aid Hungarians at Jayce and repulse Turks.
- 1530 **Paul** succeeds Germain.
- 1540 Paul is succeeded by **Nicodin**.
- 1549 **Makarios** becomes vladika.
- 1570 Turks, who are summoned against Montenegro by Ali Bey of Scutari, are repulsed.
- 1585 Makarios dies, and is succeeded by **Pachomije**.
- 1600 **Rufin I** becomes vladika.
- 1604 Ali Bey of Scutari renews his attack upon Montenegro. He is aided by Bey of Rumelia, but is repulsed.
- 1612 Turks again attack Montenegrins and are defeated.
- 1613 Turks after a few successes are again defeated.
- 1620 **Rufin II** becomes vladika.
- 1623 Montenegro is again attacked by Turks and they are probably defeated, although another account says that Montenegrins are forced to pay tribute.
- 1650 **Basil I** succeeds to power.
- 1680 **Vissarion** becomes vladika.
- 1687 Montenegrins aid Venetians against Turks.
- 1688 Turks attack Montenegro, and capture capital. Monastery of Ivan the Black is blown up by monks. Turks soon depart from Montenegro.
- 1692 **Sava I**, the last of the Montenegrin elective vladikas, succeeds to power.

HEREDITARY PRINCE-BISHOPS

- 1696 **Daniel I** of the Petrovich dynasty, a family from Herzegovina, which came into Montenegro in 1476, is chosen vladika.
- 1703 "Montenegrin Vespers." All Turks in the country are massacred in revenge for Turkish ill-treatment of Daniel.
- 1707 Turks attack country and are repulsed.
- 1710 Peter the Great makes alliance with Montenegrins.

- 1712 Turks attack Montenegrins, Russians refuse to help, and alone they deliver a crushing defeat to Ottomans on plain of Podgoritza.
- 1714 Turks again occupy Cetinje and destroy monastery, but they soon abandon country.
- 1715 Montenegro ruler sets precedent of visiting czar of Russia. During the rest of Daniel's reign the Turks are repulsed four times. The monastery of Cetinje is rebuilt.
- 1735 or 1737 Daniel I dies, and is succeeded by his nephew **Sava II**.
- 1739 Sava goes to see Elizabeth of Russia, and on his return visits Frederick the Great of Prussia. He associates his nephew Basil with him in government.
- 1750 Sava retires to a monastery and **Basil II** becomes sole ruler. Inflicts defeat on Turks. Sultan tries to make peace on easy terms, but Montenegrins refuse to recognise him as suzerain.
- 1756 Montenegrins defeat Turks and Bosnians in a severe fight.
- 1766 Basil dies at St. Petersburg, whither he has gone to get money from Russia. **Sava** returns from his retirement to rule once more.
- 1767 "Stephen the Little" appears in Montenegro, claiming to be the murdered Peter III of Russia. Sava being a weak ruler, Stephen succeeds in establishing himself as regent. He makes a good ruler.
- 1768 Venice and Turkey join against Montenegro, and are repulsed. A peace of twenty years ensues.
- 1774 Stephen is killed in his sleep. Peter, grandnephew of Sava, is practically the ruler, although Sava has title.
- 1782 Sava dies, and **Peter** becomes vladika.
- 1789 Montenegro helps Austria against Turkey, but in Treaty of Jassy.
- 1792 Montenegro is mentioned only as one of Turkish provinces.
- 1796 Montenegrins defeat Kara Mustapha Pasha of Scutari.
- 1797 Treaty of Campo Formio has grave consequences for Montenegro. This places Dalmatia under Austrian dominion. Bocche di Cattaro asks help from Montenegro, which remains neutral.
- 1799 Sultan recognises independence of Montenegro.
- 1805 Treaty of Pressburg gives Bocche to France. Peter occupies fortress of Castelnuovo, and, aided by Russians and Bocchesi, defeats French. Czar orders Bocche to be given up to Austrians.
- 1807 Peace of Tilsit gives Cattaro to French. Napoleon makes overtures to Montenegrins, but without result.
- 1813 Montenegrins, aided by English, capture Cattaro. Bocchesi ally themselves with them, but Russia and Austria conclude an agreement giving Cattaro to latter, and Montenegrins are obliged to give it up.
- 1814 Russians stop subsidy to Montenegro begun in days of Elizabeth.
- 1817 On account of severe famine some Montenegrins emigrate to Odessa and Servia.
- 1819 Turkish invasion from Bosnia is repulsed.
- 1820 Treaty with Austria fixes boundary.
- 1829 Russia sends arrear subsidies, which greatly relieve needs of people.
- 1830 Peter dies, and four years later is canonised. He is succeeded by his nephew, **Peter II**. He organises internal administration.
- 1832 Turks are repulsed.
- 1833 Office of civil governor is abolished. Senate is established.
- 1835 A band of Montenegrins capture old capital of Zabljah. Peter restores it to Turks.
- 1847 Peter establishes four powder factories.
- 1851 Peter dies, and is succeeded by his nephew **Danilo II**. He changes the monarchy from an ecclesiastical to a secular power. Turks protest.
- 1853 Montenegrins defeat Turks. Powers intervene and stop hostilities.
- 1856 Congress of Paris disregards Montenegro's demands.
- 1857 Danilo consents to recognise suzerainty of sultan. This causes great indignation among his subjects.
- 1858 Turks are defeated with great loss by Montenegrins at Grahovo. Powers again intervene.
- 1860 Danilo is assassinated. He is succeeded by his nephew **Nicholas**.
- 1861 Insurrection in Herzegovina causes excitement in Montenegro.
- 1862 Turkey declares war against Montenegro. Montenegrins are forced to retire before superior numbers. Powers intervene; peace is concluded at Scutari, August 31st.
- 1876 Nicholas, in alliance with Milan of Servia, declares war on Turkey. Montenegrin arms are successful. Armistice is concluded in November.
- 1877 Montenegro recaptures her seaboard towns during Russo-Turkish war.
- 1878 Treaty of Berlin gives Montenegro additional territory.
- 1880 Conference of powers gives Dulcigno to Montenegro, instead of Plava and Gusinge as stipulated at Berlin.
- 1889 Two daughters of Prince Nicholas marry two grand dukes of Russia.
- 1893 Four-hundredth anniversary of foundation of printing-press at Ohod.
- 1896 Two-hundredth anniversary of Petrovich dynasty.
- 1905 A national assembly is established.

V. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

At dawn of history Bosnia and Herzegovina form part of Illyria. In Roman times they are included in province of Dalmatia. After fall of empire country is overrun by Goths and Avars. After the year 600 A.D. Slavs began to settle here as over the whole peninsula. Christianisation of Bosnia takes place from Rome, and at the same time from the east also (Cyril and Methodius), and this religious division has great influence on political history of country. Most important districts of Herzegovina are Chelm (Zachlumje) and Tribunja.

- A.D.
- 874 Budimir, first Christian king of Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, assembles a diet. It is about this time that the name Bosnia appears; said to come from a Slavic tribe of Thrace.
- 905 Brisimi, king of Serbia, annexes Croatia and Bosnia. This union does not last.
- 1000 After this date Byzantine supremacy ceases in these countries. In twelfth century there first appear native rulers in Bosnia under the title of ban.
- 1103 Coloman of Hungary assumes title of king of Herzegovina and Bosnia. Bosnian bans are now dependent on Hungary.
- 1180 Ban **Kulin** is the first one known by name in Bosnia. According to some authorities, he is the tenth ban. He coins money in his name and gives a period of prosperity to his country. About this time the heretical sect of the Bogomiles appear in Bosnia.
- 1204 End of Kulin's reign.
- 1230 Franciscans appear in Bosnia.
- 1232 **Ninoslav** is the next ban whose name is known.
- 1238 Crusade under Béla IV of Hungary devastates country. Bogomiles are massacred.
- 1245 Hungarian Bishop Kalocsa undertakes crusade into Bosnia.
- 1250 Ninoslav dethroned.
- 1280 Third crusade by Hungarian king Ladislaus IV does not succeed in exterminating Bogomiles, although they are conquered.
- 1300 At about this date, **Paul**, ban of the Croats and Bosnia, adds Herzegovina to Bosnia.
- 1322 **Stephen II** becomes ban.
- 1350 Dushan of Serbia adds Bosnia and Herzegovina to his kingdom.
- 1353 Stephen is succeeded by his nephew **Stephen I**. Country enjoys its last period of peace and prosperity. Stephen extends his territory.
- 1377 Stephen takes title of king of Serbia.
- 1391 Stephen's reign comes to an end and Bosnia declines under his successors. Powerful vassals found independent principality in Herzegovina, and kings or bans of Bosnia are helpless in their hands. Stephen is succeeded by **Stephen Dabisha**.
- 1395 He is succeeded by **Queen Helen**.
- 1398 **Stephen Ostoja** succeeds Helen.
- 1418 He is succeeded by his son **Stephen Ostojich**.
- 1421 **Twertko II** comes to throne. He is a Bogomile; under him Bosnia enjoys a few years of peace.
- 1443 Twertko is succeeded by **Stephen Thomas** and a period of civil war ensues. Bogomiles are persecuted. Forty thousand leave the country.
- 1448 Voyevod Stephen assumes German title of duke, in Slavic, *herceg*.
- 1461 Stephen and his wife are killed by their son **Stephen Tomashevich**, who succeeds to throne. He calls in Turks.
- 1463 Muhammed II breaks into country. King is beheaded. Two hundred thousand prisoners carried into slavery. Herzegovina and northwest Bosnia (Jaice) still resist.
- 1465 Turks conquer Herzegovina and make it into sandjak called *Hersek*. Sons of voyevod Stephen maintain Castelnovo until 1482.
- 1526 Battle of Mohacs deliver last rampart of Bosnia to Turks.
- 1527 Country is finally conquered. It is now governed by Turkish governors, two hundred and twenty-seven in number. In the first half of sixteenth century Ghazi Bey rules for thirty-three years.
- 1689 and 1697 Croatian troops invade Bosnia. In seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bosnia is frequently made theatre of war between Turkey and Austria, while Herzegovina is scene of Venetian campaigns. Prince Eugene marches on Bosna-Serai, or Serajevo.
- 1791 Peace of Sistova.
- 1833 Ali, pasha of Herzegovina, begins to acquire considerable power.
- 1851 Turkish Omar Pasha defeats Ali Pasha and puts down insurrection of Bosnian Moslems. Reforms are introduced and country has a chance to develop.
- 1858 Insurrection in Herzegovina under Luka Vukalovich, supported by Montenegro.
- 1862 Insurrection ends in Turkey's acquiescence in a local autonomy.
- 1875 A new insurrection in Herzegovina against Turkish rule is joined in by a large part of Bosnia. After the insurrection is put down, sultan proclaims an *irade* granting reforms,

- 1878 Treaty of Berlin stipulates that Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria. Turkish sandjak of Novibazar is occupied by Austria and administered by Turkey.
- 1879 Turkish supremacy over Bosnia nominally recognised.
- 1882 Insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina is suppressed. Since then these districts have been comparatively peaceful. Colonies of peasants from Austria and Württemberg have been founded and are successful

VI. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN GREECE

DECLINE OF GREECE UNDER ROMANS (146 B.C.-716 A.D.)

B.C.

- 146 Greece becomes Roman province.
- 86 Mithradatic war.
- 42 Battle of Philippi.
- 31 Battle of Actium.

A.D.

- 53 Paul visits Greece. Greece does not become Christianised until middle of second century.
- 54 Nero visits Greece.
- 67 Nero gives freedom to Greece.
- 73 Vespasian deprives her of freedom.
- 96 Period of prosperity begins for Greece under Nerva. Continued under Hadrian and Antoninus. Buildings are restored.
- 262 Athens stormed by Goths; whole country is overrun by them.
- 330 Capital of empire removed to Constantinople. Roman municipal system imposed on Greece.
- 361 Accession of Julian begins another prosperous era for Greece. He tries to restore paganism.
- 395 Alaric with his Western Goths invades and devastates Greece. He is succeeded by Attila and the Huns.
- 426 Last Athenian temples changed into Christian churches.
- 517 Invasion of Bulgarian hordes.
- 529 Justinian closes philosophical schools of Athens. This emperor introduces silk industry into Greece.
- 539 Greece is overrun by Huns.
- In last half of sixth century begin Slavic invasions. Slavs settle in country in first half of seventh century. Cities remain in possession of Greeks.

BYZANTINE PERIOD (716-1453 A.D.)

- 716 Accession to the throne of Leo III.
- 727 Greeks take part in iconoclast movement. Expedition against Leo is defeated.
- 746-747 Pest rages in Greece.
- 783 Army of the empress Irene defeats Slavs at Thessalonica and in Hellas. Slavs are again defeated during reign of Nicophorus (802-811).
- 941 Two Slavic tribes (Milingi and Ezeriti) become tributary. From now on Slavs seem to be fused with Greeks.
- 961 Arabs lose Crete, after having plundered Grecian isles for nearly sixty years.
- 983 Bulgarians take Larissa.
- 996 Bulgarians reach Boeotia and Attica, but are defeated on the Sperchius.
- 1081 Appearance of Normans under Robert Guiscard.
- 1083 Alexius forces Normans to retreat. Normans make further expeditions against Greece in 1084 and 1107.
- 1147 Coast towns plundered by Sicilians under Roger II.
- 1204 Latins conquer Constantinople, and Greece proper is divided into three principalities: principality of Thessalonica, of short duration; principality of the Morea (1205-1387); Dukedom of Athens (1205-1456). Islands are taken mostly by Venetians. Important names: Dandolo (Andros), Orsini (Cephalonia and Zante, succeeded by the Tocco, 1357-1479), Marco Sanudo (Naxos).
- 1300 Stephen Dushan of Servia conquers Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly; gives Thessaly to a general and the Epirus to his brother to rule.
- 1393 Turks take Thessaly.
- 1395 Theodore (I) Palæologus reconquers Corinth.
- 1397 Bayazia I establishes the timariot system in Thessaly.
- 1407 Theodore dies and is succeeded in Mistra by his nephew Theodore II.
- 1430 Turks conquer most of Epirus.

GREECE UNDER THE TURKS

- 1453 Fall of Constantinople. Muhammed tolerates Christians.
- 1456 New Phocæa conquered.
- 1457 Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos annexed to Ottoman Empire.
- 1460 Muhammed conquers the Morea. Athens comes under Ottoman dominion.
- 1462 Lesbos taken from the Venetians.
- 1463 War with Venice.
- 1470 Eubœa (Negropont) conquered by Turks.
- 1479 Peace between Porte and Venice. Muhammed takes Cephalonia and Zante from Leonardo di Tocco. Antonio di Tocco recovers them.
- 1480 Muhammed's army besieges Rhodes without success.
- 1482 Venice restores Cephalonia to sultan and pays tribute for Zante.
- 1489 Caterina Cornaro cedes island of Cyprus to Venetians.
- 1499 War breaks out again between sultan and Venice.
- 1500 Turks capture Lepanto, Modon, Coron, and Durazzo.
- 1502 Peace between Porte and Venice; latter retains Cephalonia.
- 1522 Knights of Rhodes capitulate to sultan Suleiman I.
- 1532 Expedition under Andrea Doria disturbs country.
- 1537 War breaks out between sultan and Venice. Turks defeated at Corfu. Barbarossa plunders and captures islands of the Archipelago and of the Ægean.
- 1538 Barbarossa defeats combined fleet of Christian powers under Andrea Doria.
- 1540 Peace is concluded between sultan and Venice. Venetians cede fortresses in the Morea. Whole peninsula subject to Turkey.
- 1566 Chios and Naxos annexed by Turks.
- 1571 Turks complete conquest of Cyprus. Turks defeated at battle of Lepanto.
- 1573 Venice concludes humiliating treaty with sultan.
- 1574 Tunis conquered by the Ottoman fleet under Kilij Ali.
- 1614 Turkish garrison placed in forts of Maina.
- 1620 Knights of Malta plunder the Morea. During this whole period piracy is prevalent.
- 1645 Turks invade Crete. War with Venice.
- 1669 Crete finally surrendered to Turks. Peace concluded between Turkey and Venice.
- 1670 Maina, which has assumed independence during Cretan war, is again subjugated.
- 1676 Last recorded tribute of Christian children.
- 1684 War between Venice and Turkey. Morosini in command of Venetian troops. German mercenaries in Venetian army.
- 1685 Morosini takes Coron.
- 1687 Athens taken by Venetians. Parthenon destroyed.
- 1688 Morosini defeated at Negropont.
- 1699 Peace of Karlowitz between emperor of Germany, king of Poland, Venice, and the Porte. Morea given to Venice.
- 1715 Morea reconquered by the Turks.
- 1718 Peace of Passarowitz. Venice obliged to give up her Grecian possessions.
- 1764 Greeks in Cyprus revolt. Russia commences intrigues in Greece to stir up revolt against Turkey.
- 1770 Russians invade the Morea.
- 1774 Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Russia sacrifices Greeks.
- 1787 War between Russia and Turkey. Russians incite Suliotes to rebel. Russian privateering in Grecian waters.
- 1792 Peace of Jassy.
- 1797 Treaty of Campo-Formio. Ionian Isles placed under French dominion.
- 1800 Ionian Isles made into a republic under protection of Russia and Turkey. Venetian possessions on continent ceded to Porte.
- 1807 Treaty of Tilsit cedes Ionian republic to France.
- 1814 The revolutionary society, Hetaïria Philike, founded at Odessa.
- 1815 Treaty of Vienna. Ionian republic placed under protection of England.
- 1821 Greek War of Independence breaks out.

EMANCIPATED GREECE

- 1821 Alexander Ypsilanti tries to stir up revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia, but is defeated. In the Morea insurrection breaks out in April. Thousands of Turks are massacred. In Athens Turks blockade themselves in Acropolis.
- 1822 Greece proclaimed independent. Disunion among Greeks. Turks defeat Ali Pasha of Janina and invade the Morea. They are successful on land. Greek fleet superior to Turkish. Chios ravaged by Turks.
- 1823 Civil war among Greeks, inspired by Kolokotronis, lasts until 1824.

- 1824 Another civil war breaks out, called War of the Primates. Foundation of Philhellenic societies throughout Europe. Mehemet Ali of Egypt comes to aid of sultan.
- 1825 Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, invades Morea. Siege of Missolonghi.
- 1826 Fall of Missolonghi. Volunteers from England, France, Germany, and America join Grecian army.
- 1827 Athens captured by Turks. Treaty between Russia, England, and France for the pacification of Greece. Turkish fleet destroyed at Navarino.
- 1828 Capo d'Istria appointed president of Greece for seven years. He is too Russian in his sympathies to please people. War between Russia and Turkey.
- 1829 Protocol of London makes Greece hereditary monarchy tributary to Turkey. Peace of Adrianople ratifies this.
- 1830 Porte recognises independence of Greece.
- 1831 Capo d'Istria assassinated.
- 1832 Otto of Bavaria made king of Greece.
- 1833 Otto lands at Nauplia. Country first governed by a regency.
- 1834 Capital transferred from Nauplia to Athens.
- 1835 King Otto comes of age.
- 1837 King founds university at Athens.
- 1843 Revolution breaks out. Otto agrees to rule constitutionally. Bavarian ministers dismissed. King fails to keep his promise.
- 1853 Greeks side with Russians in Crimean war, but are forced to observe neutrality by England and France.
- 1862 Otto leaves Greece on account of revolution.
- 1863 Prince George of Denmark chosen king of Greece.
- 1864 Ionian Islands added to Greece.
- 1866 Insurrection in Crete supported by Greece.
- 1868 Turkey and Greece prepare for war.
- 1869 Conference of powers at Paris settles Cretan question. Candia forced to submit to Turkey.
- 1877 Russo-Turkish war causes great excitement in Greece.
- 1878 Treaty of Berlin leaves Grecian frontier question to be settled by Turkey and Greece.
- 1881 Demarcation of frontier intruded to commission of the six powers and the two interested parties.
- 1885 Revolution of Philippopolis incites Greece to demand compensation for Bulgarian aggrandisement.
- 1886 Powers blockade Greek ports.
- 1887 New troubles concerning Crete.
- 1896 Nationalist agitation in Greece.
- 1897 Cretan war. Greeks attempt to occupy Crete. Powers intervene and give Crete an autonomous government under Turkish suzerainty. Greeks told to withdraw. Turkey declares war on Greece. After short campaign, in which Turkey is successful, peace is concluded in December.
- 1898 Prince George of Greece appointed high commissioner of Crete.
- 1905 Assassination of M. Delyannis, premier. A "most favoured nation" agreement with Great Britain.
- 1906 M. Theotokis forms a new cabinet and triumphs at the ensuing general election. King Edward and Queen Alexandra witness the Olympic games. Electric tramways sanctioned at Athens.
- 1907 Proposed enlargement of the Corinth Canal. King of Italy visits Athens.



BOOK III

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

CHAPTER I

ANTECEDENTS OF THE TURKISH NATIONS

WHEN, after having read in Strabo chapters which treat of Asia, we look on a modern map for the names of the people, the states, the mountains, the rivers, and the cities which the geography of the first century named and described, our surprise is great; it is with difficulty that we recognise some names of Iranian or Semitic origin; all the others are new and are spoken in barbaric tongues; Ionia is Turkey in Asia, the Taurus is called Giaour Daggh, Hyrcania has become Khwarezm (Kharezem), and one has to guess at the Oxus and Yaxartes under their names of Amu and Sir-Daria. Without doubt the names of people and places have changed in western and central Europe since the days of Strabo, but not in the same degree. From the first century of the Christian era down to our own days Asia has been more profoundly modified than Europe. It is the history of these modifications which we wish to relate here; the most important and the most decisive of them were produced between the fifth and eighth centuries; the others were the natural consequences of those changes of which the principal and most energetic factor was the ancient Turkish people.

It is by showing the origins of the Turkish nations and their movements until those events which preceded the Mongolian invasion of about 1148 that we can most clearly show the life of Asia. It should be well understood that the Turkish peoples are executive and imitative rather than creative. It

has been their rôle to apply and disseminate the inventions of other nations; it was Arabic thought, it was Chinese thought, it was Iranian thought which they adopted and propagated. Without them, in immense Asia, neither Iranian thought nor the Chinese nor the Arabic would have crossed the political frontiers; as it is, foreign philosophies have been extirpated or at least confused by the brutal genius of action and by the military temperament of the Turks.

The insufficient or false notions which people used to have concerning the past of the Turkish people have been completely changed during the last thirty years by a series of remarkable discoveries. Hence we shall refer the history of Asia in the Middle Ages to that of the Turks.

CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

The languages, other than the Aryan and Semitic, which have been spoken and written since the fifth century in a part of oriental Europe and continental Asia—China, India, and Indo-China (Farther India) excepted—belong to a family whose branches are very divergent; in the west we find the Finnish and the Magyar, in the east the Mongolian and the Manchu. Although up to the present time philologists have not discovered the proofs of a relationship as close and a filiation as regular as those which are used to demonstrate the unity of Indo-European idioms, their communality of origin and their family likeness are visible. In all of them it is possible to recognise the remains and the imprint of an ancient monosyllabic state; all are agglutinative; some of them in our day and before our eyes are passing from agglutination to flexion.

This family of languages is divided into four distinct classes, which are, going from west to east, the Finno-Uigurian, the Turkish, the Mongolian, and the Manchu. The Finno-Uigurian includes Laplandish, Finnish, Magyar, the Uigurian dialects between the Ural and Volga such as the Tcheremiss, the Bashkir, and the Vogul; in the Caucasus it embraces the idioms derived from the ancient Abar (Avar), and in the frozen *tundras* of the extreme north we find it in the Samoyed dialects. The Turkish forms three groups: the first is western and includes the Osmanli, the Azeri, and the dialects of Persia; the second is much more important and had its most ancient type in the Uigur dialect, of which the modern offshoots are the Jagatai, the Usbeg, the Tatar dialects of Russia and Siberia, the Kashgar, the Turkoman, the Kirghiz, the Altai, the Tarantchi, the curiously preserved language spoken by the Karaimsor Karaites—Jews of Lithuania and of the Crimea—etc. The Yakut and its varieties form the third group. With Mongolian is connected the Kal-muck dialect of Astrakhan; with the Manchu the Tonguz and probably the Korean.

This long enumeration shows the enormous space which the Turkish people and their kinsmen occupy, either in a sporadic state or in the state of a national group. Remarkable also are the tenacity with which these peoples have clung to their language, and the truly extraordinary variety of the societies which they have established or to which they have adapted themselves. Nowhere, never, conquerors or conquered, masters or subjects, have the Turks, the Finns, the Mongols, or the Manchus renounced fidelity to the national language nor forgotten their racial heritage. In two centuries, from the year 800 to the year 1000, the Seljuks changed their religion three times, passing from Shamanism to Nestorian Christianity and from Nestorianism

[500-600 A.D.]

to the faith of Islam; but they did not change their speech. The Karaim Jews write the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters but in the Turkish language. For centuries the vigorous Swedish population has moulded and transformed the Finns of the Baltic, through intermarriage, through education, and through religion, to such a degree that their very features have become Scandinavian; but it is in Finnish that the rhapsodists of Finland sang their sweet national epic, their tender *Kalevale*; it is in Finnish that Lönnrot affectionately compiled it. If we consider that the dialects of the Turkish group above enumerated employ no less than six different alphabets (without counting the transcriptions in the Russian character)—Arabic, Syriac as transformed by the Ugurs, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, and Chinese, to which we must add the old writing called Tchudic, which is to-day recognised as Turkish—we shall be struck by the vitality of the language, by which its unity has been preserved.

On the other hand, the variety and the mutability of the social organisations among the Turks and their relatives are not less remarkable than the fixity of their languages. The difference which to-day separates a Hungarian from a Bashkir and from a Samoyed is so enormous that one hesitates to acknowledge the common origin of the Hungarian citizen, the Bashkir shepherd, and the Samoyed savage; yet in the fifth century the types were not to be distinguished.

THE FIVE PRIMITIVE TURKISH NATIONS

"The five primitive Turkish nations," says Abulghazi, "are the Kiptchaks, the Ugurs, the Kanklis, the Kalaches, and the Karluks." The names of the first two are wholly characteristic. Kiptchak is formed from a very old monosyllable which signifies "empty desert"; Uigur is an adjective form, derived from a verb which expresses the action of assembling, of gathering in groups, and that of following a rule, a discipline. The Kiptchaks are the men of the barren country, of the desert, "the people of the steppes"; the Ugurs are the united men gathered in groups and subjected to law, "the civilised people."

It is in the fifth century that their ethnical eponym first appears among the Chinese, in the sixth century it is familiar to the Greeks; the former write it Tu-kiue, the latter Tourkoi: it is not difficult to recognise the national name Turk under the two forms. In 569 the king of the Tu-kiue, according to Chinese annals, sent an embassy to the emperor of China, and, according to Greek annals, the Roman emperor of Byzantium sent an embassy to the king of the Tourkoi.

The Chinese, ever since the first century of our era, have called the countries which we to-day name Kashgar and Sungaria, "routes." They referred them to their relative position on the two sides of the Tian-Shan, and called our Sungaria, Pe-lu, "northern route," and our Kashgar, Nan-lu, "southern route." The Turks gave other names to these countries; they called the northern route *besb-balik*, "the five cities," Pentapolis; the southern route was *alti-shehr*, "the six cities," Hexapolis. Coming from China by the "northern route" one came to the "home of the Turks," in Turkestan. The Turks called this country by a name common both to their language and to that of Mongols, Tchete, "the frontier, the march."

Once master of the Pe-lu and of Pentapolis, one was also master of the marches of Turkestan. It was not the same with the Nan-lu. In order to go from the Nan-lu to the Iranian country of Ferghana, it was necessary to cross the Frozen Mountains—"Muztagh," the Pass of Pines, Terek-Davan.

On the other side, one at first met only the impenetrable forest, black woods and marshes with treacherous soil; men and horses were lost there and died of hunger; few attained the plains. Hence it was better to stay in the beautiful country of the Tarim, to sow seed, to dig irrigation canals, and to settle in villages. It was into the cities of this province, into Hami, Turfan, and Khotan, that Buddhism first penetrated, coming from the south and east; it was there that it had to contend with foreign religions, with Mazdaism, and later with Christianity and Islamism. It was there, in the city of Kashgar, that was written (1069) in Uigur dialect the oldest Turkish book which has come down to us, the *Kudatkubilik*, "the art of ruling."

In the sixth century the Chinese had long since become acquainted with the ancestors of the Turks and of the Uigur; they had opened up the two routes of the north and of the south and had crossed the borders of the marches. The ancient name which they gave to these people was Hiong-nu, "rebel slaves."¹ This word has no ethnical or national character; it is neither Turkish nor Mongolian, but Chinese and very old. The Chinese gave the name Hiong-nu *en bloc* to the peoples, almost all nomadic, who lived north of the river Hwangho. The Great Wall was built in 214 B.C. to protect China proper from the incursions of these barbarians. Outside the wall there were also marches.

NOMADIC LIFE

It must not be supposed that, as is often said, all the nomads inhabited "the desert." People do not live in the desert when they can live anywhere else. It was by constraint that the tribes of shepherds, dispossessed by a stronger neighbour, abandoned to the enemy their fat pasturages, shady valleys, their forests and fields abounding in game, their roads leading to cultivated lands and to cities full of marvels. Sadly they took the road of exile and misery, buried themselves in dismal solitudes of frozen and barren lands, where they nursed the hope of revenge and return. The primitive legends of the Turks, their old poems—ceaselessly transformed, rejuvenated, and marvellously preserved under new forms down to our day—are full of these stories of exodus. Thus the name Kirghiz-Kazak is formed from two Turkish words, the first of which signifies "wandering," and the second, "one separated from the nation, from the flock." The beast which has left the fold and the man who has fled from his tribe are kazaks (hence the word Cossack). Then, as to-day, the nomad did not live from his herds but from produce, which he exchanged for stuffs and for grain with those who had fixed abodes or which he sold to them for cash. When he could settle in a fertile country like Pentapolis or the land of the Tara he gladly became *tarantchi*, a husbandman. But when the villages or the men of the town closed the market, when terrible snow-storms caused the destruction of the herds (which bore the expressive name *mal*, "capital"), when a powerful neighbour fell upon the tribe, means of subsistence were few. The victims of these disasters had little choice but to emigrate into the steppes, where they sought adventure.

The real country of the Hiong-nu of China, of the Turanians of Persia, behind the marches of the Oxus, of the Ili, and of the Hwangho, was cut up by great "voids"—the western, Kiptchak, and the eastern, Gobi; these two words have the same meaning. The epithet Kiptchak was given later by

[¹ Compare the name Sklav. a]

[500-600 A.D.]

the Persians to southern Russia, when the "people of the empty land," the Kiptchaks, lived there. The "void" of the west opens between the Caspian and the Ili; it is the country of the sands, "black, red, white, and low sands," *Kara, Kisil, Ak* and *Batak Kum*. The Ili, the Tchu, the Sir, and the Amu make practicable paths through them. Between the "void" and the steppes of the north and of the west is hollowed out the "intermediary" sea, the Aral, for the word means that which is in the middle.

SOCIAL STATE OF THE TURKISH NATIONS

The Tu-kiu, according to a Chinese chronicle of the year 545, are a tribe of the Hiong-nu, originally from the country of the north Gobi. Nomads, raisers of flocks, hunters, their tents are of felt; they know how to tan leather and to weave wool, of which they make their clothing. They button their robes from right to left contrary to the Chinese, who cross them from left to right; they never cut their hair, which they wear loose. They are rough and brutal; they despise old men and esteem only those who are in the prime of strength. They proclaim their king by raising him nine times on a carpet of felt. They have no written law or regular procedure, but render justice arbitrarily according to the dictates of custom. Plot or rebellion is punished by death, as is also the violation of a married woman; amends and marriage are the penalties for the seduction of a girl; compensation is required for blows and wounds, and the restitution of stolen objects or cattle to tenfold the number or value is enforced.

From this Chinese description one gains the conception of a society conscious of its identity, organised and governed. The spirit of hierarchy and discipline is developed, for insubordination and plots are punished by death.

Mongolian and Turkish customs regulate the wholly unusual law of inheritance: the heir, who is in a way fixed to his native soil, is the youngest of the sons; it is he who is the *ot-jiguine*, as the Mongols says, the *tekine*, as the Turks say—the "guardian of the hearth." It is to him that the land reverts; the elders share the movable goods. The princely families own not only their herds but a band of warriors. The chief bequeaths this band to the son of his choice, or divides it; and it is not seldom that also a daughter receives a share. The son who is unprovided for goes far away to seek a father and a mother. In the legends this takes place most often as follows: The son rides a long, long way, until he arrives at a house where he finds an old woman; the husband is in the fields. The youth says to the old woman, "Be my mother"; she consents, and finally the old man returns. The son says to him, "Be my father"; and when he has consented, the boy cries, "My father and mother, give me a name."

It is a characteristic fact that the Turkish adventurer has not even a name. The legendary heroes are called *Ad-siz*, "without name." We find in history two kings and more than one warrior who have proudly kept the name of "without name," *Ad-siz*. These legends portray vividly the life of the Turkish people. Thousands of nameless Turkish adventurers have proposed adoption to the kings of the Parthians, to the potentates of Persia, to the caliphs of the Arabs, to the emperors of China, to the lords of Sogdiana, selling their swords for a family and a name. It was anonymous sons of Turks who founded the empire of the Seljuks and that of the Osmanlis. "I am a wandering knight emperor," said the grand mogul Baber, when he was dispossessed of the hereditary empire of Ferghana.

RELIGION OF THE TURKS

Neither the Turks nor the Mongols have ever been a religious people. The religious imagination, the zeal and enthusiasm which are so ardent among the Arabs, the Persians, and the Slavs, have never aroused the apathy of the Turks, the Mongols, and the Manchus. The religion which is most sympathetic to their phlegmatic character is certainly Buddhism. They are Buddhists temperamentally. Buddhism is the only religion natural to them. Islamism is foreign to their conceptions. Comparatively easily, without enthusiasm and without great repugnance, the Turks have accepted other religions than Buddhism; they have become Magi, worshipping fire, Manichæans, Nestorian Christians, Moslems; but their conversion has been due to chance, not to conviction. To controversy they are indifferent, for it is contrary to their mental placidity and to their military habits. The religions which they have definitely adopted they have practised loyally, without alteration or discussion, as is befitting a people who call civilisation obedience, and the law of the state, *yassak*, military command. They have defended them like honest soldiers, offering for argument the one Saint Louis recommends to the laymen against the Jews—a sword in the belly.

Like the ancient Chinese, the ancient Turks recognised and venerated five elements incarnated in five persons. The five elements were earth, wood, metal, fire, and water. The five persons were the yellow emperor in the centre, the blue emperor in the east, the red emperor in the south, the white emperor in the west, the black emperor in the north. The most venerated element in these old cults was iron, the metal from which the arms were forged. It is mentioned in all the Turkish legends. It was probably iron to which the Huns addressed their prayers, and symbolised by a naked blade which the Romans called the sword of Mars. Byzantine ambassadors in the sixth century were present at a religious ceremony held on the frontiers of the Turkish dominion, during which iron was offered them. The old national names Timur, "iron," and Timurtash, "companion of iron," certainly have a religious origin.

This ancient religion of the five elements, traces of which have remained to our day, was succeeded by that of the *tangri*, "heaven," in dualism with the earth. Even religions as vigorous as Islam and Buddhism have not succeeded in entirely exterminating traces of the old dualistic cult among the Mongols and Turks.

The Turks have preserved in their legends the memory of their ethnical origin. The following tradition is found at the base of all of them. Il-Khan, the "king of the peoples," is conquered in a great battle, and the Mongols are all exterminated except Il-Khan's youngest son, Kian (avalanche), his nephew Nokuz, and two girls. Kian, Nokuz, and their two companions flee and cross prodigious mountains; in the depths of the mountains is a beautiful country full of rivers, springs, prairies, fruit trees, and game. Their descendants multiply in this unknown land; at the end of four hundred years they wish to come out, but find no way. Then a blacksmith discovers a mountain of iron to which they put fire; the iron melts and a path is hollowed out, through which they emerge from the mysterious country where they have lived for seven generations. This country is called Erkene-Kum—the "old home land." It is Pe-lu.

The king who was ruling over the Mongols when they emerged from Erkene-Kum was called Burte-Tchene—"gray wolf." From him was de-

[214 B.C.-907 A.D.]

scended the virgin Alan Goa, who conceived a miraculous child without a father, whose descendant in the tenth generation was Jenghiz Khan. The Mongols, brothers of the Turks, are thus the descendants of Gray Wolf, and their royal family derives its origin from the virgin who conceived a son without sin. Such is the legend related by the Turks and Mongols, beginning with the thirteenth century; some, like the Moslems, make it go back to Japheth, whom they claim as their remote ancestor; others, like the Buddhists, insert in the series an aureoled virgin similar to the mother of Buddha.

The exodus from the Erkene-Kum took place towards the end of the fifth century. Less than a hundred years later we see the nation of Turks become very powerful; it is in correspondence with the emperor of China and with the Byzantine emperor, to whom in 568 the king of the Turks sent a letter in Scythian characters. A trilingual inscription, written in honour of a prince in Paleo-Turkish and Uigur characters, with a Chinese translation, has recently been found in the valley of the Orkhon. Its date in Chinese chronology corresponds with our year 732. At this period the oldest known Turkish writing was at least a hundred and sixty years old.

WARS OF THE CHINESE AGAINST THE TURKS

In the third century B.C. the great emperor Hoang-ti, founder of the dynasty of the Tsin, after having re-established the unity of the Chinese Empire, which, more than five hundred years before, had fallen apart into some twenty feudal principalities and then finally into seven kingdoms, had penetrated into the country of the barbarians of the northwest. He had chased the Hiong-nu from the countries which their descendants have conquered so many times since, those which form the actual province of Shansi within the great bend of the Yellow (Hwangho) River. He had driven them beyond the marches. He had, with immense labour, connected the local works of defence which the seven kingdoms had erected against the barbarians; this was the famous Great Wall (214-204 B.C.).

In Shensi, at the junction of the wall road with the military route behind the Great Wall, he had boldly established his capital; it was within reach of the barbarians of the north and those of the west. The retrograde spirit and the incorrigible particularism of the Chinese aristocracy defied the work of the great emperor. The people, whose country was again divided into eight kingdoms, torn by factions, and powerless externally, hid in the marches. Then a new emperor, Hoang-ti, originally of Shensi, re-established the national unity, aided by mountaineers of Honan, "south of the river."

The emperors Han (from 202 B.C.-220 A.D.) carried on the patriotic work of the Tsin; they attempted the conquest of the marches, the reduction of the barbarians, and their assimilation into Chinese civilisation. That which the Hans attempted was in fact to sinicise the Turks of the north. Since then China has never abandoned their policy; to conquer the marches, to assimilate the people who inhabit them has been the policy of China for the last eighteen hundred years. It will be seen that the Mongols, as Chinese emperors, have followed only the traditions of the emperors of Han and of their successors the Tangs (610-907 A.D.).

In the year 121 B.C. Chinese tactics and policy begin to assert themselves. The idea was to break, to disintegrate, the mass of barbarians united under the domination of a sort of emperor called the Tchen-yu (in Turkish, Tengri-Kut), "power of God." To do this it was necessary to sunder in two the

barbarian horde, in order to crowd far back towards the north and west the peoples of which they would rid themselves, and to retain on this side of the marches, between them and the Great Wall, those whom they hoped to assimilate. In the marches themselves they desired to plant an impassable barrier of Chinese colonies, of Chinese peoples, which would separate forever the two branches into which they had cut the compact mass of the Hiong-nu. In 112 B.C. the Chinese passed the northern marches; in 108 they were masters of the southern marches, of Hami and of Turfan. The nomads gathered around the Chinese military posts, and became Uigur, "subjects." This side of the marches the peoples, united by the Hiong-nu and without national cohesion, being simply subject to the Tchen-yu—as were later the Alani, the Goths, the Bulgars, etc., to Attila—disintegrated rapidly, became absorbed into the mass of the Chinese, and reinforced the barrier between the two branches of the Turkish language—the branch which was developed among the people arrested at the east of the marches, and the branch which grew up with the tribes crowded back to the west.

After the conquest of the marches it was towards the northwest that the Chinese directed their efforts, to open the outlets of Pe-lu and to finish the isolation of the eastern Hiong-nu. In 104 they ventured too far into the midst of the Kirghiz and lost an army in the steppes. But the barbarians of the east were so well shut up between the marches and the wall that in 51 the Tchen-yu came to tender his submission to the emperor of China. He acknowledged the "holy emperor" as his father, asked him for a name, and did not communicate with him officially except under this new name. It was decided from that moment that the sovereigns of the Hiong-nu and then of the Turks should have two names, the one national, the other Chinese; the latter should date from the moment the "holy emperor" adopted them. After that event they would as great imperial officers or as men endowed with an appanage make war under the Chinese flag, demand their share in the revenues of the empire, and support by arms the right of succession. It was now that they were really Hiong-nu, "rebel servitors."

One may observe at this time a curious parallelism between the great Roman Empire of the West and the great Chinese Empire of the extreme East. They received simultaneously the one the joyful tidings of Christ, the other the joyful tidings of Buddha. Spurred by a new enthusiasm, rough and determined emperors of the Occident conquered the barbarians from the Rhenish marches to the Danube; the rulers of the Orient carried their sword from the marches of the Ili to the Caspian Sea. The Hans of China correspond fairly well to the Antonines of Rome; the calendar of Buddhist confessors in the Chinese marches resembles that of the Christian martyrs in Gaul. Just as the Roman emperors opposed the old literary pagan tradition to Christianity, so the Chinese nationalists opposed to Buddhism the old books destroyed by the first Hans. It was the epoch of great compilers and of the apotheosis of Confucius.

In 46 Chinese policy obtained a decisive result. The eastern Hiong-nu, separated from the western by the conquest of the marches and by the support given to the Uigurs, were in their turn broken into two trunks; there Tchen-yu was in competition with his elder brother. The latter, conformably to Turkish right, demanded the mobile part of the heritage, that is to say, the army; he collected the bands, by suasion or by force, won over eight of the confederate clans, crossed the desert, and came to ask the "holy emperor" to adopt him. The Chinese, who had probably co-operated in the intrigue, hastened to accept him and recognised the pretender Hiong-nu as the legiti-

[46-92 A.D.]

mate ruler. They cantoned his subjects in the northern marches, along the Great Wall. "These Turks from father to son were the guardians of the Wall, whence their name of Ongut."

EXPLOITS OF PAN-TCHAO

Occasionally the Turks of the marches, when they were not paid by the Chinese, liked to pillage the flat lands along the Wall. In 72 the emperor Ming-ti decided to strike a decisive blow in order to put a stop to the depredations. The plan, perfectly adapted to the Turkish character, was to punish the most rebellious subjects and to suppress the others and get rid of them by using them in distant wars. The man capable of conducting the enterprise to a good end, of subduing the great Turkish companies and of reducing them, was already found; his name was Pan-Tchao. He had, in addition to the qualities which were necessary to make him the leader of nomads and highwaymen, a genius for military enterprises.

In 76 the Nan-lu was conquered and organised; the northern Hiong-nu were dislodged from the Pe-lu. In the same year Pan-Tchao, called back to China by a new emperor, disclosed in a memoir his military and political plan, by which the conquest of the great west would cost the "holy emperor" neither a man among his national subjects nor an ounce of silver from his treasury. Nan-lu wished to gather the warlike peoples of the marches and the petty kings of the west into one federation under imperial protection. They themselves would furnish the men, they would furnish the ready money; China would give the impulse, would direct it, would organise the barbaric masses, would lead them to the conquest of the Occident, ever farther away from the frontiers behind which the active Chinese anthill, labouring and working in peace, would be creating wealth. As for what was left of the Hiong-nu of the north, he would be responsible for them; a veritable plan of extermination had been formed against these incorrigible people. It was in 92 that a lieutenant of Pan-Tchao executed it, while the hero himself was leading his Turkish, Getic, and Afghan bands to the conquest of the west. A Chinese army closed the outlet of the Pe-lu at the sources of the Irtish, driving back the Hiong-nu towards the east and cornering them in the gorges of the Altai. A few tribes broke through the circle of besiegers, on the west, took to the steppes, and went to ask adoption from the Kiptchak, or else became fugitives and joined with the other Kazaks and Kirghizes. We shall find them between the Ural and the Volga, then on the Kuban, then on the Don, then on the Danube. They will dominate the Finns of the plateau between the Ural and the Volga, and will lead them out to great adventures under the names Huns of Yogur (Hunnigures), Abars (Avars), and Magyars, until the main body of the nation itself appears and we hear of the Petchenegs, of the Kubani or Kumani, who come from the Kuban, of Turkomans or Turks of the Terek. Of the rest some were exterminated, some dispersed by the Uigurs, the Chinese, the Tatars, the Tonguz; one fragment threw itself into the Altai, sought a shelter in its gorges, in its deep valleys, and there lived in obscurity. When, four centuries later, their descendants emerged from the Erkene-Kum under the leadership of Gray Wolf and of Blacksmith, the very name of their ancestors had disappeared; they were no longer the Hiong-nu but the Tu-kiu—the "Turks."

Pan-Tchao advanced as far as the Caspian; he was going to attack the Parthians and the Romans behind them, when the emperor called him back.

IRAN AND TURAN

In the country of Iran a national revolution had caused the Sassanids to succeed to the Parthians. Against the Sassanids the hatred of the Turks was bitter. An iron wall as at the time of Archimedes prevented their access to the marches of Sogdiana, of Hyrcania, and to the routes towards the south and west. These Iranians were autonomous; their heavily armed cavalry—the Mobed—was independent of the Turkish mercenary, and maintained against the Turk the civilisation of the great valleys to the north of the Amu-Daria and of the Sir-Daria. Their supremacy occurred at a moment when China, the terrible China of the Hans, was oppressing most tyrannically the Hiong-nu. Those who did not wish to become sub-vassals of the Chinese fought with rage against the Sassanids; disputed the marches with them furiously. The struggle of the Turk with the Sassanid is the subject of the Persian national epic, the *Shahnameh*, Book of Kings, which relates the fights of Iran against Turan. Finally the Turks established their rule in the marches of Persia, between the Oxus and the Yaxartes, attacking in the rear the Iranians, who were engaged in battles against the Roman Empire and against the Arabic power, then at its inception.

It is extraordinary that the Sassanid Empire, hard pressed by so many enemies on the west and north, did not fall to pieces in the fifth century: but assistance came to it from the east. The Turks of the Altai, those descendants of the Hiong-nu of the north, who had become half-sinicised barbarians and vassals of China, fell upon the west as formerly their ancestors had done under the great Pan-Tchao. In the name of their Chinese suzerain they re-established, by way of Pe-lu and Nan-lu, the communication between the country of the holy emperor and the Ta-Tsin, the “great China” of the west—the Roman Empire. In 552 the king of the Tu-kiu, called by the Chinese Tu-men—that is probably the Dutumene of the Turkish and Mongolian legends—led his bands across the Pe-lu, stopped to draw breath in Turkestan, then fell upon the White Huns¹—Tie-le of the water bank, shore-Turks—and crushed them at a blow. After this exploit he took the title of Il-Khan. His second successor extended these conquests. He was called Mogan-Khan, and bore besides the title of Tekine—younger brother or, in European style, archduke. During his reign the unity of the Hiong-nu was re-established, but this time at the instigation of China; its sphere of influence was frankly directed towards the west. In fact, through its Turkish vassals China was bounded by Persia and the Roman Empire.

ANARCHY IN CHINA

The old society was disorganised in China by the new religious sects, as it had been disorganised in Rome by Christianity. In 184 the sect of the Tao-Sse had aroused a formidable movement of the “yellow bonnets.” In 194 a military adventurer, Thsao-Thsao, overcame the revolt, re-established order, and made himself dictator. His son was emperor of northern China, while southern China was divided into two kingdoms. Northern China, between the Great Wall and the Blue River, could not maintain its political integrity except by the arms of barbarians. It employed in its army those southern Hiong-nu, wild people half sinicised by the Hans, who lived between the Great

¹ Sometimes called Ephthalites, also Khazars; they lived along the shores of the Caspian.]

[308-589 A.D.]

Wall and the Yellow River. After 308 these Turko-Chinese shared the northern empire, succeeding one another rapidly. As in Rome, so in the Orient did barbarian emperors defend the empire against other barbarians.

TURKISH AMBITIONS

It was only in 589 that the empire was re-established and that Buddhism, under a modified form, was adopted by the masses of the Chinese. It will be understood that during this period of unrest the emperors of northern China,



SERVING-MAN, ANCIENT CHINA

now Turks, who had attained power by the support of the Turks, made common cause with their barbarian vassals and subjects, and that the national life of the Hiong-nu of the south was confounded with that of northern China.

In 562 Mogan ruled over the Turkish nations from the Chinese marches, the Nan-lu and the Pe-lu, and from the banks of the Oxus, which he had conquered by subduing the shore-Turks or White Huns, to the extreme limits of the Turkish Kiptchaks, to the north of the Caucasus and along the Volga. On the east he had conquered the Tonguz, the Sian-Pi, as their principal nation was then called, and had driven them to the east of Lake Baikal. He held the routes between China, Persia, and the Roman Empire. But it was a precarious authority which an Il-Khan, a "king of tribes," could

hold over this incoherent multitude of peoples, differing in their manner of living, in their laws, religion, and language. To maintain his empire at the east and south, Mogan needed China; to maintain himself on the west he dreamed of establishing relations with Rome (Rum, the Byzantine Empire), which was at war with its rebellious vassals the Kiptchaks and Avars, and was engaged in a struggle against the hereditary enemies of the Turks—the Iranians. With an extraordinary breadth of vision, this barbarian of the Altai conceived the project of forming an alliance with the two great civilised states: with China on the east and with the Ta-Tsin, the great “China of the west”—the Roman Empire, with the Turks serving as intermediaries and men-at-arms, in the pay of the allies. To do a policeman’s duty between the Yellow River and the Danube, to safeguard the communications between China and Rome, to pose as arbiter between the two nations, to divide up the world—such was the colossal plan of this Turk, a plan which his Mongolian successors have never forgotten. The revolutions which during the sixth century swiftly followed one another in China, and the fatuity of the Byzantines, caused it to come to nothing. In 569 an ambassador of Mogan (the Greeks call this king Dizabul, after his Chinese title Ti-then-pu-li) proposed a commercial and military treaty to Justin II. The measure had no results.

CONTACT WITH ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

The seventh century was a critical epoch in the life of the Asiatic peoples. In disorganising the empire of the Sassanids and of the Iranian lands, the Arabic Mohammedan revolution turned into Persia, Asia Minor, and Syria a part of the current of Turkish immigration which up till then had been kept in the old Scythian channel, north of the Oxus and of the Caspian.

The introduction of the new doctrines of Islam into the very heart of the Chinese marches of Nan-lu and Pe-lu modified profoundly and altered forever the social and political relations between Christian Europe and the extreme Orient. It complicated these relations by adding religious disagreements and misunderstandings to the problems already existing. The Turk, the natural intermediary between China and Europe, became an armed champion of an Asiatic faith hostile to the faith of the Europeans; the greatest religious wars of the Middle Ages were fought against Europe by peoples who, temperamentally indifferent to religion, had no grievance against Christianity and who cared little for the faith which, in the eyes of the occidentals, they incarnated.

Christianity had begun during the fourth century to penetrate into the Turkish country through Khorasan and the marches of Transoxania. In 334 Barsaba was bishop of Merv in Khorasan. In 420 the bishopric of Merv was elevated to a metropolitan see. Towards 503 bishoprics were founded at Herat and Samarkand. The patriarch Timothy (718) converted the Turkish khagan of Karakorm. About the year 1000 the Kerait Turks up to the heart of the Gobi accepted the Nestorian faith, brought to them by the bishop of Merv, Ebed Jesu. It was in the year 635 that a Syrian monk brought the Gospel to China. In 638 the emperor Tai-tsung issued a decree in favour of the new religion and authorised the construction of a church in the capital. The famous bilingual inscription of Singan Fu (in Chinese and Syriac), under the date of 781, mentions the Nestorian metropolitan by his Chinese name of Ning-chu, as it does the patriarch Mar Hanan Ishua (Joshua) and Adam, bishop and pope of Tzinista—“China.” In the same year (635) that the

[635-712 A.D.]

Syrian monk received the hospitality of the holy emperor—the fourteenth of the Hejira—the Arabs dispersed the Persian cavalry at Kadesecyah. Thirty years afterwards Persia invoked Allah, and Arabian adventurers crossed the Oxus.

ARABS IN TURKESTAN AND TIBET

The Arab bands organized in Khorasan to invade the Turkish marches of Sogdiana and Ferghana followed the old military route south of the Oxus *via* Merv and Balkh. On the other side of the Oxus the resistance was more vigorous than has been supposed. But religion had little to do with it. The extraordinary disorganisation of the country was the principal cause which facilitated the victory of Islam. Not till the year 94 of the Hejira (712) could the Arabs build their first mosque in Bokhara, and then they had to make the concession—unprecedented in Moslem experience—of performing the service



TURKISH FARMHOUSE

in Persian. For a long time afterwards, in this country conquered by Islam, the faithful went to the mosque only in groups and armed.

For the Christianised inhabitants of Sogdiana the Arabic invasion was not a surprise, as it was for the Turks. Indeed, the sectarian Zoroastrians saw in the doctrine of Islam deliverance from an odious state religion. Furthermore, the dignitaries of the Nestorian church were all of them Arabian Syrians, and therefore compatriots of the Arabs, whose faces, customs, language, costume, and way of thinking were familiar to them. Even the new religion seemed in many of its features familiar. Without ceding any of their Nestorian dogma, these Christians chose unhesitatingly Islamic enthusiasm in place of the official fanaticism of the magi. Heretics themselves, they preferred these new heretics, who spoke their tongue, to the fire worshippers. Semitic Christianity made no opposition to Semitic Islam.

In the first half of the seventh century peoples of different origin, living for the most part from cattle-raising in the country which we now call Tibet, became converted to Buddhism. In the high valleys and almost inaccessible plateaus between the Himalayas and the Kwanlun this religion was to find its asylum and its holy citadel. At the same period the Tibetans began to be redoubtable to China. Established at an invulnerable point at the southwest of the Great Wall, they cut off communications between China and Nan-lu. At the end of the seventh century they invaded Nan-lu, then turning

sharply against the Chinese defeated them on the shores of the Blue Lake, and, entering through the break in the Great Wall, overran the whole coast of the Yellow River. The Buddhists voluntarily let themselves be pillaged by these pious savages, who offered a tenth of their plunder to the monasteries of Maitreya Bodhisattoa and touched the ground with their foreheads before the altars in the abbeys of the land. For these hardy mountaineers of Tibet, accustomed to scale rocky peaks and traverse glaciers, the Tian-Shan was not an obstacle, nor did the Tsong-ling impede their march. In 715 they crossed these mole-hills, passed through the Terek-Davan, Pass of Pines, and descended into Ferghana, killing and plundering. When the Arabs saw them descend, the heavy national cutlass about their loins, an iron-pointed stick in their hands, the adroit imagination of the Moslems conceived the plan of employing these pagans against the magi, against the Turks who were so obstinate in their military loyalty, and against China—that great China which they, the Moslem preachers and talkers, despite all their bombast, feared exceedingly. Become suddenly the best of friends, Moslem adventurers and Buddhist highwaymen recrossed the Pass of Pines (716) and went together into Nan-lu to besiege the Turkish and Uigur cities.

TURKISH MERCENARIES IN SERVICE OF THE CALIPHS

At the south, in the marches of Persia, which had formerly been unapproachable, Moslem anarchy opened a new path for the Turks. The military emigration of the Turks, hitherto directed towards the northwest, towards the country of the Kiptehaks, was now diverted to the southwest—to Azerbaijan, Transcaucasia, Asia Minor, Syria, and the Moslem country of Rum. The revolution which brought the Abbassides into power hastened emigration and turned it into this new channel. By degrees, as they entered the service of the Moslems, these Turks, so refractory at home to Islam, submitted to the religious rule. They understood absolutely nothing of it; it was to them merely a part of their military discipline, and as such demanded obedience. The Turks entered the orthodox Sunnite Moslem church, not as catechumen neophytes, but as military recruits, without bowing their heads.

The policy of the caliphs towards these terrible Turkish adventurers, with whom they could not dispense, was to offer them all that they could gain by the sword in the western marches; they were given fiefs taken from the Romans. It was thus that in northern Syria and in Asia Minor castellanies and Turkish marquisates were founded, and new marches between Islam and the country of the Holy Land—the Christian country. The crusades of Turkish condottieri against Rum, the exodus of great companies in quest of lands and castles in Anatolia and titles and honours at the court of the caliphs were incessant after the end of the ninth century. But the place left vacant by these knights of adventure seeking their fortunes in Rum was at once taken by men equally unencumbered by possessions, equally rich in hope and bravery. It seemed as if Turkestan and the marches of China, whence emerged these needy heroes one after another, were inexhaustible. Since the triumph of the Abbassides, in Iran and in the marches disorganised by the Arabs, there had been a constant influx of Turks seeking places, pensions, and lands.

Once implanted in the country, become feudal landholders whether they would or not, endowed with all the military offices or with those reputed to be such—for they would have none others—they yet understood nothing of the offices they filled. At their first opportunity they overthrew the government

[1004-1120 A.D.]

and installed the captain of their company in power. Thus came about the succession of the great Ghaznevid condottieri, who conquered India, and of the Seljuks, who were masters of the caliphate and of Asia Minor.

THE MANCHUS MASTERS OF NORTHERN CHINA

In 1004, the same year that Mahmud, the great Ghaznevid, started for India, the Turkish Kara-Khitai of the Liao became masters in China. This nation of the Khitai lived in the country known to-day as Manchuria; but many of its emigrants, instead of settling in China, had been obliged, for reasons of which we are ignorant, to retreat before the eleventh century to the country to the northwest and to become kazak. The leading clan among the Khitai in the tenth century was distinguished by the epithet *Kara*, "black," and the patronymic of these hereditary chiefs, according to Chinese orthography, was Ye-lu.

In the troubles which preceded the fall of the Tangs this family of the Ye-lu had rendered services to the Chinese factions, attaching itself principally to those of the north. Their poorly paid bands had been content with the mediocre fief surrounding the walled city of Yen. When the Ye-lu took the official protectorate over the Petchili, Yen became their capital; the Chinese called it Peking (Pekin), "capital of the north." The country had need of security; it accepted these protectors without much resistance. At the beginning of the eleventh century the family of the Ye-lu governed China up to the Blue River; these Ye-lu among all the Turks are the only ones who have deserved the honour of being regretted by the Chinese. South of the Blue River the national dynasty of the Sung had with as much good as harm re-established unity in one-half of the empire.

The Turks of the Liao had not had the audacity to substitute their hereditary princes for a Chinese family. At Peking, the capital of the north, they maintained a representative of the holy emperor, just as their Seljuk brothers at the same epoch maintained a ruler similar to the caliphs at Baghdad. From 1001-1125 the pretended emperor of China (of the north) was called Tien-tso; the real emperor, the Turkish Khitai, was called Ye-lu-ta-shi. This Turk, moreover, like the occidentals of his race, was a patron of letters and was himself literary; the Chinese annals relate that in 1115 he passed examinations for the doctorate. He was a member of the Hanlin Academy and founded that of Linya. This Chinese academician remained in his sympathies such a thorough Turk that, having already dethroned three emperors, he further asserted his predilections in the following manner: When the Tonguz Niu-tchi, the ancestors of our Manchus of to-day, forced the barriers of the empire, took possession of Peking, and founded the dynasty of Kin (the word signifies gold), he, placidly and without scruple, wrung the necks of the Chinese ministers who formed his civil cabinet. Mounting his horse in company with the people of his military household, he then took the road for the open country and went to become kazak in the great asylum of the northwest, on the steppes of the Kirghiz (1120). In Pe-lu the fugitive was hailed with enthusiasm. In a general assembly he gathered the chiefs of seven cities (sedentary Turks) and of eighteen tribes (nomadic Turks) and had himself proclaimed *kur-khan* (khan of the camp).

Ye-lu, academician and politician, was just as brave with a sword in his hand as he was fluent with a pencil between his fingers. This sinicised Turk was the first captain of his day. His firm policy was understood by the Turk-

ish masses. It was no longer individually that they had to establish themselves in the Iranian land, but as members of the body politic. On the west as on the east the country was destined for the Turks; they had defended it, they had laboured in it; the land belonged to them as far as they could find a person talking Turkish. The Kara-Khitai became masters of Pe-lu, of Nan-lu and of its Hexapolis, where the Buddhist Uigurs, the Christians, and the pagans welcomed them. The Moslems did not dare to look askance at these conquerors who spoke their language. Indeed, they preferred them to their Tajak (Iranian) co-religionists and to the iranised Turks of Transoxania, although, on account of the disparity of religions, they could not express the preference. This sudden ascendancy of the Kara-Khitai rendered desperate the position of the last Seljuk of central Asia, the noble and unfortunate sultan Sanjar. Turkish in the eyes of the Iranians, and Persian in the eyes of all those Turks of the north and east who hated anyone who had a drop of Persian blood in his veins, what could Sanjar do? The crusaders had no conception of the fear inspired in the rulers of the house of Seljuk by the advancing mass of Turkish people. Atabegs in the south and sultans of Rum in the west trembled at every movement in central Asia. In 1141 the unfortunate sultan, the last of the Seljuks on Turkish soil, lost his final battle against the kurkhan. At the same time was founded another Turkish empire, that of Khwarizm (Khiva).

THE TWO CHINESE EMPIRES AND THE MONGOLS

While the sinicised Turks, the Kara-Khitai, and the Uigurs were sharing Asia with the iranised Turks, the Kankli and Kalatch, the Manchus were asserting themselves in China. The Chinese called them Niu-tchi; the Turks and Mongols called them Tehortcha. But these Niu-tchi called their nation according to their own dialect Aisin, Aijin, "gold" or "gilded," which the Chinese translated by Kin. They named their empire in China Aisin Gurun, the "gilded enclosure." In 1120 the king of the Niu-tchi forced the defiles which led to Petchili and seized Yen or Peking; in 1153 his successor established there his imperial golden court. He was lord of China as far as the Yangtse-Kiang. In the south ruled the dynasty of the Sung, with Hang-Chow for its capital. To secure themselves against the encroachments of the Niu-tchi, the Sung sought soldiers in the far north, and found them among the famished princes, who depended for their precarious livelihood upon the chase and upon the booty of war. By treaties of protection with merchant guilds and with the "loyal" cities, and by the meagre revenue of their leased cattle, these had been able to drag on a miserable existence. The first to offer himself was a chief of the Kerait Turks. He had property in the neighbourhood of Almalik, "the pommery," a loyal Turkish commercial and Christian city in Pe-lu. He associated with himself a comrade, a brother by adoption, of Turkish lineage on the mother's side. This associate was called Yesuguei, and had the military surname of Bahatur, the "brave," the "valiant." A dozen years after this alliance, in 1162, Yesuguei had a son, whom he named Temujine.

The family of Yesuguei enjoyed great consideration among all the nations struggling to live, miserably enough, at the north of the Chinese marches, between the Sungari and the Irtysh. His descendants were called the Borjiguene, "blue eyes." The Mongolian Buddhist legend gave them a miraculous origin. Dobo Merguene married the virgin Alang Goa, conceived in purity, or, as we should say, without sin; by her he had two sons and died. In her

[1145-1162 A.D.]

widowed state Alang Goa, visited by a supernatural apparition, conceived and bore three sons. The Borjiguenes are descended from the third. The name of Nirun (pure origin) was given to all the descendants of these three brothers, because, according to the Mongolian belief, they were born of light. According to the Moslem legends the apparition was the angel Gabriel in the form of a ray of light. Certain genealogies make the Borjiguenes and the Seljuks descend from a common father whom they call Bugu, the Deer, and from a mother whom they call Goa, the Bitch. Turkish genealogies refer the origin of the Borjiguenes to the legendary ancestor of the Turks, who is Gray Wolf.

Four times did the Mongolian tribes and clans form an integral part of the Turkish empire: once at the time of the Hiong-nu of the south; again at the time of the Hiong-nu of the north; afterwards during the period of the Tu-kiu (545-745), and finally during that of the oriental Ugurs, down to the year 1000. In the eleventh century when the great Turkish nations of the western Ugurs, the Kankli, and the Kalatch were increasing their activity in the west, leaving the east free to the Kara-Khitai Turks, the Mongolian tribes and clans began to lead an autonomous life, grouping themselves about families called Nirun (pure, illustrious), in confederation with the Turks who had not prospered in the west. The revolution which in the eleventh century drove the Kara-Khitai Turks out of China, and caused the power to pass into the hands of the Niu-tchi, completed the liberation of the Mongols and of the Turkish tribes north of China. In the twelfth century the Mongols of the country between the Selenga and the Orkhon were independent, as were their neighbours the Kerait Turks, Naiman and Karluk.

In order to continue their existence these Turks and Mongols solicited aid and protection from China. They did not seek the ruler of northern China, whose throne was at Peking, the emperor of the Golden Enclosure, the Niu-tchi, for he was their hereditary enemy. They turned to the real Chinaman, to the legitimate emperor, who belonged to the dynasty of the Sungs, and who ruled south of the Blue River. What the holy emperor desired, they said, he had only to express; he was their father and mother; they and their children would maintain his cause against all enemies. In compensation they demanded titles, wages, grain, and silks.

The Chinese had long been acquainted with this people; they knew with whom they had to deal. These needy condottieri made great promises but rarely fulfilled them. To compel confidence, they should have arrived with formidable armies, instead of which they were seen to come with a thousand plunderers who levied contributions on the friendly country, but fought as little as possible. The Chinese demanded guarantees, drew their purse-strings, and demanded proofs of warlike ability. These adventurers, therefore, fought with each other to prove to the Chinese that they were the men to fight against others. At the first favourable response from the Sungs, these Mongols, Turks, Keraites, Naimans, and Karluks became reconciled to each other. At last they were to be recompensed. While the Manchu chronicles, collected in the seventeenth century under the title *History of the Three Realms*, do not mention the Manchus before the great war of 1209, the Chinese annals of the south, beginning with 1230, are full of Manchu exploits against the Niu-tchi. In 1147, according to the Chinese, the emperor of the Golden Enclosure, Hi-tzong, was defeated by the Mongols so severely that he accorded the title of king to their chief and ceded to him a part of the territory of Niu-tchi. According to the Manchu annals this Hi-tzong was a very bad emperor: "The fifth year Hoang-tong (1145), and in the fifth month, Hi-tzong began again to

drink with his officers without ceasing. The magistrates no longer dared to speak to him. He put the titular empress to death and abducted the wife of one of his generals. A short time afterwards he caused one of his wives to be killed. During an alcoholic debauch he put his son to death." One can easily imagine that this furious drunkard, execrated by his people, suffered the defeats of which the Chinese tell.

JENGHIZ KHAN AND THE MONGOLIAN EMPIRE

In 1162 the Mongols and the Keraites were in their turn conquered by the Manchus. This was the same year in which Temujine, the future Jenghiz Khan, came into the world. The Sungs were unwilling to incur the natural consequences of the defeat of 1162, and consequently Keraites and Mongols became at this time reconciled with the Manchus, so that thirty years later Temujine was a mercenary in their hire.

Life had been hard for him in his youth. He was the eldest of five brothers born of the same mother, and was only thirteen when his father died. This branch of the Borjiguenes was called Kiat (the avalanche). According to the Turkish and Mongolian custom the youngest brother, as we have seen, inherited the patrimonial domain. With a boy of thirteen to command the riders, to hold in check the landholders, to govern thirty thousand nomadic families following the profession of war, and with a child of five to guard the national sanctuary and the hearth, the state could not fail to fall apart. Scarcely was the mourning for Yesuguei finished, when the clan of the Taijiuts left the royal quarter where the nobles had without doubt been called together for the funeral ceremonies. Three-fourths of the other nobles followed the Taijiuts. One-fourth only remained loyal.

When the state fell the widow of Yesuguei summoned the few nobles who remained loyal and commanded them to mount. She put herself at their head, and carrying before them the standard of her dead husband gave chase to the deserters. Most of these galloped ahead and then dispersed in all directions in their haste to rejoin the *yurt* and to provide for their own safety. She caught up with the least expeditious, those who had no property to secure. When these men of war saw the widow, in her garments of mourning, holding in her hand the standard of battle about which they had so often ridden, their hearts reproached them; they turned about and followed the old banner. The widow led them back to a point near the sources of the Onon, where were planted "the standard with nine white tails," military symbol of the nation, and the "standard of the protecting genius of the Borjiguenes with four black tails," religious symbol of the Nirun. With the firm determination which had led her so bravely to hold the flag, the great widow undertook the regency. To her people she was known as "lady of honour, of counsel, of reason, and of cold resolution." Her family was related to the emperors Niu-tchi, of the Golden Enclosure, or to one of their great lords, for to her name Olun was added the Chinese title of Fu-jin—the dowager-princess, as we should say.

Yesuguei, before his death, had done his best to provide for the future of the young Temujine, of his brothers, and of his people. In the first place he had affiliated a new family in case of misfortune; he had pledged the cup with the grandson of Marghuz, the king of the Christian Kerait Turks, so that they became "brothers." This chief was called by his war name Toghrul, (the killer). Having fortified him on the west, he had arranged an alliance

[1182-1188 A.D.]

on the east with the powerful house of the Kungrads, which was allied with the Turks, the Tatars, and the trans-Sungarian Manchus; he had affianced him to Burte-Jujine, daughter of a Kungrad chief who was called Dai Setzene. She was only nine. The final marriage was concluded when Temujine was seventeen (1182-1183). He made the Kungrads enter the Mongolian confederation. When the great dowager had gathered around her son all the partisans she could find, and around the flag all the defenders she could muster, she took counsel. The alliance with the Kungrads would undoubtedly prove valuable when her son had grown up; but in the mean time they must live. The appeal to the Keraits was a last resort. Toghrul had a grown son, Sengun, whose rights as *auda*¹ over the people of Yesuguei he might be tempted to enforce. It was necessary that the lad should defend himself alone, at all risks and perils, and that his protector should never become a rival, a pretender. His mother found the man she needed. He was a person of high lineage called Minglig. The Mongols respectfully called him Etchigue, (father). This reverend father, St. Minglig, had a son who performed miracles; he was called Keuktche. It was related that he used to fly to heaven mounted on a horse the colour of the clouds, and that he conferred familiarly with Tangri (God). To hold the saint and his son, the doer of miracles, was to hold the sanctuary, to put Temujine under the protection of religion. The period of delay caused by widowhood was hardly finished when the great dowager married Minglig Etchigue. Now the young Temujine could wield his sword with a glad heart; she had kept the flag for him; she now gave him the sanctuary.

TEMUJINE'S FIRST BATTLES

Temujine proved himself a son worthy of his mother. In that terrible life of chance, which lasted until his thirty-second year, no trial was spared him; he emptied the cup of bitterness. Two heroic friendships sustained him, caused him, as we are told by Abulghazi, whom in his simplicity one likes to cite, "to taste the sweet and the bitter." These were the friendships of his rough brother Juji Khassar (Juji the Tiger) and of his faithful companion Bogorji. Relatives and neighbours from all sides had fallen upon the miserable remainder of Yesuguei's inheritance. The bitterest were the Taijiuts. The clan of the Niruns, the Juirats, also was inimical.

The Taijiuts and the Juirats tracked Temujine with fury. Their disagreements saved him. Ten times in the alternations of success and reverse, pressed by many enemies, the Borjiguene had had to take to the desert, scouring the country as a kazak among traps and ambushades. He never ceased to act like a king. This son of the lady "of high respect" won the respect both of enemies and friends. He had the genius of authority; even when reduced to extremity he begged aid of no one, but commanded it imperiously as an obligatory tribute due to his house. In 1189, being then twenty-seven years old, he was acknowledged as *khakan* (emperor) by the Arlads, on the field of Kerulun, and took the title of Sutu-Bogdo (given by God).

Either a little after or a little before his recognition by the Arlads, about 1188, it is certain that Temujine was strong enough to fight a pitched battle with the Taijiuts and with their confederates. The battle was fought at the sources of the Baljuna, a little affluent of the Ingoda, west of the Onon. The combat was fierce; six thousand confederates remained on the field. It

[Toghrul's son became *auda* or son to Yesuguei when "brotherhood" was pledged between the fathers.]

was the first great Mongolian victory. In this combat Temujine had divided his knights into bodies of a thousand men each. This division by a thousand, in an army of upper Asia in 1188, was an innovation, a veritable tactical revolution.

From 1187 to 1193, slowly and patiently, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by negotiations and marriages, Temujine established his authority over the tribes of Turkish origin—both Mongol and Tatar—situated at the mouth of the Gobi, between Kerulun and the Selenga, as far as the desert towards the south and as far as Ingoda towards the north. Further north, on the two sides of Lake Baikal, his old enemies the Tonguz Mergueds, who had collected those that remained of the Taijiuts and all the malcontents of the broken tribes which he was incorporating bit by bit into his future Mongolian Empire, still held out against him.

In 1193, after so many years of patience, he risked for the first time a political combination abroad. With the great good sense which characterised his genius, he chose a very modest undertaking, one proportionate to his forces and sure of success; one, moreover, which could serve as a point of departure for greater enterprises. Certainly when Temujine, in 1193, poorly established as he was in his dominion over a people made up of scattered tribes, and surrounded by suspected allies and threatening adversaries, conceived the idea of offering his services to the emperor of the Enclosure of Gold, to the hereditary enemy of his people and family, he had a far-seeing eye.

The affair was vigorously conducted, for the “emperor of Gold” paid well. Temujine received the Chinese brevet of “commander against the rebels,” and perhaps his university degree of Dai Ming, which he bears in the Mongolian legend among his titles of Sutu-Bogdo (son of heaven) and Tchinghiz Khakan (inflexible emperor).

Temujine shortly afterwards attempted a rash venture. He attacked the Solongos, the real Manchus. If he could have succeeded, all the Turkish nations of the extreme east, the Kungrads, to which nation his wife belonged, and above all the Kara-Khitaïs of Liao, the ancient masters of Peking and of northern China, would have arisen and acclaimed him ruler; he would have been the master of the eastern Turks, their avenger against the Manchus. Already he saw northern China open, Peking in his possession. But he undertook the enterprise too soon. He had miscalculated his forces and was beaten severely (1197). His faithful followers carried him half-dead from the battle-field.

The state which had been founded so painfully fell to pieces at one blow. Once again the “mother of nations”—the “lady of high honour”—re-established everything. Although old and broken, she seized the flag, mounted her horse, reunited the remnants of the army, reassured, supplicated, reminded the people of her husband Minglig, of the great St. Keuktehe. The valiant chief Mukhuli fought, overcame the enemy, and ended by repulsing him.^b

Little by little Temujine extended his domains. His chief rivals at this time were the Keraits and the Naimans, with the former of whom his father had sworn friendship. Sengun, the son of Toghrul, was jealous of his father’s “adopted” son Temujine and incited his father against him; when it came to the battle the Keraits were completely defeated; Toghrul, fleeing, was killed by vassals of the Naiman king; Sengun escaped to Tibet and died after miserable years of wandering. Soon after the defeat of the Keraits (1203) the Naimans were likewise overcome in a sanguinary battle.^a

[1203-1206 A.D.]

TEMUJINE TAKES THE IMPERIAL TITLE

The designs of Temujine regarding the Turks of Pentapolis, of Hexapolis, and of the marches of Transoxania were evidenced by the care which he gave to conciliating these people and by the precaution he took to teach their language and literature to his children. They finally decided him to move the seat of his government to the west. In 1206 he took up the standards of his family and of his tutelary saints to carry them to the old Turkish capital, to Karakorm. The act was decisive: to plant the standards at Karakorm was to raise again the ancient Hiong-nu Empire; it was to take the imperial title. Temujine took it. With the scrupulous legality which characterised his particular kind of despotism, he had first assembled the *kuriltai*, the general assembly of the Tarkhans. It was this general assembly which appointed the *khakans* and the *il-khans*, administered the oath, and assured to everyone his privileges.

But this worn-out title, this restricted power, was not what Temujine wanted. What was necessary to him was sovereign power, having no other limits than the law, and not open to dispute. The *kuriltai* granted it to him. He was Sutu-Bogdo, son of heaven; he became Tchinghiz, lord inflexible, immovable, absolute, autocratic. The law was introduced by him, and he swore to observe it. It consisted of the *yassak* and the *tura*; the name of the first signifies rule, the second usage, customary law, ordinance. The "inflexible" emperor was throughout his life the strict executor and punctilious slave of this body of laws, which codified the old Turkish and Mongol usages. No despot ever respected so faithfully a compact concluded between his peoples and himself. In the most terrible rigours of Jenghiz Khan his worst enemies have never been able to discover caprice. His worst tyrannies were the literal execution of the law and of the ordinance. No contemporary was deluded on the subject; Joinville and Marco Polo, the most directly informed, saw in him the firm legislator.

The unity of government and law established by the "inflexible" emperor had resulted in complete homogeneity of the nation. The *kuriltai* which hailed Temujine for its Jenghiz Khan, the assembly in which there figured nineteen Turkish and Tonguz peoples, with twenty-six Mongolian clans, properly so called, no longer represented a confederation of tribes but a homogeneous nation, in which the autonomy of the tribes was broken. Without doubt every tribe remembered its own genealogy, but only as a personal title. Taken as a whole, the people were now neither Nekrins, nor Urman-guts, nor Oirads, nor Taijiuts, nor Tatars, nor Mergueds, nor Naimans, nor Keraites, nor Barlass, nor Barins, nor Arlads, nor Jelairs. They were Mongols, the Blue Mongols, the first nation of the world. Proudly Jenghiz Khan spoke to them, when, before the *kuriltai*, surrounded by the sacred standards, and having beside him the great St. Keuktehe, descended from heaven, he swore the national oath: "This people, which in the face of tribulation and when I have been sorest pressed by adversity has made itself inseparable from my person; this people, which has accepted joys and sorrows with an equal cheer and has realised my idea in the form of an active government; this people, pure as rock crystal, which amidst all dangers has made its loyalty shine to the end of my efforts—I wish to have bear the name Blue Mongols. May it excel in power and glory!" To re-elevate the banner of the Hiong-nu Empire and of its heir, the Turkish Empire, was equivalent to a declaration of war upon northern China, the Enclosure of Gold.^b

Jenghiz Khan began the war against China in 1206 by attacking Hia, the present home of the Tanguts, a land occupied chiefly by brigands who were a terror to their neighbours, a land the occupation of which could be of great strategic advantage to him. In 1208 he drove the people of Hia out of Pentapolis, and by 1209 the north was conquered and Jenghiz Khan was free to march against the Chinese Empire. A change in ruler at this time relieved the scrupulous Temujine of his feudal obligations to the old emperor; he



JENGHIZ KHAN

(1162-1227)

insulted the ambassador of the new ruler, come to announce his succession to the throne, and the war began.^a

Enthusiasm beat high in the young Turkish and Mongolian army, tried by so many petty wars, and sent out now for the first time on an expedition of real importance. Jenghiz Khan, true leader of men if ever there was one, had imbued his men with conscience, with passion; he had lighted like a torch the idea of country, of nation. It is Abulghazi with his simple Turkish who

[1210-1241 A.D.]

gives the best impression of Jenghiz Khan's speech: "Then he gathered the assembly of the Mongol lords in a certain place and said to them: 'The emperors of China, that is those of Gold, have done much injury to my ancestors and to my relatives. Now, the very high God assures to me the victory. In this kingdom of China, upon the person of its emperor of Gold, he gives me the opportunity, the power, to revindicate the right of my ancestors.' " Jenghiz Khan's relatives formed the Turkish nation. All those of the east, Khitais, Ugurs, Karluks, Kungrads, Manguts and Onguts, Keraits and Naimans, Oirads and Torguts, the descendants of Oguz Khan, the children of Gray Wolf, hastened in the suite of Jenghiz Khan to avenge on the national army, on the Manchus, the ills which the Chinese had done to their ancestors, the Hiong-nu of old.

The Kins were totally unprepared. The poor emperor of the "superb beard," the noble and beautiful "imbecile," was taken unawares; his generals were without orders, his troops distributed in a cordon in the face of concentrated Mongols, and of a captain like Jebe. This prestidigitator commenced upon the brave Niu-tchi. He had before him two armies collected in haste, close to the defiles in the lower chain of the Khingan Mountains, by the Great Wall. One stronghold after another was taken.

The Niu-tchi nation had the power to recover itself after this terrible downfall. When the bewilderment of the first defeats had passed away its constancy and courage reasserted themselves. When, later, the Mongols, who were far from their country, attacked central Europe, two months (from the end of March to the middle of May, 1241) sufficed Sabutai, who was supported by the empire of Germany, for the defeat of the military forces of Poland, Siberia, Moravia, Bohemia, and Hungary; this same Sabutai, aided by Jebe and Mukhuli and many others, required twenty-four years, during which fighting was incessant (1210-1234), to get the better of the Niu-tchi, who were implanted in China, and were fighting against the people of Hia, against rebellion and the Chinese *jacquerie*, against the national dynasty of the Sung, against their implacable enemies of the Liao, and who were betrayed ten times during these tumultuous years by their own nobility. It was a great lord of royal blood, known as Hosao, an abominable traitor, who lured the faithful and loyal Turkan into ambush, assassinated him, and marched upon the capital. Five hundred men of the bourgeois militia—Chinamen—fought for the Manchurian emperor and were killed; it was a chamberlain, the eunuch Litze, who killed his sovereign. At the palace there was only one woman who showed any courage. She held the seal of the treasury and would not relinquish it. She fought, while insulting the officers of the palace, calling them cowards and ungrateful: "Steal the seal of state at the order of a rebel subject? I will die, but I will not give it up!"

One receives from this narrative an impression of loyalty, of popular honour, of high national dignity, which the Mongols did not fail to recognise. When, after the disaster of Tien-ling, the last surviving Manchu general—all the others had refused quarter—was led before the conqueror, he did not command the general to kneel, "for it was well known that he would refuse."

After the treason of Hosao, the new, legitimate sovereign Hwen-tzong continued the struggle; it was a fierce warfare without cessation. The Niu-tchi still directed successful campaigns against the people of Hia and against the Sung. Against the cold tactics of the able and tenacious Manchus, however, they were constantly unsuccessful. In 1215 Hwen-tzong accepted a treaty by which he recognised the protectorate of the Mongols over Liao, governed by a Kara-Khitai prince, to whom Jenghiz Khan gave the investiture, with

direct authority over a part of the Petcheli, over the Shansi, and over the Shensi. As security he gave his sister in marriage to Temujine and moved his capital to the north of the Yellow River, to Pian-king, the Kai-fung Fu of Marco Polo.^b Peace, however, was not accepted by the people. War began afresh. Jenghiz Khan sent forward one of his generals, while he remained at the centre ready to advance in either direction, "watching and governing."^a

The fifth month the Mongol army captured the capital of the Centre; General Tzong, who defended it, took poison; the others were killed by rebel soldiers. The tenth month the Mongols took the pass of Tong-kwan. Buluko was vanquished and killed. The disaster was complete (1216). In this downfall of the enemy, Sabutai, having nothing to do at his post, and disliking idleness, amused himself by conquering Korea. In 1217 Jenghiz Khan saw that affairs were progressing as he desired and that his presence in the country was no longer necessary. He left in China as his lieutenant the trustworthy and methodical Mukhuli, and gave him civil and military authority and thirty-five thousand men.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KHWAREZMIAN EMPIRE

The renown of Jenghiz Khan's victories had been prodigious among the Turks of Transoxania; the grandeur of Rome and that of the caliphate had not effaced in their minds the memory of an almost superstitious admiration for that China, model of all splendour, type of all empires, which had so often dazzled or conquered their fathers. At first they did not wholly believe in it. Muhammed the Fighter pressed with questions the ambassador whom Jenghiz Khan had sent him; this was a Moslem Turk, called Mahmud Yelvaj, who was fanatical in his nationalism and devoted body and soul to his master, the pagan emperor of the Mongols. "One day Muhammed took Mahmud to the chase and said to him: 'Thy khan, did he really conquer the land of China?'—and he detached from his arm a jewel of infinite value and made a present of it to Mahmud Yelvaj." The secrecy of the interview, the solemn oath which was taken, the attitude of those present, all betrayed anxiety. These Turks of the Occident felt that they could not successfully contest the game against a Turk who was master of China.

The sultan of Khwarezm, Persia, and Transoxania must indeed have been blind not to see the approaching storm. He was, moreover, a weak-headed individual, with all the faults of his race and none of its virtues. Ever since Jenghiz had won the name of "second Alexander," after his victory over the hunted and betrayed Kurkhan, Muhammed the Fighter was no longer sceptical. Southern Persia, Afghanistan, the marches of India were divided amongst a number of feudal lords, most of them of Turkish origin, calling themselves *atabegs*, "father governors," and using as their chief weapon the name of the spiritual sovereign of the caliph of Baghdad, who sold them the privilege of his suzerainty. The Fighter himself was only the delegate of the caliph through the heritage of the Seljuks. To attack the atabegs without asking permission of the pope of Baghdad was to revolt against him, to begin a "quarrel of investitures." The pope protested; the Fighter got angry, and, in an access of rage, marched upon Baghdad.

At the same time that he was quarrelling with the pope of Islam the Fighter was alienating his own subjects. In an access of fury after drinking, he killed the sheikh Madjd ad-din of Bokhara, the highest Moslem authority of his empire, the primate of Transoxania, accusing him of being the lover of his mother, the old Turkan Khatun. Become sober he perceived his mistake. The old

[1218-1219 A.D.]

empress was a Kankli, adored by all those riders among whom the voice of blood and of feudal relationship was so powerful. The clergy of the bigoted capital became agitated and preached in the mosques of Bokhara. "The sultan sent a platter filled with gold and precious stones to the sheikh Nedjm ad-din Kubrah and said to him, 'For this my sin give me absolution.' The sheikh replied, 'It is not with a ransom of gold and of precious stones, but with your head, mine, and those of thousands of people that your act will be redeemed.'" Through his Moslem agents Jenghiz Khan had been informed of all that transpired. He even received an embassy from the caliph urging him to begin hostilities; but, always punctilious in points of honour he wished not to open the breach until the sultan of Khwarezm had given him definite cause. In the mean while he put the sultan off his guard and flattered him through his ambassador. They ended by concluding a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance at the end of which was a little supplementary clause, seemingly insignificant, a commercial convention giving free passage to caravans coming from China across Turkestan and Transoxania. This relinquished to Jenghiz Khan the "silk route," the main road towards Irak and Rome. That which the Sassanids had refused to the Turkish il-khan of the sixth century at the risk of an alliance between him and Constantinople, the Fighter granted to his terrible friend Temujine, without weighing its consequences and as if it were a mere bagatelle. The treaty concluded, he set forth on his foolish expedition against the caliph. He bravely conquered the sultanates of Persia, became entangled in the snows of Armenia and Kurdistan, and came back excommunicated. The caliph forbade in the churches the *khotba*, or prayer for the sovereign. He put him under the ban of Islam, as a rebel, a schismatic, and a felon. That involved the release of all the Moslems, his subjects, from their oath of obedience. There had been a considerable number who had long been disposed to profit by the dispensation and to take sides openly with the great protector of all the Turks, the "inflexible" emperor. The governor of a frontier town precipitated matters in Turkish fashion; the great caravan had just come from China; he seized the merchandise and cut off the heads of the merchants. Denounced by Nedjm ad-din, excommunicated by the caliph, threatened by the Kanklis and by the nobility, upbraided by his mother and by his son Jelal ad-din, the unhappy Fighter did not dare to denounce the deed. Jenghiz Khan had sent him three ambassadors to demand reparation; he had one decapitated and drove off the two others. A month earlier Temujine had begun to mass troops on the Irtysh; as soon as the good news reached him he sent out his scouts in order to conceal his movements from the enemy, and to complete the concentration of his main army (1219).

The Khwarezmians were unprepared. With feverish haste the ardent Jelal ad-din collected his contingents, compelled his father to accompany him, that the troops might see the sultan at their head, and went to meet the Mongols. At the end of the year 1219, after a battle between the Karadagh and the lower Sir-Daria, Muhammed could no longer deceive himself. He took the step of re-entering Transoxania, and of assembling his great army behind the Sir, in the shelter of the strongholds which protected the passes. It was a terrible blow for Muhammed when in the first days of March he learned that the great Mongolian army had just emerged from the "red sands," that the cities of Zernuk and Nurata had surrendered, and that Jenghiz Khan was marching upon Bokhara. He understood that all was lost, and he fled to Samarkand.

Jenghiz Khan, concealing his march, had boldly crossed the desert of the red sands and emerged in Transoxania, marching thence straight upon Bo-

khara in the rear of the sultan of Kwarezm. The garrison of the city—twenty thousand men, say the Moslem chronicles—tried to cut its way out, probably hoping to rejoin the sultan at Samarkand; it was defeated, and Bokhara “the holy” opened its gates to the pagan emperor. “All the sheikhs, the mollahs, the muftis, all the inhabitants, great and small, went out from the city to put themselves at the mercy of the khan” (April, 1220). From Bokhara Jenghiz Khan hastened to Samarkand, where the sultan Muhammed had abandoned his army. There were there about forty thousand men, disorganised and demolished by the flight of the sultan and by the departure of Jelal ad-din. They bravely accepted battle and fell upon the Mongols, while these were manœuvring to invest the place, they repulsed them and made some among them prisoners, but the next day they were driven back behind the walls. The clergy and the citizens then took flight; the sheikh ul-Islam and the cadî opened one of the gates while the garrison was being massacred in the defence of the other gate.

The city escaped plunder by paying a tax of 200,000 pieces of gold, but thirty thousand men of arts and crafts had to leave their hearths to go to Kara-korm, to China, and to Siberia, to work for the “inflexible” emperor, his princes and his nobles. This was the commencement of the Mongolian system of recruiting by force, of compelling the service of artisans, of confiscating industries for the benefit of the nation. It was by their brutal requisitions of men that the Mongols renewed art and opened new paths for the imagination. “China owed to them the precious advantage of entering into communication with occidental civilisations and of participating for a century (1260-1368) in the vast movement of exchange which they promoted over the whole civilised world. In China, as everywhere else where they established themselves, the Mongols caused a moral revolution by bringing into relations with one another peoples which had till then been strangers.”¹

The first days of April, 1220, had arrived; during five months without one single pitched battle, two successful sieges, one of Bokhara, one of Samarkand—defended by a hundred thousand men who were poorly commanded and poorly organised, but who were brave—had enabled the Mongols to conquer Turkestan, Ferghana, and Transoxania. The four armies then joined forces before Samarkand. Jenghiz Khan could detach twenty-five thousand men for the conquest of the West. There is nothing in military history to be compared with that fantastic excursion of the twenty-five thousand from Samarkand to Feodosia and the Don. It was the most extraordinary folly which has ever been committed against war, a learned extravagance, a mathematically calculated romance, a reasonable absurdity. Precursors of the great conquest, they went at a gallop, marking out the stopping-places for the army which took fifteen years to follow them. The Persians, the Turks of Azerbaijan, the Armenians, the Georgians, the Circassians, the Alani, the Turks of the Kiptchak, the Venetians of the Crimea, the Russians, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarian Bashkirs saw pass in a whirlwind of dust the Mongolian standard, always victorious.^b

Jebe, the son of Jenghiz Khan, and the generals with him, who conducted the expedition, had orders to track the sultan Muhammed. They came up with him on the Caspian, “the sea of ravens,” but found that he had just been buried on an island near by. After a short halt to recuperate and obtain instructions from headquarters they continued their career of conquest, crossed the Caucasus, fell upon the Alans, the Circassians, and the Lesghians (old

¹ *Paléologue, l'Art Chinois.*

[1220-1226 A.D.]

Avars). The Kiptchaks, who had been in doubt whether to receive these newcomers as brothers or foes, when they saw them taking possession of their property and were too weak to resist, fled towards the west, towards the Don.^a This was desertion—an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the Mongols. It was necessary to bring the wandering Turkish lambs back to the fold and to chastise the leaders. Meanwhile, it was learned that a certain nation, called Russia, was taking the Kiptchaks under its protection. The Mongols determined to teach those Russians not to interfere in affairs which did not concern them, and to respect the orders of the “inflexible” emperor. After conquering Kalka (1223), Sabutai and Jebe hastened to the Dnieper. There they either received letters calling them back or else themselves decided to return. They must have been in correspondence with Jenghiz Khan. The two heroes led back those who were left of their twenty-five thousand men. Descending from the north they defeated the Bulgarians of Great Bulgaria, and on the Kama they gave themselves the pleasure of attacking the Turkish Kanklis settled in this region, and of killing their khan, who had the madness to obstruct their passage. Finally they re-entered the *ordu* (camp) of Jenghiz Khan. Jebe, being betrayed, died a short time afterwards. Sabutai survived him.^b

While this conquest was taking place in the west, Jelal ad-din, son of Muhammed, raised a revolt in Khwarezm, rallying the atabegs and the districts of Ghazni and Kabul to his cause. The rising was put down with cruel severity on the part of Jenghiz Khan. One characteristic of this great monarch, however, was that he never made war on religion. Pagans, Christians, and Moslems were united around his council table and he was equally just towards all.^a

At last Asia was in subjection; from Nan-lu and Pe-lu as far as the Caspian and Caucasus, the Turks dominated, the Iranian was subdued, the Mongolian recognised; Jenghiz Khan could return home (1225). Never before had there reigned so profound a peace. “During nineteen years, from the year of the Dragon to the year of the Dog, the sovereign employed himself by establishing law and order among his great people; he founded the empire and the government on a solid basis, procured peaceful labour for his people, and increased prosperity to such a degree that nothing can compare with the happiness of the khakan and of his subjects.” His sons, with the exception of Juji (the eldest), who had remained in the west, in Khwarezm, had rejoined him since the beginning of 1223. When Juji died at Sarai on the lower Volga, his son Batu received from the emperor the investiture of his father’s dignities and power in Kiptchak. In Pe-lu Jenghiz Khan installed his younger son Jagatai, who took up his residence in Almalik; thence he governed Turkestan, Transoxania, Khorasan, watched over Irak, the roads to Rum, and the feudal government of the atabegs in the Iranian land. The emperor took with him his two youngest, Ogdai and Tulé.

It was time that he returned. Mukhuli had just died in China; Jenghiz Khan’s own brother, the legendary Juji the Tiger, having been detained at home in idleness, had become bored and had begun to intrigue and to create a party; finally the people of Hia, suspected allies, and the wild Tibetans, hearing in the depths of their mountains no talk of emperor or of army, knowing that Mukhuli was dead, and seeing affairs balanced between the Mongols, the Kins, and the Sung, thought that their time had come.^b Jenghiz Khan first won back his brother to his former loyalty, then sent Sabutai against China, whilst he himself dealt with the people of Hia.^a From 1225 to the end of 1226 the land of Hia, the Ho-si, “at the mouth of the river” of the Chinese, between Hwangho and the Hexapolis, was fearfully devastated. The brigands

of Ala-shan and of Kan-su were exterminated with such terrible slaughter that even to-day, according to one traveller, the inhabitants of Ala-shan hear in the desert the wailing of the souls of the people massacred by the Mongols.

Order being established in the Ho-si, Jenghiz Khan started through China on a tour of inspection. He fell ill on the journey and died in some small town in Shan-si. One party wished to take the body on its funeral car, "decorated with five standards," to the Turkish capital of Karakorm; "the car refused to move." Then the old companion-at-arms of Jenghiz, the old Kilukene, spoke to the emperor: "Son of heaven, wilt thou remain here alone, and abandon thy great people? Deligun-buldak, on the border of the Onon, the place of thy birth—all is yonder. The field of Kerulun, where thou wast proclaimed emperor—all is yonder. Thy great people, very faithful—all are yonder." The car, which had been motionless, began to move and rolled towards Deligun-buldak. The Mongolian faction triumphed over the Turkish; from that time it could be foreseen that Karakorm, the Turkish, would be only the occasional capital, that the imperial throne would not stay there but would be moved into Chinese territory, to Peking, for there could be no question of establishing a capital at Deligun-buldak; it was necessary to choose between the West and the East, between Turkish Asia and China. The Mongols chose China; the day after the death of Jenghiz the dissolution of his empire was inevitable.

THE SUCCESSORS OF JENGHIZ KHAN

"Pay good heed to the words of the little Khubilai; they are full of wisdom," said the emperor at the end of his life. This little Khubilai was the son of Tulé. It was understood that the hereditary domain, Deligun-buldak, the holy places near Orkhon, and the city of Karakorm would fall to him. But the acquisitions, how would they be disposed of? And the empire—that empire "founded on horseback but which could not be governed on horseback"—who would have a hand strong enough to govern it? For the first time those indomitable conquerors hesitated. The "inflexible" emperor was no longer there; whom were they to choose as khan, "power of heaven," on the earth? After his death Jenghiz seemed so great that no one dared take his place. They were inspired with his spirit and administered affairs according to the *yassak*. Tulé, preserving the hearths on Orkhon and on Onon, governed the hereditary peoples—Mongols and Keraits—directly. Over the others he ruled at intervals like a regent established to guard the national compact. He had the seals, and his father's ministers, but he was never proclaimed ruler.

Juji's son Batu, who was afterwards called Sain Khan (the Debonnair), was away off in the west willingly leading a nomadic life between his headquarters at Sarai on the Volga and his fair fields of the Kuban, north of the Caucasus. He governed with comparative quiet over the Kiptchaks, Kirghizes, Bulgarians, Bashkirs, Russians, and others, fighting against those who were unsubmissive, without particular exertion; he had no orders from the khan; there even was no khan. Receiving no orders, the Debonnair managed his peoples and enjoyed life.

Jagatai had received the investiture of Transoxania and Khorasan while his father was still alive. The struggle was plainly beginning between the Mongolian conception of a lay state based on nationality and the Moslem idea of a state founded on religion without distinction of nationality. With the great Timur, however, who was thoroughly Turkish in heart and spirit,

[1229-1241 A.D.]

the state founded on religion, that is to say, on the *shariat*, the Moslem law, was to gain the victory. Under the vigorous administration of Jagatai the national idea became so prominent that it has been preserved in the most durable form—that of language. The Turkish dialect actually written and spoken in the countries governed by Jagatai in the thirteenth century is still called by his name, *Jagatai Turkisi*, or Turkish of Jagatai. If Jenghiz Khan was the father of a people, his son Jagatai was godfather to a language.

In 1229 the great empire became tired of waiting; an emperor was needed. The council of Tulé, directed by Ye-lu-tchutsai, formulated into a testament the verbal instructions which Jenghiz Khan had given his people and which designated the insignificant Ogdai as his successor. The action of Ye-lu-tchutsai and of the Chinese party is visible in the election of 1229. Ogdai was their man; it was to China that they first conducted the emperor; after Tulé was dead (October, 1232) they sequestered Ogdai Khan at Karakorm, made him assent to all they wished, and left him drunk. He died of alcoholic poisoning on March 11th, 1241.

Ye-lu-tchutsai had prepared the way for the removal of all obstacles from the inheritance of Tulé. In the *kuriltai*, the "general assembly" had decided that the imperial succession should remain in the house of Ogdai, the first khan elected after Jenghiz Khan. The Chinese party had pretended to accept him, but it surreptitiously kept in reserve that "little Khubilai" whose "wise words" had been vaunted by Jenghiz Khan. To avoid all rivalry of the elder branch, Batu was sent into the west to make conquests; on the same occasion the Chinese party got rid of the children of Ogdai, the legitimate heirs, and of those of Jagatai, the eventual heirs, to whom was due the honour and the accustomed right of going to fight as far away from home as possible.

When the Mongols completed the conquest of the whole of China, that of the Sung after that of the Kins, they had already been conquered by her. After 1230 the Chinese spirit and that of the Uigurs, who had long since become Chinese, began to appear in the formidable fiscal system, in the Mongolian bureaucracy and red tape. The sovereignty of Ogdai (April, 1229-December 11th, 1241) was a government of compromise between the Chinese party who did not wish the "empire to be governed on horseback," and who dreamed of the ancient glory of the Hans and the Tangs under a Mongolian dynasty become sufficiently Chinese, and between the Turkish party who wished only the "empire on horseback," with its policy of enforced conquest—conquest pursued to the extreme limits of the territories within which those furious patriots, those chauvinistic fanatics imagined that they would find Turks.

BUDDHISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM

When there were no longer any Turks, they would imagine Turks! For them there were Turks everywhere, for it was now the whole face of the earth which they desired to conquer. *Tarikh-i-jihan Kushai*, "chronicle of the conquest of the world," is the name Juveini gives to his annals. An imaginary testament of the "inflexible" emperor is invented; the conquest of the world is so much an article of faith that Plan-Carpin believes in the existence of the testament. From this time on the Buddhists rally to the side of the Chinese "government," the Moslems and Christians to the party "on horseback"—the party of enforced war and of conquest. Buddhism was passing through a crisis; it was emerging from its long evangelic and purely doctri-

nary period and was taking shape, was founding a church. The lamian reform, the establishment of a hierarchy, was accomplished at the same time as the great Mongolian centralisation; the khan and the dalai-lama, the emperor and the pope, were twins; it was inevitable that the emperor should adopt the religion of the pope. This Buddhist papacy is individualistic in so far as it was founded by anchorites "of the country of above," on the terrible plateaus of Tibet, in the desert, in the midst of acknowledged brigands and sanguinary savages, the highwaymen of Hia. At the time of Marco Polo it was still said that the Tibetans were anthropophagous. Among the glaciers and precipices the Buddhist anchorites established their enormous monasteries, watched the Mongolian catechumen, the conqueror of the world, made of him their armed knight in China, against the Taoist, against the Manichæan dualist, against the philosopher of the school of Confucius.

The Nestorian Christians had no church properly speaking. Their liturgy was Syriac, that is to say, almost Arabic; their bishoprics were Almalik, Mongolian country, and Merv, country conquered by the Mongols; their language, their nationality were Turkish and Mongolian. Were there a crusade against the adorers of the impostor Mohammed or a Mongolian war against the Seljuks of Rum, against the Tajaks, against the Iranians, against the caliph, they assembled as to a *fête*. The Turkish Moslems dreamed of the conversion of the khan, of an empire of Bokhara, of a Turkish pope in Transoxania, of the extermination of the Iranian heretics. Like their Christian compatriots, they asked nothing better than to attack the West and to put it to the sword.

ATTEMPTED REACTION OF KHWAREZMIANS

A singular thing was now seen—the defence of the caliphate, upheld against the orthodox Moslem Jelal ad-din, by pagans, Buddhists, Christians, and by Mongolian Moslems, who were to suppress the caliphate as soon as its orthodox enemy had disappeared; and this extravagance was perfectly logical. When Jelal ad-din, thirsting for revenge, returned suddenly from India after the death of the "inflexible" emperor and aroused Iran against the Mongols, his first thought of vengeance was against the caliph. His was a triumphal march (1225-1226). In the Iranian country, at Ispahan, this Turk was welcomed, and he attempted to resuscitate the old Iran of the *Shahnameh* and to oppose it to the Mongolian Turan. When the Persians saw Jelal ad-din arrive with four thousand faithful riders brought from the heart of India, with his wife, the daughter of the sultan of Delhi, with his exotic train as of a wandering knight, their southern imagination took fire; it was Rustam in person returning from the land of elephants, and with him Timur-melek, the "paladin," the hero of Khodjend. There was an explosion of knightly and literary enthusiasm. In Kirman, Jelal married the daughter of the sultan Berak; in Fars, the daughter of the atabeg Saad; never was such a maker of marriages seen before. In a few weeks the feudal marriages and popular enthusiasm created an empire for him and gave him an army. He held all of Persia and Khorasan. Princes and sultans rode among his companions of adventure, and a great lord, the chatelaine of Nish, was his secretary.

The year 1227 arrived. "The inflexible" emperor was dead; his successor had not been chosen; the best troops and the best generals were engaged in China in a fierce warfare; the Iranian people hailed a Turkish prince; the Shiites were taking fire for his cause, seeing in him an enemy to the orthodox

[1220-1231 A.D.]

caliph; the Turkish military nobility of the south and west, proprietors of estates since the time of the Seljuks, furious at the parvenus from the north and east, hastened to his standard. The proof that the Mongolian invasion between 1220 and 1225 was not an irruption but an organised conquest lies in the fact that in Khorasan proper, in Transoxania, in Khwarezm, where Jelal ad-din's father and ancestors had reigned, not without honour, there was no uprising. In cities like Bokhara, where the influence of the students—an always turbulent element in Moslem society—was so great that after 1230 the good dowager-empress Serkuteni, a Christian and the widow of Tulé, built a college for them, everything was quiet. The Mongols had succeeded in imposing themselves on the nation; they had done it through the Turkish nationality, through the skill of administrators such as Mahmud Yelvaj and Masud, through the strong discipline of a king like Jagatai, and through the prudent goodness of their empresses and queens.

That the bold and adventurous Jelal ad-din dreamed of recommencing the Seljuk romance is possible, but that he saw from the beginning why it was too late is probable. He lacked the material for the romance; the Turkish riders, those atabegs who welcomed him, had become Iranian and were knights of the *Shahnameh*; the real Turk—the soldier—had rallied to the great family; body and soul he had given himself to the khan. With a remarkable surety of vision the counsellors of Jagatai saw at once that the knights of Jelal ad-din could do nothing against Mongolian corporatism and Turkish chauvinism. They gave free rein to the hero of romance. He fought desperately, now as king, now as captain of unorganised soldiers, prolonging the adventure during six heroic years (1226-1231), but without once being able to encroach upon Mongolian territory. Finally this son of an emperor perished in a miserable ambushade of a Kurdish landowner in Asia Minor. His highwaymen enlisted in Rum and continued their life of adventure. They were found wherever there was fighting. Most of them went into Syria, braving Moslems and Christians together, fighting furiously against everyone they met.



TURKISH USHER

CONQUESTS IN EUROPE

The command in the west belonged legally to Batu. In order to prevail upon the Debonnair to march, Sabutai was sent to him as adviser and his staff as a council. Never was a conqueror so rudely led about as poor Batu. Sabutai reprimanded him on every occasion; his cousins of the younger branches mocked him, two especially, Guyuk, a drunkard, and Buri, a brutal swordsman. Batu was a conqueror in spite of himself. At the height of his glory he complained in writing to the khan Ogdai: "O emperor, my uncle,

the eleven nations have been subdued. On the return of the army a banquet was held; all the princes were present. Being the eldest, I emptied one or two goblets of wine before the others. Buri and Guyuk became furious, left the banquet, mounted their horses and vilified me. Buri said: 'Batu is not my superior; why did he drink before me? He is a bearded old woman; I could knock him down at a blow.' Guyuk said: 'He is an armed old woman; I shall have him beaten.' Another proposed to fasten a wooden tail to me. Such is the language held by the princes when we meet to deliberate on serious questions after a war with so many nations." It was Sabutai the soldier who conducted to its ultimate success this invasion of eastern and central Europe—an invasion which founded the Mongolian dominion in Russia, and which humiliated the knighthood of Poland, of Bohemia, of Germany, and of Hungary.

What was the fighting number of the Mongolian armies which marched victoriously from the Ural and the Volga to the Danube and the Adriatic? The Mongolian, Turkish, and Chinese chroniclers give in all 150,000 men. The number is large enough if we take into account the mass of horses, the state of the roads, and the extreme poverty of the countries traversed. The miracle is not that Sabutai defeated the Hungarians and Germans, but that he succeeded in conducting one hundred and fifty thousand men of regular troops across Russia, Poland, the Carpathians, to the Danube and the Adriatic, and was able to bring them together at the appointed time and place. The great mass of the troops came from China, as is seen by the names of the army corps and by those of their chiefs.

When Kiev was taken and its defender Dmitri made prisoner, the Mongolian princes tried to get away; Meungke and Guyuk were devoured with anxiety. It was known that the khan was ill. Suppose, thought they, that he should die and the kuriltai get the election in their absence. Batu, for his part, had seen enough conquests; the Debonnair tried to escape on the sly. Meungke was the first who succeeded in escaping; Guyuk did not desert until after the victory. Batu remained under the hand of iron, and had to march whether he would or no, and to follow the orders given him respectfully by his terrible servitor—Sabutai the Soldier. That which the Soldier wished was the absolute submission of the Kiptchaks, of the Bulgars, and of the Magyars; it would have been a national disgrace not to pursue their policy to its end, not to subdue the hosts which had emigrated from great Hungary, from great Bulgaria to the distant lands of the *Tuna*. The Debonnair well knew that he could not withdraw; the troops would not have obeyed him. Then he invaded Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Illyria, clear to the Adriatic. The Mongolians went as far as Udine.

The Venetians, who were so near to Udine by land, did not have an emotion; they knew with what they had to deal. But that the pope and the German emperor should have rested so tranquil, that the Mongolians should not have marched upon Vienna, and that encounters between them and the imperial troops should have been limited to a few skirmishes (which have the appearance of being arranged beforehand) is a mystery which may be left to investigators.

THE ELECTION OF GUYUK

On December 11th, 1241, Ogdoi died. When the news became officially known in Hungary, in 1242, it was no longer possible to retain Batu. Sabutai recognised that fact and took steps to evacuate the country from the Adriatic

[1242-1271 A.D.]

and the marches of Treviso to the Dniester. Europe being conquered, the khan being dead, the honour of the flag safe, he had now only to obey his lord the Sain khan. While the main bulk of the army was evacuating the country by short stages, following Batu, who had gone ahead with his guard, Kadan and Kaidu made an offensive movement towards the west and put everything to sack to prove that the Mongols were going only because they wished to. They proclaimed with bugle and cry their clemency to Germany. No one was deceived about it; everyone understood the insult to the Teutonic empire which they disdained to conquer. The emperor did not bestir himself. The pope made his decision and sent an embassy to the khan.

The legate, who did not arrive in time to make his remonstrances to the "barbarians" while they were devastating Europe, was present at the moment of the triumphal coronation of their emperor, and by his presence added to the pomp of that extraordinary ceremony. There were present at the kuriltai, at the "field of the cloth of gold," *Sira ordu*, a world of kings, princes, ambassadors—some come as solicitors, some as negotiators, and all full of anxiety. There were present, side by side, the legate of the caliph of Baghdad, who was the pope of Islam, and the legate of the "Apostolle" of Rome, who was the pope of Christendom. The glorious old man, whose sword had placed the assembly of kings at the feet of the Mongolian emperor, was not there for long. Before the *fêtes* were over Sabutai mounted his horse to take command of the army in the south of China; he gained his last victories on the banks of the Blue River (1247-1248); then feeling tired he asked for leave, and returned to die peacefully in his *yrte*, on his corner of land off yonder in the north, on the banks of the Tula. From Korea to Friuli, he had conquered thirty-two nations and had gained sixty-five pitched battles.

Among the high authorities present at the ceremony of coronation we must mention also the Christian emperor Kerkuteni, the empress Turakina, and the princess Ogul-Gaimish, wife of Guyuk; these last two alone conducted the election; Turakina died two months afterwards, triumphant.

SUCCESSORS OF GUYUK

After the death of Guyuk, when the Chinese party triumphed (1252), and elected Meungke, its first act was to bring an accusation against Ogul-Gaimish; she was condemned to death together with the princes of the house of Ogdai. Ogdai's grandson Kaidu, a pupil of the great Sabutai, did not accept the proscription and protested; they succeeded in appeasing him by giving him Almalik and Pentopolis, but in 1264, when Meungke died, civil war broke out. It ended in the triumph of Khubilai and in the installation of the capital at Peking, *Khan-balik*, "imperial capital." In 1271, after a long struggle for reform and after an attempt to introduce into the country a new orthography recommended by the Tibetan lama, P'hags-pa, Khubilai adopted the Chinese writing in his chancellery, the Buddhist religion in his ceremonies, the Chinese rites in his court, the Chinese name Shi-tsu for his person, and the Chinese title Yuan for his dynasty. The old prophecy had been accomplished; the Kut-dagh, the mountain of Power, had been transported from the old Uigur country to China, from Karakorm to Peking.

The Chinese relate a melancholy anecdote of Khubilai. When his splendid palace at Khan-balik was finished, he had some seeds from the steppes planted in a court, and, showing this diminutive field to his children, said to

them: "Remember your ancestors; preserve this field; it is the grass of modest simplicity."

The election of Khubilai frustrated not only the plans of Arik-buga, Khubilai's younger brother, but also those of Hulagu, another younger brother. He was disposed of by receiving a magnificent compensation—the Moslem Occident to conquer. The Moslem national party with much political good sense accepted this Chinese and Christian project, and furthered it with all its might. Rashid assures us that a plan of conquest was proposed by Meungke in person. The orders which Meungke gave to his brother are very characteristic: "Thou shalt go to the country of Turan in the province of Iran; the customs and the *yassak* of Jenghiz Khan in their totality and in their most minute details thou shalt impose from the banks of the Jihun (Amu-Daria) to the farthest part of the country of Egypt. Do not fail under all circumstances to consult Dokuz-khatun, and to take her advice." To explain the importance of this last counsel, the submission to Dokuz-khatun, we give fragments of a sketch which the Moslem Rashid, in a book written for Moslems, makes of this princess: "She belonged to the great nation of the Keraites, was daughter of Iku, the son of Ong Khan. As the Keraites had long since embraced Christianity, Dokuz-khatun constantly protected the Christians, who during her whole life were in a prosperous condition. Hulagu, for the sake of pleasing this princess, heaped the Christians with favours and with tokens of his consideration; this was carried so far that new churches were raised daily; and at the gate of the *ordu* of Dokuz-khatun a chapel was established permanently and bells were rung there." The general commanding the Mongolian army, the Namian Kitboga, was a Christian. At the same time that the vanguard of Kitboga was marching against the caliph the envoys of the khan were sent to St. Louis in Cyprus. The good king, to whom the emperor of China, the first military power in the world, offered a firm alliance against the Moslems with the promise of ceding Syria to France, replied to this embassy by sending a beautiful little *chapelle* with two monks. St. Louis received in reply a most cavalierlike letter, in which the khan treated him like a vassal. The candour of St. Louis, the unintelligent bigotry of the monk Rubruquis, sent by him to Meungke, the narrowness of judgment and the lack of information manifested in every line of his correspondence, which is full of eloquence but lacking in seriousness, saved Islam, which was hard pressed between the French crusade and the Mongolian. Profiting by the great mistake of the crusaders, all those who hated the Mongols—namely, the people of Kiptchak who had been deported by Sabutai, the last opponents of Jelal ad-din—poured into Egypt and flocked to the Moslem standard which was raised against the French. These old highwaymen of Kiptchak, who had conquered at Mansurah (1250), could not believe that the French were not allies of the khan. Joinville well remembers them with their vermilion flags notched in Chinese fashion.

While the crusade of St. Louis was ending in failure in Egypt, that of Dokuz-khatun was carrying everything before it in Persia, in Rum, in Mesopotamia, and in central Syria. The Ismailians were crushed, their eyrie at Alamut captured, Persia conquered, Baghdad held at bay. "Sunday, the fourth day of the month Safar of the year 656 (1258), the caliph went out of Baghdad; he had with him his three sons and three thousand persons, *suids*, *imams*, *cadis*; he presented himself before Hulagu, who displayed no anger against him and questioned him with gentleness and kindness, after which he said to him: 'Command the inhabitants of Baghdad to lay down their arms so that we may take the census.' The caliph despatched a deputy who proclaimed in the

[1260-1274 A.D.]

streets of the city that the population should put down its arms and go outside the walls. The disarmed inhabitants came in troops to surrender to the Mongols, who massacred them immediately."

Syria was not slow in being conquered, with Aleppo and Damascus (1260). But the Kiptchaks, the Khwarezmians of the sultan of Egypt, Saif ad-din Kotuz, defeated Kitboga near Ain-jalut in Palestine. He who commanded the Moslems under the orders of Kotuz was an adventurer of the Kiptchak tribe, called Bibars, the Panther, surnamed Bondokar, the Crossbow-man, whom the Venetians had bought from the Mongolians and sold to the Mamelukes. Victor for the faith, the Panther stabbed his master, took into his pay the last assassins who had been hunted down by the Mongols, pulled down the churches which the devoted Dokuz-khatun had built in Syria, drove out the Franks from Cæsarea, Arsuf, Jaffa, and Antioch, created one after another two pseudocaliphates, of which he got rid as soon as they troubled him. Against the Mongols he incited the most dangerous enemy they could positively have—that is to say, themselves. His agents converted to Islam the khan of Kiptchak, Bereke, the brother of Batu (1262). War broke out between the Mongolian empire of Persia and the Mongolian empire of Russia; it was put down by the khan of Peking; then, as Peking was far away, it broke out again. The struggle was beginning between the *yassak*, the Mongolian national law, and the *shariat*, the Moslem religious law. The national empire founded by Jenghiz Khan was to break up into territorial divisions and into confessional groups.

THE LAST JENGHIZ KHANIDS

After the triumph of the Chinese party in the election of Meungke and then of Khubilai, the immense Mongolian Empire tended to become broken up into independent states. The emperor of Peking was led by force of circumstances to allow the autonomy of his representatives to develop in Transoxania, Persia, and Kiptchak.

For his distant wars the emperor of Peking could not get along without the Chinese; the Mongolian generals of the old stock, those great manœuvrers, brought up in the school of Sabutai, like Baian, who was the military glory of the end of the century, understood nothing of marine warfare. The expeditions to Japan were disasters. The armada of 1274 numbered no less than nine hundred vessels, carrying seventy thousand Chinese and Koreans and thirty thousand Mongols; the generals did not agree, and a tempest dispersed the fleet; of the vessels which were thrown on the island of Ping-hu, "no one ever heard again," say the Japanese. The Japanese gave no quarter to the Chinese; but the Turks, the Mongols, and, without doubt, the western mercenaries, had their lives spared and were sold as slaves. A second expedition failed even before the start. It became necessary to give up Japan.

In Yuman, at Tongking, in Burma, in every place to which the Mongols had access by land, victory remained with them; but even then in spite of success the Chinese contingent, without which they could accomplish nothing enduring, slipped away. The Mongolian generals gained battles and took cities, but fever and sunstroke, more dangerous than the arrows of the Annamites and the elements of the Burmese, decimated their Siberian, Transoxanian, Alan, and Russian soldiers. After every conquest they demanded recall. If they remained, these men of the north melted away in the sun. Finally they paid no more attention to Indo-China; but the seizure by the Mongols of the great

peninsula was not forgotten by the Chinese dynasty which succeeded them; the route was marked out; the Chinese, again become masters at home, took it for themselves.

THE GREAT COMMERCIAL ROUTES

In spite of the check they had met with in Japan and of their disasters in Indo-China and at Java, the Mongols had reached the sea. By the end of the thirteenth century they thus had three ways of communicating with the West: the two land routes, that of Pe-lu, continually interrupted by revolt in the marches, and that of Nan-lu, now at the discretion of the sultans of Transoxania, who were aiming more and more at autonomy; and the old maritime route. This last had been the route of the Chinese and of the Arabs. It lay between Canton and the mouth of the Euphrates, near the peninsula of Malacca, Ceylon, and the ports of India, and led from the land of the khan to that of his cousin and vassal, the pagan successor of the caliph, who was the il-khan of Persia and of Irak. It became simpler to go from upper Asia to Asia Minor and to the Mediterranean by crossing well-policed China and by taking the sea at Canton than to risk being plundered in the warlike marches or to endure the custom-houses and the exactions between Transoxania and Persia. Thus the union of Asia under one continental domination had the singular result of reopening the maritime to the detriment of the continental routes, for the possession of which Chinese, and after them Turks and Mongols, had fought for centuries. The Mongolian Empire bulged out towards China and the sea, losing contact with its veritable point of support, the country between the Blue Altai, the Celestial mountains, and the Black Mountain (Karadagh), the old country of the real Kankli Turks.

As long as the sultans of Persia and Transoxania remained pagan, that is to say, neutral in religious matters, one could be certain that the relations between the Mongolian emperor of China, hereafter Buddhist, and his occidental vassals would be loyal, and that communications would remain open and regular between their states as long as might be permitted by the perils of the sea in the south and by the hazards of politics in the north. On the Nan-lu and Pe-lu routes the old antagonism between Iran and Turan was re-awakening, between the people of the north in the marches and the people of the south in Transoxania and Persia, between rural people whom the transfer of the capital to Peking abandoned to a nomadic life, and citizens whom the attraction of the great cities like Bokhara and Samarkand reduced to inertia. The sultans of Transoxania did not see without jealousy the greatness of their cousins, sovereigns in Persia, heirs of the caliphate all-powerful in the country of Rum, masters of the best roads which led to the Occident, while they themselves were only guardians of a disputed passage, under the vigilant control of the khan. The situation of their states made them arbiters between the marches, Kiptchak, and Persia. If they became Moslem, if the religious ferment were added to the political, the Mongolian Empire would assuredly be cut in two.

RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION

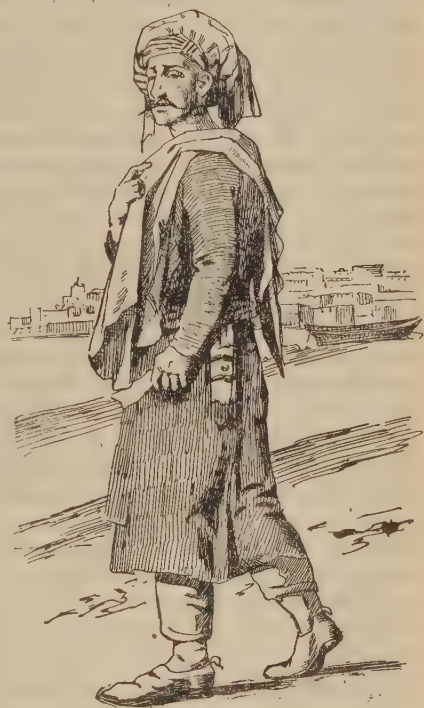
For two centuries and more Islam had been seducing all the old Iranian families and with them the Turkish families who were in possession in the country. Christianity was declining together with the prosperity of Almalik and Pentapolis, where it had its spiritual capitals and its fortified strongholds;

[1292-1371 A.D.]

it was becoming an urban religion, and was losing ground in the devastated country. Christian men-at-arms were no longer seen in the Mongolian armies.

The Latin church by its zeal contributed to the decay of Christianity among the Turks. Nestorianism, planted centuries before, had had time to take root; it held to the soil like a national, indigenous plant; Roman Catholicism was only a religion of strangers. A Turkish Christian, converted by a Latin missionary, entered the bosom of the universal church, but he emerged from the national union; he was a deserter. It was towards 1292, during the lifetime of Khubilai, that the Franciscan, Jean de Montcorvin, sent by Pope Nicholas IV, arrived in China. The success of his mission had been so great that in 1307 Pope Clement V sent him seven minor brothers, with the rank of bishops, who were to consecrate Montcorvin as archbishop of Khan-balik (Peking) and primate of all the extreme Orient. They were to be his suffragans. In 1312 Clement V sent three more suffragans to the archbishop of Peking; brothers of Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence. In 1320 this Jerome was appointed bishop in the Crimea. It is seen from this transference of the bishop Jerome, suffragan at Peking, that the government of the Latin church in the Mongolian Empire was partially adapted to the relations existing between the suzerain state of the khan and the khan's vassals, such as those of Kiptchak Crimea. In 1333 Montcorvin died at Ili-balik; a Frenchman, Nicholas, former professor of theology in the faculty of Paris, succeeded him. In 1338 a Franciscan mission, with Richard de Bourgoigne as its chief, was founded in Pe-lu in the territory of Ili, in the domain of Nestorianism; this compromised the native Christian population and brought the two forms of Christianity into conflict. The result was inevitable. Christianity was destroyed in 1342. The Chinese reaction against the Mongols and against all that recalled their domination completed the ruin of Christianity in China. Francis of Podio, sent as legate to China with twelve companions (1371), disappeared without leaving any trace. James of Florence, fifth bishop of Zeitun, was massacred in 1362. Nestorianism left to itself might have survived; the intermixture of foreigners was disastrous to it.

While Christianity was declining, Islam was gaining ground. With a marvellous insight it adapted the form of its doctrine to the people whom it wished to reach, becoming apostolic in Kiptchak, mystic in Transoxania, political and literary in Persia and in the marches. In China it gave way to Buddhism, bent its neck, and resigned itself, interfering only in finance and business; it was only by such means that it could hope to live; Islam, which is supposed to be so rigid, showed the most extraordinary pliability in Mongolian Asia; it knew how to lend itself to every need, to profit by every occasion, to cede its dogma



COSTUME WORN ON THE COAST OF SYRIA

without a scruple. The redoubtable soudan of Egypt, Bibars, had understood marvellously well the use to be derived from Islam; in his struggle against the Mongols, which was supported by all the fierceness of a vindictive Kiptchak, his extraordinary policy surpassed the common skill of a brave and crafty soldier of fortune. He had flashes of genius. The sudden conversion of Bereke, the khan of Kiptchak (1262), and of the princes of the house of Juji, who were more than half Christian, would be inexplicable were it not for the alliance of Kiptchak and Egypt against the Mongolian sultans of Persia. Undoubtedly many of the Kiptchak men-at-arms in southern Russia were Moslems, but the reigning family was not; at the same time that the Mongols and the Turks of Russia were adopting Islam, the Kumani, or Kiptchaks of Hungary, were being converted to Latin Christianity. If the missionaries who converted the Jenghiz Khanids and their Kiptchak subjects in Russia to Islam were not the agents of Bibars, they at least served him faithfully. They were not slow in informing him of their success, for the alliance of Russian Mongolia and Egypt and the conversion of the prince of the house of Juji are simultaneous. Master in Cairo and master in Syria, the Kiptchak adventurer who had conquered the Christian crusaders with St. Louis, and the Mongolian crusaders with Kitboga, held in reserve the caliphs of his creation, giving them up to the Mongols of Persia when they became troublesome; he tamed the fanatical Assassins, and made them hired murderers in his service; he humbly associated the name of the sultan of Kiptchak with his own in the public prayer, and conspired against him, protesting his devotion to the pagan khan of Peking. He had a perfect understanding with the Venetians and knew them well—he, the old crossbow-man, sold by their slave dealers as a recruit beyond the sea into Egypt. He counselled the people of Kiptchak to make an alliance with Byzantium, which should control land and sea, through his possessions in Egypt and Syria. His alliance with the Crimea and with southern Russia had enabled him, by means of the Red Sea and the Black Sea, to block the Mongolian Empire against Persia and Transoxania, and to separate it from the Occident. He monopolised the communication with China, establishing it on land by the route to Aleppo in central Syria, and on sea by the route through Egypt *via* Cairo and Suez. After the beginning of the fourteenth century the empire of Kiptchak forms an isolated strip and has no other routes of communication with the extreme East than those leading through the savage north, or down through the south—through Moslem Egypt, jealous guardian of the commercial routes which are also the routes of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The soudans of Egypt became the protectors of the holy cities and at the same time the gatekeepers of the two seas.

MONGOLIAN EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

One of the most curious of contemporary maps gives an idea of the extent of the Mongolian Empire and of the territorial divisions of Asia at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This map, made in 1331, was part of a work on the institutions of the Mongolian dynasty, published at the same date, and it may be regarded as official. On this document, which is registered in the archives of Peking, the western dependencies of the empire form three kingdoms, which are designated by the names of their sovereigns Du-lai Tiemur (Dure Timur, son of Dua Timur, 1321-1331), Bu-sa-yin (Abu Said, 1317-1335), and Yue-dzu-bie (Ulzbeg, 1312-1342). That is to say: (1) Jagatai (Siberia, Turkestan, Transoxania), with eastern Khorasan and Afghanistan,

[1260-1360 A.D.]

minus the country of Herat; (2) Persia, with Seistan and Baluchistan, Merv, Balkh, Bost, and the access to the Indian Ocean, Hormuz, and Bahrein; (3) Kiptchak, which includes Bu-li-ar (Bulgar, the great Bulgaria of the Volga), A-lo-sze (Rossia, Russia), Sa-gi-la (Solgat, the great port Sudak in the Crimea), and farther south Kin-sha (Kiptchak, the steppes of Kuban), A-lan-a-sze (the country of the Alani or A-su), and Sar-ko-sze (Circassia, the Caucasus). The map does not mark any boundaries west of Sudak, but it notes Damascus, Constantinople, Damietta, and Cairo.

At this epoch the feudal unity of the empire, so visible on the map, is proved also by the appanages of its vassals in the Occident having fiefs in China. In 1336 Usbeg, the khan of Kiptchak, sent to the khan an embassy charged with collecting the arrears of his fiefs in China. In 1312-1313 Euljaitu, sultan of Persia, had sent ambassadors to China to verify the accounts of the lands which he possessed and to collect the arrear rents. In 1315, on the occasion of a famine in Transoxania, Dure Timur of Jagatai received subsidies from the khan of Peking. The Chinese annals, dating from 1330, register the concession of twenty *king* of land, north of Peking, granted to the "constantly faithful Russian guard." As compensation, the possessors were to furnish the imperial table with all the game, fish, etc., taken in the forests, rivers, and lakes of the said domain. In 1334 the Russians recruited by the sultans of Kiptchak are mentioned for the last time in Chinese annals; a general Baian is appointed to command the guards of the Mongolian, Kiptchak, and Russian corps.

It can be seen, therefore, that however relaxed may have become the federal bond uniting the Jenghiz Khanids of Russia, Persia, and Transoxania to their suzerain, the holy emperor who reigned at Peking, that bond was by no means broken even at the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. From the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, on the Indian Ocean and on the sea of Japan, the Chinese khan, "power of heaven," was indeed emperor. Only he was a Buddhist, and his vassals, mediatised kings, had become Moslem. There was no pope. Were a religious force to arise in Transoxania, the country where Mongols of the East and Turks of the West come into relationship, the bond would be broken; the dissolution of the Mongolian Empire would be complete. This religious force was not created by the great Timur; he found it already organised, and himself merely set it in motion.

STATE OF TRANSOXANIA

In the hundred years between 1260 and 1360 the kingdom of Jagatai, including nominally Turkestan and the marches, besides Siberia, had no less than twenty-five sovereigns, phantom sultans. The actual rulers were the heads of the four houses of Arlad, of Barlass, of Jelair, and of Aiberdi, and the vizirs whom they imposed on the feeble descendants of Jagatai. So long as the emperor of Peking bore a Mongolian name besides his Chinese one, appearances were saved and the Jenghiz Khanids, princes of the house of Jagatai, were supposed to reign at once over Moslem Transoxania, over Turkestan and half of the pagan marches. With the fall of the Mongolian dynasty in China everything collapsed. From the Oxus to the marches there remained only two powers: Islam, represented by the religious orders; and the military aristocracy, represented by the great Turkish houses and those of Mongolian origin holding fiefs in Transoxania.

This feudal nobility, attached above all to its traditions and privileges, observed the rites of its religion less closely than it pretended to do. At heart great lords and country gentlemen alike remained Turkish; they were Turks before everything else. Always ready to fight among themselves, they were not at all willing that the Iranian *canaille*, the Tajaks, or *Sarts* as they called them, should mix in their quarrels. They came to an agreement quickly against these rustics. But in 1330 one of these peasants had the audacity to arouse the old Iran out of its sleep and to make himself king of Khorasan. He was called Husein Kert and posed as protector of the endangered faith. Steering between the religious orders and the heretical populace, natural defender of his relatives by blood and language, the bourgeois and the Sart peasants, he had quickly gained popularity in Khorasan, which was trodden down by Turkish exactions, in Seistan, and in western Afghanistan, in the land of the great adventurers where the Iranian heart still beat sturdily.

Immediately all the Turkish nobility made common cause against the Tajak. The sultan of the house of Jagatai, Kazan, was too far away to mix in these quarrels between people of the south; he was hunting in the neighbourhood of Almalik, leaving the affairs of Transoxania in the hands of his constable and vizir, the emir Kazgan, a man of low lineage but of great renown, who by his audacity and his profitable alliances had succeeded in establishing himself. Jelair, Barlass, Arlad, all the party of the country squires, being infatuated, threw themselves into the arms of Kazgan, who put himself at their head, extinguished the budding democratic revolution, defeated Husein Kert, and threw himself into Khorasan (1333).

On a Tuesday evening, the 13th of the month Shaban of this same year, Timur came into the world. His birthplace was the aristocratic suburb of Kesh called Shehr-i-sebz (city of verdure). Timur's father had the title of emir; he belonged to the great house of Barlass, but was a comparatively insignificant gentleman himself. His fortune was slender, so that he supported only three or four horsemen. From the vizir Kazgan he had received as a fief the province of Kesh and of Nakhshab in Transoxania, south of the Oxus, in the marches of Khorasan. The name of his clan or family was Keurekene, which signifies "the beautiful"; he himself had the old Turkish name of Taragai, or swallow. Although the houses of Arlad, of Jelair, and of Solduz are surely of Mongolian origin, although the custom has been introduced of calling Mongolian the empires founded by Timur and, afterwards, by Baber, the house of Barlass seems to be rather of Turkish origin. Moreover, in the fourteenth century the clans issuing from these four houses and established in Transoxania and in Turkestan were wholly Turkish in language, in spirit, and in their confession of the orthodox Moslem faith, just as the Normans established in England at the same epoch had become English. It would be just as much of a mistake to take Timur for a Mongolian as to take the Black Prince for a Frenchman.

In 1343 Kazgan revolted openly against Kazan and defeated him. The sovereign being dead, Kazgan remained master. However, Turkish loyalty still tied his hands; he himself set up another king of the Jagatai tribe, but at the first sign of independence he had him assassinated and replaced him by another. He pursued this course as many as five times. While Kazgan was making and unmaking kings, Husein Kert, who was watching for his revenge, took up arms again. In 1358 Kazgan united all his Transoxanian contingents and conducted them against the Iranian and his heretics, into the very heart of Khorasan.

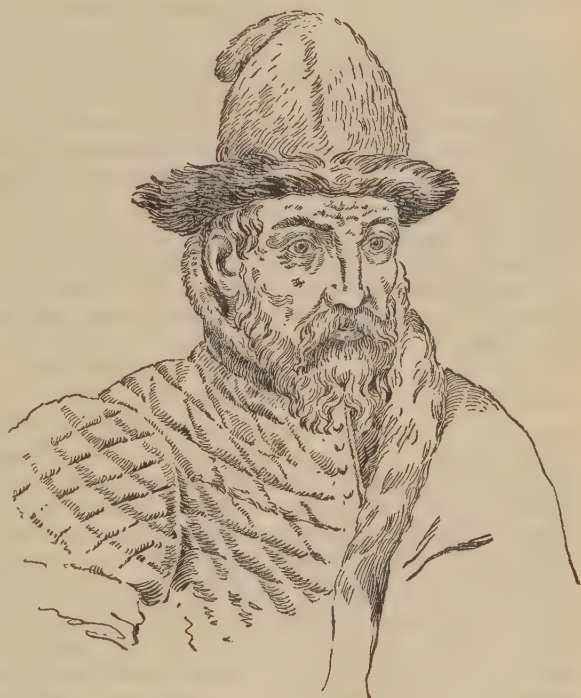
[1355-1356 A.D.]

Among the feudal lords who rode with the army was the lord Timur, son of the emir Taragai. Although he was only twenty-two years of age, Kazgan, the maker of kings, held him in great esteem, as much on account of his personal merit as for his birth and his powerful connections; for the lord Timur was the model of an accomplished gentleman according to the ideal of the Turks of his time and country, being perfect in all chivalry and courtesy. During two years in the service of the all-powerful vizir to whom his father had attached him, this haughty young man had seen one sultan after another deposed and new ones enthroned. He had understood what supremacy an audacious person could gain over the great vassals of Transoxania, between their suzerain of Turkestan and their enemies of Khorasan and Persia.

He was lord of the Barlass clan by right of birth. Kazgan himself had allied him to the Jelairs by marrying him to his granddaughter, Princess Oljai Turkane, a Jelair through her mother. He had associated him with the military administration by making him *bing bashi* (captain of a company of a thousand). When, after the victory over Husein Kert, the maker of kings was assassinated by one of his vassals, all his people—the Jelairs with the rest—turned their eyes to the young prince, who was brilliant in chivalry and who already possessed authority.

When Tukluk Timur, the legitimate sultan and the only one of the last Jagatais who had shown energy and political sense, wished, being at last rid of his terrible vizir, to profit by the occasion and to re-establish his authority, Transoxania in terror trusted its fate to the wisdom of Timur, that knight of twenty-three. Political genius at once revealed itself in the young man. Instead of fighting, Timur took counsel, combined forces, and negotiated.^b

Having won the church, or Islam, to his cause, by posing as its defender, Timur by an adroit policy prevailed on the sultan to create him governor of Transoxania. For a time he concealed his ambition to be absolute ruler, and followed the advice given him by his spiritual adviser:^a "The science of governing is made up of one part patient constancy and of one part feigned negligence; it consists in the art of appearing not to know what one in reality knows." We are nearing the century of Macchiavelli; Asia was then in advance of Europe. When Tukluk saw his young lieutenant-general behaving as master,



TIMUR THE LAME

(1333-1405)

he, fearing a second Kazgan, conceived the idea of giving the country as an appanage to his son Iliaz Khoja, hoping thereby to guarantee his own position in Transoxania.^b Timur, although he had the support of the church, realised that the time had not yet come for the fulfilment of his ambitions; he still had too many enemies. Consequently, taking his wife behind him in the saddle, he fled to the prairies, to follow the existence of a kazak. There he led a life full of romance and adventure in which his wife, the fair princess Oljai Turkane, played a conspicuous part. Gradually his power increased until he was strong enough to return and attack Iliaz Khoja, whom he drove across the Oxus.^a

TIMUR, KING OF TRANSOXANIA

The 10th of Ramazan, 771 (April 8th, 1369), at Balkh, Timur was elevated on the white felt and proclaimed king of Transoxania, according to the old Turkish form and ceremonial. With the subtlety of a casuist he chose Balkh as the place of his coronation, for this city did not belong to the sultan of Jagatai, and Timur thereby avoided offending Turkish formalism. After the death of Iliaz Khoja, in 1362, this sultan had officially recognised the sovereignty of another Jagataiid—a straw king called Kabul Shah. Timur was only his executive agent in Transoxania. The situation was ambiguous; the reverend father Ali Shah had already declared that one could not serve two masters at the same time, that there could be only one legitimate vicar of the Most High.

The church took upon itself to decide the question. First Timur presented the warrant of his authority. "When I had promulgated my laws," he said, "concerning religion, when I had re-established the law (the *shariat*) in the cities of Islam, the doctors of Islam returned this brief in my favour: 'In every century the Most High has raised up a defender and propagator of the religion of the prophet Mohammed; in this eighth century of the Hejira, Timur, possessor of the Holy Scriptures (*sahib Koran*), chevalier of the temporal power, shall be regarded as the restorer of the faith.' "

In an instant this modest Timur, who usurped no titles nor prerogatives, who coined money in the name of a sovereign whom he had put aside and caused prayers to be said for him in the churches, changed the entire government of the state. He replaced the Turkish and Mongolian tradition by Islamic tradition refashioned to his taste; for the old sovereign law (*yassak*) and customary law (*edeb*) he substituted a new sovereign law (*teuzuk*) and a religious law (*shariat*).

TIMUR'S THEOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

According to the ancient Mongolian and Turkish law, as the *yassak* of the "inflexible" emperor had formulated it, the sovereign was responsible, bound by the civil law. According to the new code, in conformity with the *shariat*, the sovereign was released from the civil law and was responsible only to God and to the church.

The provision which Timur put at the head of his ordinances was the division of his subjects into twelve classes. In this division the descendants of the prophet passed to the first rank. The class of the king's household, or *tarkhans*, which was the first in the old Turkish and Mongolian society, disappears. That is where the real revolution took place. Retaining the

[1363-1376 A.D.]

guise of Turkish forms, Timur destroyed the old Turkish society and replaced it by a caliphate. The first concession which Timur made to the church was to grant to it the administration of all the old *tarkhanliks*, feudal estates, and unclaimed estates, which became all at once inalienable. The inquisition was established: "in every province there was a doctor to turn the faithful from forbidden things"; missions were founded by the state; "in every city religious persons were appointed to explain the principal articles of faith." Finally civil justice was completely confounded with religious: "I ordained that the *sadr* and the civil judge (*cadi*) should report to me all matters pertaining to religion."

How could the Turks accept such a *régime*? Timur made it endurable to them by a personal statute creating exceptional laws in their favour. "I appointed a *cadi* for the army and another for the people. I established also a minister of justice to inform me of the differences which arise between my soldiers or my other subjects." Dispossessed of his large territorial property by the church and by the sovereign, who divided it up and sold or rented it to common peasants or *sarts*, Turkish gentlemen of mediocre position who were not employed in the army or at court became nomads again. At the time of Timur, the unity of the tribe which had been so rudely broken by the "inflexible" emperor was reconstructed; one will find even in our days, among the Kirghizes and Kiptchaks in the different confederations, clans which bear the old names of Kankli, Jelair, Kiptchak, Arlad, Mangut, Kerail, Naiman, etc. In administrative and constitutional language Timur called these clans *Uluss* (in Turkish, people, line, tribe).

EMPIRE FOUNDED BY TIMUR

The following portraits of Timur have been preserved: "He was," says his detractor Ibn Arabshah, "of medium height, slender, with a high forehead and a big head; his complexion was fair and he had much colour in his face; he was built with broad shoulders, round fingers, rather longish thighs, and strong limbs. He liked brave men-at-arms, being a valiant man himself and knowing how to make himself honoured and obeyed." Paolo Giovio, who is well informed, praises him expressly for his chivalry: "Strong and straight, he drew a great bow of Tatar, pulling the cord to his ear—which few people can do."

The first use which Timur made of his power was to free Transoxania, to drive back the princes and the families which might impose their claims as descendants of the Mongols or else pose as champions of the *yassak*. Under the banner of this Turk people from the south were for the first time seen to cross the Yaxartes, a barrier which had been impassable to the Achemenids, the Macedonians, and the Sassanids. That which Cyrus, Alexander, and Khusrau had not dared to undertake, the son of a Transoxanian hidalgo undertook and realised. He, a descendant of an obscure family of Turan, took revenge on Iranian Rustam, and turned aside forever the torrent which during centuries had precipitated itself from the north and east, from highland and mountain, upon the valleys of the south and the plains of the west. Five times in six years (1370-1376) the Transoxanians advanced into Turkestan and into the march of Pentapolis, treading on the dust of heroes.

The heart of Oljai, the companion of his adventures, his dearly loved wife, must have swelled with all its feudal pride when the old captain of *écorceurs*, now become king, led into his harem a Jagatai princess, daughter

of the sultan Kaur ad-din, the beautiful Dilshad Aga, the first princess of the north that a sultan of the south had conquered by force of arms. Certainly Oljai was not jealous.

During the struggle against the Tchetas the last Christian Turkish institutions disappeared. Henceforth the old nation of the Kerait, that of Priest John, remained an obscure clan, lost among the Kirghizes, who were Moslems, like the rest; the same destiny overtook that of the Naiman; but these clans down to our days have preserved their *tamga* (seal).

But while Timur was suppressing the Mongols in the name of the apostle Mohammed, the Chinese were driving them out in the name of Confucius. The revolution which in 1370 carried off the Mongolian dynasty of China, to replace it by that of the Ming, swept away all that recalled the remembrance of the detested Turks, and Nestorian Christianity with the rest. Between Moslem Transoxania and old reborn China the Turk of Pentapolis and Hexapolis was smothered; he had no longer space in which to breathe; he perished for lack of air, or else he was driven back into the steppes of the north, reduced to the condition of kazak, and forced to wander about the country, separated from the rest of humanity, his horizon limited to that of a shepherd who in the winter pastures his flock in the *kishlak*, and in summer leads it to the *yailak*. At the same time that he was ruining the Turks in the marches of the north-west, Timur was falling pitilessly upon those of the northern and south-western marches, and was reducing the Turkomans to a state of brigandage by robbing them of land wherein they could have led a simple pastoral life.

CONQUEST OF KHORASAN

As long as the national life endured in Iran, Khorasan, protected from Transoxania by marches and by the channel of the Oxus, had nothing to fear from the people of the north. It was by way of Hyrcania, by the lower Oxus, that their warlike bands, summoned and favoured by the Parthians, had formerly poured into the country, following the shore of the river. Later, when the Turkish infiltration grew torrential, when the marches of Transoxania became Turkish, Khorasan itself was only a frontier, spreading out through the pure Iranian countries, Fars (Persia proper, Faristan), Khuzistan, etc.

Now that the capital of central Asia had advanced from Almalik to Samarkand, now that the learned talked Jagataiish at Bokhara and the literateurs of Transoxania rhymed in the barbarian language of Pe-lu, the new sultan of Samarkand could not stop on the right bank of the Oxus, and leave on the left bank that splendid frontier, Khorasan, to the mercy of Iranian heretics. Moreover, he had claims upon it by right of conquest. On the north he already held the two banks of the lower Oxus; Khorasan was almost enclosed. The prize was too rich not to be seized and exploited for the benefit of proud Transoxania; there was an extensive culture of cereals kept up by a marvellous system of irrigation; arms and superb carpets were manufactured; the noble cities, Meshhed the Holy, Nishapur the Ancient, Merv, Queen of the World, Herat the Brilliant, were situated there. Many estates, many governmental districts, many offices invited distribution among the ever-needy Turkish nobility; there was revenue for the treasury, there were gifts for the church! Timur wished indeed to defend the south against the barbarians of the north, but on condition that it belong to him—wholly to him. Moreover the church had spoken and advocated his cause. "Gaias ad-din, lord of Khorasan, raised an army and remained on the defensive. I was warned by a note from the

[1381-1404 A.D.]

director of my conscience that Gaias ad-din was abandoning himself to tyranny, and was giving himself up to all sorts of excess." Timur, redresser of wrongs, defender of religion, could not doubt that he was called to redress these evils. The orthodox of Khorasan thought as he thought. Promptly they accepted the decision of the church and undertook the cause of the good prince Timur against the tyrant. "I made the greatest diligence," says Timur, "to arrive at Herat, where I surprised Gaias ad-din buried in the sleep of negligence. Abandoned by all, he came out of the city, surrendered to me treasure, domain, and kingdom. Khorasan was subdued and its emirs rendered obedience to me." (April, 1381.)^b

The conquests of Timur in the more distant west are too well known to need narration here. After conquering Persia, Timur entered Russia; in 1394 he penetrated as far as Moscow, and having reduced all of central Asia to submission, he invaded India in 1398. He was at that time more than sixty years of age. There he conquered the whole of Hindustan from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, and returned to his capital at Samarkand in the spring of 1399, carrying an immense amount of booty with him. The next year he broke into Turkish territory, captured Baghdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, and in 1402 gained a decisive victory over the Ottoman sultan Bayazid on the plain of Angora.^a

TIMUR'S RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

It was at Samarkand, in Transoxania, that the ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Don Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, saw Timur, who was then surrounded by splendour (1404): "And the seigneur was seated on something like little mattresses of silk and was leaning his elbow on round cushions, and he was clothed in a robe of pink silk without embroidery, and on his head he wore a high white cap, with a balas ruby on the crest; and the seigneur told the ambassadors to come forward, and I think that he did so to see them better, for he could not see well, being so old that his eyelids were very drooping." This old man then roused himself and spoke in an animated manner: "I give my benediction," he said, "to my son, your king; he had no need to send me presents; you and this letter are sufficient."

The relations between the French and the Mongols did not cease with the crusades. The chief successors of Hulagu in Persia, Abaga, Argun, Gazan, Khodabendeh, constantly sought alliance with the French princes and the popes against the Saracens of Egypt. Argun wrote to Pope Honorius IV and to Philip III of France. Under Nicholas IV the Genoan Buscarelli was charged to follow up this negotiation at the court of the khan. He came back in 1289 with a letter from that prince to Philip the Fair, looking to closer relations between the two countries.

When Timur had conquered the possessions of the Jenghiz Khanids in Asia, he adopted their traditions of friendship with the French, who were no longer allied against the Saracens of Egypt but against the Moslems. Charles VI congratulated Timur on the victory over Bayazid, which the Most High had accorded him; he thanked Timur for his offers to protect French merchants and promised him reciprocal consideration towards Turkish merchants in France. The death of Timur, the distance separating the two peoples, the civil wars in France, and, finally, the decline of the spirit of the crusades throughout the countries of Europe reduced this hopeful correspondence between the house of Timur and that of Valois to an episode without consequence.

THE DEATH OF TIMUR

Timur left Samarkand on December 8th, 1404, to protect Turkestan against an invasion of the Chinese. At Otrar on the Sir, overcome by fatigue and seized with a cold, he took to his bed, never to rise again. When his physician, Master Fazl Ullah, told him frankly that all hope was gone, Timur, like a good Mohammedan and a good king, thought only of the fate of his empire and of the safety of his soul. As successor he appointed his grandson Pir Muhammed, who was both pious and brave. Several times he asked for his favourite son, Shah Rukh, who had stayed in his appanage of Khorasan, but it was too late for him to come. The dying man gave orders to have his body taken to Samarkand, where was the tomb he had caused to be made for his *pir*, the great monk Said Berke. Here in that tomb beside that holy man he commanded his own body laid. Being no longer able to speak he made a gesture with his hand signifying that the mollah Heibet Ullah should recite the last prayers; he gave up his soul at the vesper hour, the 7th of Shaban, 807 (February 7th, 1405), at peace with his people of Transoxania and with the church of God.

Scarcely were the funeral ceremonies ended when Khalil Mirza, son of the despicable Miran Shah, violated the last wishes of his grandfather, pillaged the treasury of Samarkand and revolted against the appointed successor, Pir Muhammed. His mistress, the famous Shad-i-mulk, urged on to adventures this boy of twenty-one years. When he was vanquished (1409) he was ready to accept any conditions in order to keep her; and he resigned in favour of Shah Rukh. It was the son of Shah Rukh, the brave and excellent Muhammed Turgai, better known in Europe by his surname of Ulug Bey, "the great prince," who built at Samarkand (1428) the observatory in which the astronomical tables named after Ulug were calculated. When Shah Rukh died, in 1446, Ulug succeeded him; but that learned prince did not have the vigour necessary to manage the rough Transoxanian aristocracy and to impose his authority on the all-powerful clergy. His own son, Abdul Latif, revolted against him and had him assassinated (1449). The history of the bigoted kingdoms of Transoxania, Khwarezm, Turkestan, and Khorasan began with a parricide.

CIVILISATION OF TRANSOXANIA

In breaking with the Chinese tradition, as the Turks, and after them the Mongols, had interpreted it, in giving themselves up without restriction to the orthodox Transoxanian church, the Turks of central Asia were beginning a new life. During nearly a century the philosophy, literature, and art of Islam penetrated them so profoundly that they became strangers to their native soil and ceased to understand one another. The Transoxanian Turks of the thirteenth century, and even the Kiptchaks of the Caucasus and of Russia, although Moslem, had recognised their relatives among the braves who came from distant Cathay under the Mongolian banner; but at the end of the sixteenth century, although they still understood the language, although they could not repudiate the blood relationship, they yet repelled with horror the idea of moral contact with these infidels. Those of the east are now only Chinese to them, those of the northwest and west only Kalmaks (that is the word of which we have made Kalmuk) and Nogair. In spite of their aversion to the Tajaks and of their hatred for the heretical Iranians, they feel nearer

[1400-1500 A.D.]

to them than to these foreigners. We have already noticed that the Turkish mind, naturally submissive to discipline, is refractory to controversy and theology. In accepting Islam as the state religion, the Turks of Turkestan, of Transoxania, and of Khwarezm adopted it *en bloc*, without reflection, without discussion, as if it had been a military command. The monks and theologians of Bokhara were able for a hundred years to mould their minds at leisure without being embarrassed by a contradiction, a subtle question, or a simple comment.

Thus the Renaissance in central Asia was nothing other than a recommencement of the Middle Ages; while the Europeans, in bewilderment over an antiquity re-found, were starting out boldly towards the unknown, towards free investigation, towards revolt, the Asiatics who had been their equals up to the fifteenth century meekly allowed themselves to be led back into the dogmas conceived by the doctors and savants of the orthodox caliphate. They discovered as a novelty Aristotelianism as deformed by the Arabs, came back to *Almagest*, plunged into *Avicenna*, who was their compatriot, and began again in Turkish the epoch of the *Samanids*; in short, their thought travelled about in a circle. All their intellectual activity—and they had as much as other peoples—expended itself on scholasticism, on jurisprudence, on rhetoric; with great effort they reconstructed *Euclid*, *Ptolemy*, *Galen*, *Hippocrates*; *Plato* they hardly dared touch. To go deeper would have been to confound themselves. Little by little, the monks abetting them, they came to think only of their salvation and were satisfied with the *Koran* and with the mental torpor it inspired. In the fifteenth century the sacrifice was consummated; the Turk had abdicated the spiritual sphere, leaving it to his *pir*, and had abdicated the temporal power in favour of his sultan. The independent and the headstrong went to India to seek their fortunes with *Baber*, and were there exterminated: "One day a voice from heaven was heard, saying: 'The khan *Baber*, let them kill him—kill!' Whereupon the people fell upon *Baber* and killed him on the spot."

This fifteenth century, which was so disastrous to the Turks of Asia, was not without its glory. The transformation of life and thought took place to the accompaniment of all the brilliancy which is given to letters and arts by scholasticism and rhetoric, taught by a state church and watched over by the *Inquisition*. The church, inflexible in its fundamentals, was pliant as to form. It did not directly oppose the taste for the plastic arts and for a life of ease with which a long Chinese education had imbued the Turks; but it gently insinuated that this gross materialism was debasing, and it offered to noble souls a higher ideal.

"Of building castles and palaces in this world there is no need; in the end they fall into ruin; of building cities there is no need." In the fifteenth century the Transoxanian church let the Turks build, paint, sculpture, and drink to excess, until the people believed in the futility of these things, and ceased to drink and let all its architecture fall into decay. The rich donation of the *Timurids*, the splendid mosques, the superb abbeys, the chapels, the pious monuments, had excused the artistic debauches of the fifteenth century. *Timur* loved luxury, the arts, the large life. *Clavijo* relates that *Timur* had brought back from his wars so many artisans to *Samarkand* that for lack of lodging-room they had to be camped in the gardens and in the grottoes around the city. At *Kesh* this Spaniard was taken to visit the chapel, which the seigneur (it is thus that *Clavijo* always speaks of *Timur*) built over the tomb of his father. "There the said seigneur distributed a hundred cooked sheep every day among the poor, for the soul of his father"; *Clavijo* visited also the palaces,

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[1400-1500 A.D.]

to them than to these foreigners. We have already noticed that the Turkish mind, naturally submissive to discipline, is refractory to controversy and theology. In accepting Islam as the state religion, the Turks of Turkestan, of Transoxania, and of Khwarezm adopted it *en bloc*, without reflection, without discussion, as if it had been a military command. The monks and theologians of Bokhara were able for a hundred years to mould their minds at leisure without being embarrassed by a contradiction, a subtle question, or a simple comment.

Thus the Renaissance in central Asia was nothing other than a recommencement of the Middle Ages; while the Europeans, in bewilderment over an antiquity re-found, were starting out boldly towards the unknown, towards free investigation, towards revolt, the Asiatics who had been their equals up to the fifteenth century meekly allowed themselves to be led back into the dogmas conceived by the doctors and savants of the orthodox caliphate. They discovered as a novelty Aristotelianism as deformed by the Arabs, came back to Almagest, plunged into Avicenna, who was their compatriot, and began again in Turkish the epoch of the Samanids; in short, their thought travelled about in a circle. All their intellectual activity—and they had as much as other peoples—expended itself on scholasticism, on jurisprudence, on rhetoric; with great effort they reconstructed Euclid, Ptolemy, Galen, Hippocrates; Plato they hardly dared touch. To go deeper would have been to confound themselves. Little by little, the monks abetting them, they came to think only of their salvation and were satisfied with the *Koran* and with the mental torpor it inspired. In the fifteenth century the sacrifice was consummated; the Turk had abdicated the spiritual sphere, leaving it to his *pir*, and had abdicated the temporal power in favour of his sultan. The independent and the headstrong went to India to seek their fortunes with Baber; and were there exterminated: “One day a voice from heaven was heard, saying: ‘The khan Baber, let them kill him—kill!’ Whereupon the people fell upon Baber and killed him on the spot.”

This fifteenth century, which was so disastrous to the Turks of Asia, was not without its glory. The transformation of life and thought took place to the accompaniment of all the brilliancy which is given to letters and arts by scholasticism and rhetoric, taught by a state church and watched over by the Inquisition. The church, inflexible in its fundamentals, was pliant as to form. It did not directly oppose the taste for the plastic arts and for a life of ease with which a long Chinese education had imbued the Turks; but it gently insinuated that this gross materialism was debasing, and it offered to noble souls a higher ideal.

“Of building castles and palaces in this world there is no need; in the end they fall into ruin; of building cities there is no need.” In the fifteenth century the Transoxanian church let the Turks build, paint, sculpture, and drink to excess, until the people believed in the futility of these things, and ceased to drink and let all its architecture fall into decay. The rich donation of the Timurids, the splendid mosques, the superb abbeys, the chapels, the pious monuments, had excused the artistic debauches of the fifteenth century. Timur loved luxury, the arts, the large life. Clavijo relates that Timur had brought back from his wars so many artisans to Samarkand that for lack of lodging-room they had to be camped in the gardens and in the grottoes around the city. At Kesh this Spaniard was taken to visit the chapel, which the seigneur (it is thus that Clavijo always speaks of Timur) built over the tomb of his father. “There the said seigneur distributed a hundred cooked sheep every day among the poor, for the soul of his father”; Clavijo visited also the palaces,

and the gardens, and the women's apartments, and the edifices which had been building for twenty years. Those porticoes, cloisters, mosaic pavements, those marbles, and potteries of gold and azure filled the *hidalgo* with astonishment, and he exclaimed, "Even the citizens at Paris, where are the most skillful artists, would be dumb with admiration." At Samarkand there is still greater magnificence. There stood a mosque praised by Baber, who was a connoisseur, and there were gardens, and menageries, in which were seen deer, pheasants, and elephants; and an arsenal where a thousand workmen laboured daily at making ornamented cuirasses and basinetts; and halls painted in fresco, and baths, and hospitals, and a broad commercial street which the "seigneur" had laid out, tearing down houses in order to do so.

It is true that the corporations complained and the monks remonstrated, to which the seigneur answered that that quarter belonged to him, that he had bought it with his money; however, though he possessed maps which would prove his claim, he would out of love for them and for his people buy the land again and for good money. Nor did Timur neglect works of general utility. During his reign the culture of silk was greatly promoted. In Transoxania irrigation canals covered the fields with a carefully guarded network. The culture of cotton was developed, flax and hemp were introduced into the country, paper factories were founded near Samarkand, and a bridge of boats was established over the Oxus. Strenuous attempts were made to become independent of China and to get rid of her industrial hegemony.

The taste for architecture and painting continued under the successors of Timur. Baber gives a list and description of the principal monuments erected by those princes. He mentions, at Samarkand, the gate of turquoises, the kiosk in which the battles of Timur in India were painted in fresco, the baths of Mirza, built by Ulug Bey, the carved chapel ornamented with paintings in Chinese style, the observatory of Ulug Bey, the Bag-i Meidan (esplanade garden), with the building of forty columns, the cabinet of Chinese porcelain, the Echo chapel, etc.; at Herat, the garden of Ali Shir, the paper manufactory, the palace of the throne, Belle Vue, the fish pond, the palace of crystal, the garden of Zobeid, the twelve towers, the royal market, the big market, the house of Ali Shir, known by the name of Intimacy, Ali Shir's mausoleum and the great mosque adjoining, called the Holiness, his college, called Purity, his convent, called Purification, his baths and his hospital, named Cleanliness and Health. When we remember that Ali Shir was simply a man of letters, we get an idea of the respect which the Timurids accorded to writers and artists.

Herat was, moreover, the artistic city *par excellence*. Baber relates that at a supper in the palace of Joy, in the apartment where the sultan Abu-Said had caused his combats and his feats of arms to be depicted, a concert was given before him: "Among the musicians were Hafiz-Haji, Jelal ad-din Mahmud, the flute-player, and Shad-i-Betchek, the harpist. The musicians of Herat sang without forcing the voice, with grace and in measure. Prince Jihanguir had summoned a Samarkand musician, who sang with full voice, harshly and unequally. The Khorasan people stopped their ears and made faces; if they did not hiss, it was out of respect to the prince." Of all the arts, music, which is least persecuted by the church, is the best supported in Transoxania and Khorasan; the modern Turkish airs of central Asia are agreeable to a European ear.

Miniature, and in particular portrait miniature, held its ground in spite of Islam during the whole of the fifteenth century: the beautiful manuscripts of Ali Shir are adorned with miniatures which are in no way inferior to occidental works of the same epoch. Baber mentions among the painters Beh-Zad, "an

[1300-1500 A.D.]

artist of a very fine talent, but who gave a bad treatment to beardless faces," and Shah Muzaffir, who also wrote "a literary work relative to the mystic life"; among the musicians he mentions Mervarid and Kul-Muhammed, "who held the first rank for the art with which he composed preludes and for his incomparable skill in the development of the theme."

In the reign of Timur the Turkish language had triumphed over the Iranian; men of the Transoxanian renaissance wrote in Jagataiish, no longer in Persian. Before them Khoja Ahmed Yesevi of Turkestan, the first and in the opinion of some the greatest of the central Asian poets, had already written in the vulgar tongue; but the language of scholars and of the court was Persian, as may be seen from the historical works written, at the command of Mongolian princes, by Juveini, Rashid ad-din, Vassaf, etc. Turkish imposed itself to such a degree, especially after the time of Ahmed Yesevi, that the works of the religious propaganda, such as the *Mihraj Nameh*, "book of ascension" (1442), the *Bakhtiar Nameh*, "book of fortune" (1437), the *Tezkeret ul-Evlia*, "attestation of the saints," are in dialect and in Uigur characters.

It was only after 1450 that the Moslem church thought itself strong enough to proscribe the old Nestorian alphabet and to impose the Arabo-Persian orthography. Up to that date in its propaganda among the Turks it had been obliged to use the orthographic system formerly brought into Pe-lu by Jacobite monks; after the fifteenth century one no longer sees in central Asia those glorious characters from the Stele of Guyuk Tekine, with which Turkish kings and Mongol emperors proudly adorned their missives to the emperors of Constantinople, of China, of Germany, to the popes of Rome, and to the kings of France. The Nestorian writing had resisted even Buddhism, even the development of Chinese literature, which had devoured and assimilated the old writings of India, of Indo-China, of Korea, and of Japan; but among the Turks it was finally killed by Islam. Only the Mongols and Manchus, bravely and piously, in spite of the Chinese and in spite of Buddhism, have preserved the old Christian alphabet.

Among the principal Transoxanian and Khorasanian writers of the fourteenth century we must mention—after Timur himself, whose *Teuzukat* is a work without equal, and his grandson Khalil, whose verses in Persian have been preserved by Ali Shir—the mystics Said Ali Hamadani (died 1384), Khoja Beha ad-din (died 1388, the real founder of the Nakish bendi), the poets Lat fullah of Nishapur, Kemal ad-din of Khojend, Ahmed of Kerman (the author of a life of Timur in verse), Teftzani, the jurisconsult, grammarian, and exegete (1322-1381), and the lexicographer Jezeri, author of the most voluminous Arabic dictionary. In the next century wrote Jami, "the divine," exegete, moralist, philosopher, grammarian, and poet; Suheili, translator of the fables of Pilpay; Moiin ad-din, "dispenser of light," a mystic (died 1433); Hatifi, author of a life of Timur in verse more highly esteemed than that of Ahmed of Kerman; Bokhari, who taught rhetoric to Ulug Bey; Husein Kuberai, a descendant of the great Nejm ad-din Kubra, killed by the Mongols at the time of Jenghiz Khan; the satirist Mollah-Binai, renowned for his repartee (died 1516); Muhammed Salih, author of the epic entitled *Sheibani Nameh*, and of the arrangement in Turkish of the famous romance *Mejnun and Leila*; and Helali, author of a romance in verse, *Shah u dervish*, "king and monk," which the sceptic Baber designated as an "improper" work. Beyond all, we must speak of the great Mir Ali Shir Nevai, historian, moralist, poet, the real creator of the classic Jagatai language. Since poems have been written in the Turkish language, no one has written such numerous and such excellent

ones as he. Men of merit and of talent never had a supporter comparable to Ali Shir. It has been given to few men to do good in the same degree as he. Having started out as guard of the seals, he attained in maturity the dignity of a bey and held for some time the government of Astrabad. Finally he renounced the career of arms.

Among the moralists should be mentioned Hosani of Khiva, and above all Obaid Allah Ahrar, who was loyal to his motto, "My poverty is my pride." Unaided he cultivated his tiny farm. He died in the odour of sanctity in 1489, and his tomb is a place of pilgrimage at Samarkand. The dogmatic and exegetical works of Mevlana Fasih ad-din (died 1511) and Mollah Abul Gaffur (1510) are classics to-day. The *Debistan* (school of religions) of the Orient was composed at this same epoch by an anonymous author. At the end of the fifteenth century the geographer Jami wrote his book on India and on China. Among the historians, Sherif ad-din, Abdur-Rezzak, and Mirkhond are sufficiently well known to need no further mention. In conclusion, we may name the best of all, the master prose-writer in Jagatai Turkish, the great mogul Baber. After him decadence began, and outside of oral literature there is found only the rough Abulghazi, khan of Khiva in the seventeenth century, who in his unaffected Turkish, which is not without skill and beauty, has been able to preserve the manly and vigorous sobriety of his great ancestors.^b

THE SPLITTING UP OF TATAR POWER

The last descendant of Timur in Persia, Hussun Ali, was defeated in 1470 by the khan of the Ak-koin-lu, *i.e.* white sheep Turkomans. Uzun Hassan, and Hassan's last descendant, Sultan Murad, had to give way in 1502 to Shah Ismail, the founder of the native dynasty of Sufi. A grandson of Timur's, Zehireddin Muhammed, called Baber, *i.e.* Tiger, in 1519 established the empire of the grand moguls in India, which flourished under his grandson Akbar from 1556 to 1605, but which fell in pieces after the reign of the tyrant Aureng Zeb, who was on the throne from 1656-1707, and which finally in 1782, under Shah Allum, the last grand mogul, became a dependency of the English. This occurred at the same time that the last remnant of Mongolian dominion in the Crimea fell to Russia.

The Tatar dynasty of the Yuen, Yun, or Yuan, founded by Khubilai Khan in China, maintained itself for seventy-two years after his death, which took place in 1294. Nine emperors reigned during this period, and the last of these, Shunti, Mongolian Tokatimur, had to retreat in 1368 into Mongolia before the founder of the native dynasty Tai-Ming—Hong-wu. There he founded the dynasty of the northern Yuan, at Karakorm, which remained independent under twenty-two khans until 1691, but was then weakened by internal dissensions, and during the rule of Changhi, from 1662-1722, became more and more subject to the Chinese, to whom it is still subject.

When Timur conquered the rebellious Kiptchak khan Toktamish and devastated his realm as far as Moscow, Toktamish had fled to Lithuania. The prince of that country, Withold, not only repulsed the inroad of the Tatars from Poland, but in 1397 crossed the Dnieper with an army composed of Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians, and devastated the territory of the Tatars—notably that of Prince Edigei—as far as the Don, and took back to Lithuania many thousands of Tatars with their wives and children. In their new home these renounced Islam and mingled with the inhabitants of

[1400-1480 A.D.]

the country. Withold and his protégé the khan Toktamish were defeated on the Vorskla on August 5th, 1399, by Edigei and by the khan Kothlog Timur, whom he had put on the throne and who had been confirmed in his office by Timur. Kothlog Timur died on October 29th, 1399, and Edigei made his brother Shad-i-beg king. Shad-i-beg caused Toktamish to be murdered in 1408 in Siberia, but was soon afterwards himself deposed by Edigei, whereupon the latter elevated a son of Kothlog's, Pulad. Edigei wished, in 1409, to march against Lithuania, supported by the king; but since the Russian grand duke Vasili Dmitrievitch (1389-1425) refused his alliance they opened war upon him instead, and with terrible devastation of the country reduced Pereiaslavl, Rostov, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, and Nijni-Novgorod to ashes. Only Moscow withstood bravely, although it was stormed by Pulad for three weeks beginning on December 1st, 1410. The retiring Tatar army carried so many prisoners with it that every soldier had forty as his share of the booty. In the mean time, however, another son of Kothlog, Timur, had usurped the throne, and in July, 1411, forced Edigei with his puppet khan Pulad to flee. Timur was dethroned in the same year by Jelal ad-din, a son of Toktamish, but Jelal ad-din in turn was murdered by his brother Kerim Berdei in December, 1412, in a battle in which Edigei was defeated. This fratricide was murdered in 1418 by another of his brothers, Yarim Ferdei or Tschappar Berdei, against whom Edigei conspired with Withold of Lithuania. They set up Tschekre in opposition to him. Six other opposition khans arose at the same time. Ulu (*i. e.* the great) Makhmet, who drove out Tschekre and took Edigei prisoner, was finally victorious over all his rivals, and after 1427 ruled for a short time alone. Kutchuk (little) Muhammed, however, a son of Timur's, and Gaias ad-din, a son of Shad-i-beg's, then arose against Said Ahmed or Abu-Said Janibeg, the son of Barrah; Gaias ad-din also drove Ulu Muhammed out of Sarai, but was killed by Kutchuk Muhammed after a month and a half.

Although Muhammed was now khan of the Golden Horde (*ordu*) his power was still very limited, for Ulu Muhammed founded another khanate at Kazan, and Said Ahmed ruled independently at Iaik and Haji Girai or Gherai in the Crimea and on the lower Volga. All these hordes were troublesome to Russia and Poland on account of their devastating inroads, but they became more and more weakened through internal dissensions. Ulu Muhammed was killed by his own son Mahmudek in 1446; Said Ahmed wished to establish himself between the Don and the Dnieper, but was driven out by Haji Girai in 1445. He was finally taken prisoner by Kazimierz V of Poland and sent to Kovno, where he died in misery, although his horde still continued to harass Russia and Podolia until 1460. There was peace then for five years, because the Russian grand duke Ivan Vasilievitch (1462-1505) and the khan of Crimea, Haji Girai, were allies and no one ventured to disturb the peace.

When Haji Girai died in 1466, Ivan Vasilievitch ventured to attack the khanate Kazan, and subdued it in 1469 after a three years' war. Ivan had for nine years refused to pay tribute to Kutchuk Muhammed, khan of the Golden Horde in Sarai, but now that King Kazimierz, the bitter opponent of Russia, offered to aid him, Muhammed esteemed it the proper time to win back the dominion over Russia, and in the summer of 1480 he declared war. The grand duke, however, very cleverly allied himself with Mengli Girai, the khan of Crimea, the son of Haji Girai, so that the latter was forced to fall upon Podolia and Volhynia, which made it impossible for the king of Poland to send help to Muhammed. Since the Tatars could not pass

Oka, which was fortified by the Russians, they turned towards Ugra, hoping there to see their ally Kazimierz of Poland coming to their assistance with an army. He did not come, and the Russians, urged on by the clergy to fight for liberation from the heathen yoke, flocked together in such numbers that their camp covered a space of forty-five miles, and drove back the Tatar vanguard which wished to cross the Ugra. From October 8th until December 7th the armies, separated by the river, stood facing each other, inactive except for a few skirmishes. The grand duke made proposals of peace, but since the khan demanded unconditional surrender, servile debasement, and

the tribute which had been in arrears for nine years, the terms were not accepted. But this delay and inactivity discouraged the Russians so much that they were seized by a panic for no especial cause, and on November 7th took flight.

At the same time, however, the khan Kutchuk Muhammed also retired because he had received news not only that Kazimierz was hard pressed by Mengli Girai and could not come to his assistance, but also that the grand duke had sent down an army under the Crimean prince Nurdewlet and the voyevode of Sweingrod on the Volga to attack his capital Sarai; he had cause to fear also that Mengli Girai would attack him in the rear. In fact the latter had incited Iwak, the khan of the Sheibanian lords of Jumen, to fall upon Sarai from Iaik, to destroy the *yurt* of the khan and murder his family, then to cross the Volga and join forces with the sixteen thousand Nogaian Tatars under Yaghmurjei, a brother-in-law of Kutchuk Muhammed, who was thus threatened on all sides. Kutchuk Muhammed had retired to the neighbourhood of Asov to winter there. In this place he was attacked by Iwak and Yaghmurjei and killed by



A MESSENGER, TURKEY

the latter in his own tent. Thus died Kutchuk Muhammed, at the beginning of the year 1481, in the forty-third year of his reign; he was the fiftieth of the khans who as rulers of the Golden Horde had for two hundred and sixty years spread the terror of their power far and wide in Asia and Europe, ever since 1221, indeed, when Juji, the son of Jenghiz Khan, had established himself in Kiptchak. Russia was at length free from the yoke of the Tatars, less through her own warlike strength than through the inner dissensions of her oppressors.

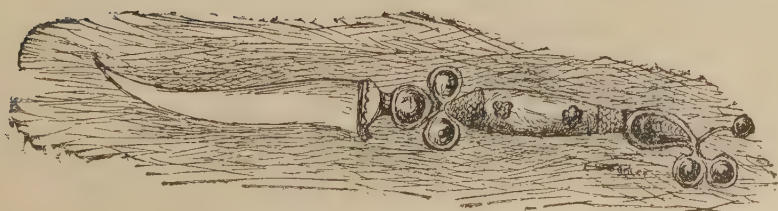
The fragments still remaining of the once so powerful Kiptchak khanate of the Golden Horde were: (1) The khanate of the Sheibanian horde at Jumen in Siberia; (2) the khanate of Astrakhan on the lower Volga and on the Don;

[1475-1784 A.D.]

(3) the khanate in Desht Kiptchak, under which are to be understood the steppes of the Achtuba as far as Signakh on the Sir-Daria and Khwarezm; (4) the khanate in the Crimea, the princes of which all bore the surname Girai, from its founder Haji Girai.

The first three khanates soon came into subjection to Russia and were incorporated into that state; the khanate founded in the Crimea outlasted all the states founded by the Mongols. After 1475 it became so far subject to the Ottomans, under Muhammed II, that they appointed and confirmed the khan. Beginning in 1698, Russian armies repeatedly invaded the Crimea because its inhabitants by their raids caused extensive devastation; but it was not until 1771 that a general of Empress Catherine II, Peter Dolgoruki, really conquered them, and in the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774 the Porte had to recognise them as an independent state, which was to be ruled by a prince chosen from the people. The khan Girai, whose election had been effected and confirmed by Russia, was obliged on account of Turkish oppression to retire to Russia. This power gave him a pension, and on April 19th, 1783, declared Crimea to be a Russian province. To this provision the Porte was obliged to acquiesce in 1784. Girai went to Turkey afterwards, and was put to death at Rhodes at the command of the great Turk Abdul-Hamid I. Thus, after five hundred and sixty years, disappeared the last vestige of the Tatar power which had weighed so heavily on eastern Europe. At the same period the English seized the last fragments of the kingdom of the grand mogul in India.

Its place in the southern part of eastern Europe was taken by the Ottomans, who first broke into this region in 1355 under Suleiman. They chose Adrianople as a stronghold in 1402, invaded Germany in 1415 under Muhammed I, and, devastating the land as far as Salzburg, conquered Constantinople in 1453 under Muhammed II. When we consider that the Tatars, of whom there were only a hundred and fifty thousand in Batu's army in 1241, became lost in all the western lands of Asia among the Turkish hordes, through which chiefly they established and maintained their power, and whose language and religion, habits and customs they adopted, we may say with justice that the Ottoman Turkish scourge in Christian Europe is only a continuation of the Tatar Turkish.^c





CHAPTER II

THE PERIOD OF AGGRANDISEMENT

[1200-1520 A.D.]

ABOUT six centuries and a half ago a pastoral band of four hundred Turkish families was journeying westward from the upper streams of the river Euphrates. Their armed force consisted of four hundred and forty-four horsemen, and their leader's name was Ertoghrul, which means the right-hearted man. As they travelled through Asia Minor they came in sight of a field of battle on which two armies of unequal numbers were striving for the mastery. Without knowing who the combatants were, the "right-hearted man" took instantly the chivalrous resolution to aid the weaker party, and charging desperately and victoriously with his warriors upon the larger host, he decided the fortune of the day. Such, according to the oriental historian Neschri,¹ is the first recorded exploit of that branch of the Turkish race which from Ertoghrul's son, Osman or Othman, has been called the nation of the Ottoman Turks. And in this, their earliest feat of arms, which led to the foundation of their empire, we may trace the same spirit of haughty generosity that has been their characteristic down to our own times.

The little band of Ertoghrul was a fragment of a tribe of Oghuz Turks which, under Ertoghrul's father, Suleiman Shah, had left their settlements in Khorasan and sojourned for a time in Armenia. After a few years they left this country also, and were following the course of the Euphrates towards Syria, when their leader was accidentally drowned in that river. The greater part of the tribe then dispersed; but a little remnant of it followed two of Suleiman's sons, Ertoghrul and Dundar, who determined to seek a dwelling-place in Asia Minor, under the Seljukian Turk, Aladdin (Ala-ad-din), the sultan of Iconium. It so happened that it was Aladdin himself who com-

¹ Neschri states this on the authority of Mewlana Ayas, who had heard the battle narrated by the stirrup-holder of Ertoghrul's grandson Orkhan, who had heard it from Ertoghrul himself, and had told it to his followers.

[1200-1250 A.D.]

manded the army to which Ertoghrul and his warriors brought such opportune succour on the battle-field, whither their march in quest of Aladdin had casually led them. The adversaries, from whose superior force they delivered him, were a host of Mongols, the deadliest enemies of the Turkish race. Aladdin, in gratitude for this eminent service, bestowed on Ertoghrul a principality in Asia Minor, near the frontiers of the Bithynian province of the Byzantine emperors.

The rich plains of Saguta along the left bank of the river Sakaria, and the higher districts on the slopes of the Ermeni Mountains, became now the pasture-grounds of the father of Osman. The town of Saguta, or Sægud, was his also. Here he and the shepherd warriors who had marched with him from Khorasan and Armenia dwelt as denizens of the land. Ertoghrul's force of fighting men was largely recruited by the best and bravest of the old inhabitants, who became his subjects; and, still more advantageously, by numerous volunteers of kindred origin to his own. The Turkish race had been extensively spread through lower Asia long before the time of Ertoghrul. Quitting their primitive abodes on the upper steppes of the Asiatic continent, tribe after tribe of that martial family of nations had poured down upon the rich lands and tempting wealth of the southern and western regions, when the power of the early caliphs had decayed like that of the Greek emperors.

One branch of the Turks, called the Seljukian, from their traditionary patriarch Seljuk Khan, had acquired and consolidated a mighty empire more than two centuries before the name of the Ottomans was heard. The Seljukian Turks were once masters of nearly all Asia Minor, of Syria, of Mesopotamia, Armenia, part of Persia, and western Turkestan, and their great sultans, Toghrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Melek Shah are among the most renowned conquerors that stand forth in oriental and in Byzantine history. But by the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, when Ertoghrul appeared on the battle-field in Asia Minor, the great fabric of Seljukian dominion had been broken up by the assaults of the conquering Mongols, aided by internal corruption and civil strife. The Seljukian sultan Aladdin reigned in ancient pomp at Iconium, the old Konieh, but his effective supremacy extended over a narrow compass, compared with the ample sphere throughout which his predecessors had exacted obedience. The Mongols had rent away the southern and eastern acquisitions of his race. In the centre and south of Asia Minor other Seljukian chiefs ruled various territories as independent princes; and the Greek emperors of Constantinople had recovered a considerable portion of the old Roman provinces in the north and east of that peninsula.

Amid the general tumult of border warfare, and of ever-recurring peril from roving armies of Mongols, which pressed upon Aladdin, the settlement in his dominions of a loyal chieftain and hardy clan, such as Ertoghrul and his followers, was a welcome accession of strength; especially as the newcomers were, like the Seljukian Turks, zealous adherents of the Mohammedan faith. The Crescent was the device that Aladdin bore on his banners; Ertoghrul, as Aladdin's vicegerent, assumed the same standard; and it was by Ertoghrul's race that the Crescent was made for centuries the terror of Christendom, as the sign of aggressive Islam and as the chosen emblem of the conquering Ottoman power.

There was little peace in Ertoghrul's days on the frontier near which he had obtained his first grants of land. Ertoghrul had speedy and frequent opportunities for augmenting his military renown, and for gratifying his followers with the spoils of successful forays and assaults. The boldest Turkish adventurers flocked eagerly to the banner of the new and successful chieftain of their

race, and Aladdin gladly recognised the value of his feudatory's services by fresh honours and marks of confidence and by increased donations of territory.

In a battle which Ertoghrul, as Aladdin's lieutenant, fought against a mixed army of Greeks and Mongols, between Brusa and Yenisher, he drew up his troops so as to throw forward upon the enemy a cloud of light cavalry, called *akindji*, thus completely masking the centre of the main army, which, as the post of honour, was termed the "sultan's station." Ertoghrul held the centre himself, at the head of the four hundred and forty-four horsemen who were his own original followers, and whose scimitars had won the day for Aladdin when they first charged unconsciously in his cause. The system now adopted by Ertoghrul of wearying the enemy by collision with a mass of irregular troops, and then pressing him with a reserve of the best soldiers, was for centuries the favourite tactic of his descendants. The battle in which he now employed it was long and obstinate, but in the end the Turkish chief won a complete victory. Aladdin, on being informed of this achievement of his gallant and skilful vassal, bestowed on him the additional territory of Eski-Shehr, and in memory of the mode in which Ertoghrul had arrayed his army Aladdin gave to his principality the name of Sultan-Eni, which means "sultan's front."

The territory which received that name, and still bears it, as one of the sandjaks or minor governments of the Ottoman Empire, is nearly identical with the ancient Phrygia Epictetos. It was rich in pasturage, both in its alluvial meadows and along its mountain slopes. It contained also many fertile corn lands and vineyards, and the romantic beauty of every part of its thickly wooded and well-watered highlands still attracts the traveller's admiration.^b

According to another account, Ertoghrul and his followers were pagans, and it was only by contact with the Moslem inhabitants of the country that they gradually became converted to Islam. Oriental historians relate that Ertoghrul first became acquainted with the *Korana* when on one of his journeys he was entertained at the home of a pious Moslem. Seeing a book in the hands of his host, he was told that that was the word of God as it had been announced by his prophet. When his host had gone to bed Ertoghrul took the *Koran* and read it, standing, all night long. He then fell asleep, and, dreaming, heard a voice from above say, "Since thou hast read my eternal word with so much respect, thy children and the children of thy children shall be honoured from generation to generation." Ertoghrul died in 1288, and was succeeded by his son Osman.

OSMAN (1288-1326 A.D.)

The name Osman or Othman signifies "breaker of limbs." It was this name which became that of Osman's people, the Osmanlis or Ottomans. Under Osman a new step was taken in the path of Islam. The young prince often went to visit the learned and pious sheikh Edebalı, living at Ithuruni, a village near Eski-Shehr. He saw the sheikh's daughter, Mal-Khatun, asked for her hand, and was refused; he was still too insignificant a lord. But one night he dreamed that he saw the moon arise from Edebalı's breast. It seemed to Osman that she grew bigger and bigger until, when full, she hid herself in him. Thereupon there grew out of his loins a colossal tree, the branches of which with their shadow covered lands and seas, domes and obelisks, triumphal columns and pyramids. From the roots of the tree flowed earth's great rivers, the Tigris, Euphrates, Nile, and Danube; four great mountains—Caucasus,

[1288-1326 A.D.]

Balkan, Taurus, and Atlas—supported its boughs. Suddenly a violent wind arose, and turning its leaves, which were elongated in shape like sword-blades, caused them all to point toward a single city. This city, situated at the junction of two seas and continents, looked like a ring set with two sapphires and two emeralds. Osman was about to put it on his finger, when he awoke. He related his dream to his host; the sheikh understood it to be a sign sent from God, and gave him the hand of his daughter. The preaching of Edebali hastened the conversion of Osman and of his people.

The conversion was to have incalculable influence upon history. The Ottomans had been only a crowd of nomads, mixed with Turkomans, perhaps with Mongols. The new religion made a nation of them. Furthermore, Mohammedan orthodoxy was to do for them what orthodox Christianity had done for the "Romans" of Byzantium—it was to give them the power to attract and assimilate heterogeneous foreign elements. On the other hand Islam, which had exhausted itself among the Arabic, Persian, and Berber races, would have fallen five hundred years earlier into the state of political impotence in which we see it to-day, if the Turkish race had not, through the powerful organisation of the Ottoman state and the severe discipline of the Ottoman army, infused into it new youth, new barbaric life, and new fanaticism. The alliance of the Turks with Islam, like the alliance of the Franks with Catholicism in the fifth and eighth centuries, brought forth a world.^c

Osman's conquests were soon extended beyond the limits of Sultan-Eni, partly at the expense of rival Turkish chieftains, but principally by wresting fortress after fortress and region after region from the Greek Empire. At the close of the thirteenth century of our era the Ottoman headquarters of empire were advanced as far northwestward as the city of Yenisher, within a short march of the important Greek cities of Brusa and Nicæa, which were now the special objects of Turkish ambition.

It would, however, be unjust to represent Osman as merely an ambitious military adventurer, or to suppose that his whole career was marked by restless rapacity and aggressive violence against the neighbouring states. From 1291 to 1298 A.D. he was at peace; and the war that next followed was, at its commencement, a defensive one on his part, caused by the jealous aggressions of other Turkish emirs, who envied his prosperity, and who were aided by some of the Greek commandants in the vicinity. Thus roused into action, Osman showed that his power had been strengthened, not corrupted, by repose, and he smote his enemies in every direction. The effect of his arms in winning new subjects to his sway was materially aided by the reputation which he had honourably acquired as a just lawgiver and judge, in whose dominions Greek and Turk, Christian and Mohammedan, enjoyed equal protection for property and person. It was about this time (1299) that he coined money with his own effigy, and caused the public prayers to be said in his name. These, among the oriental nations, are regarded as the distinctive marks of royalty.

In 1326 the great city of Brusa surrendered to the Ottomans. Osman was on his death-bed, at Saguta, the first town that his father Ertoghrul had possessed, when his son effected this important conquest; but he lived long enough to hear the glad tidings and to welcome the young hero. The oriental writers narrate the last scene of Osman's life, and profess to record his dying advice to his successor. The fair Mal-Khatun had gone before him to the grave; but the two brave sons whom she had borne him, Orkhan and Aladdin, and a few of his veteran captains and sages were at the monarch's death-bed. "My son," said Osman to Orkhan, "I am dying; and I die without regret, because I leave such a successor as thou art. Be just; love goodness, and show

mercy. Give equal protection to all thy subjects, and extend the law of the prophet. Such are the duties of princes upon earth, and it is thus that they bring on them the blessings of heaven." Then, as if he wished to take actual seisin of Brusa, and to associate himself with his son's glory, he directed that he should be buried there, and advised his son to make that city the seat of empire.

His last wishes were loyally complied with; and a stately mausoleum, which stood at Brusa until its destruction by fire in the present age, marked the last resting-place of Osman, and proved the pious reverence of his descendants. His banner and his sabre are still preserved in the treasury of the empire; and the martial ceremony of girding on that sabre is the solemn rite, analogous to the coronations of Christendom, by which the Turkish sultans are formally invested with sovereign power.

Osman is commonly termed the first sultan of his race; but neither he nor his two immediate successors assumed more than the title of emir. He had, at the time of his death, reigned as an independent emir twenty-seven years, and had been chief of his tribe for thirty-nine years of his life of sixty-eight. His career fully displays the buoyant courage, the subtle watchfulness, the resolute decision, the strong common-sense, and the power of winning and wielding the affections and energies of other men which are the usual attributes of the founders of empires. And, notwithstanding his blood-guiltiness in his uncle's death,¹ we must believe him to have been eminently mild and gracious for an oriental sovereign, from the traditional attachment with which his memory is still cherished by his nation, and which is expressed at the accession of each new sultan by the formula of the people's prayer, "May he be as good as Osman."

ORKHAN (1326-1359 A.D.)

Emir Osman now slept at Brusa, and Emir Orkhan reigned in his stead. Fratricide was not yet regarded as the necessary safeguard of the throne, and Orkhan earnestly besought his brother Aladdin to share with him his sovereignty and his wealth. Aladdin firmly refused to consent to any division of the empire, and so contravene the will of their father, who had addressed Orkhan only as his successor. Nor would Aladdin accept more of the paternal property than the revenues of a single village near Brusa. Orkhan then said to him, "Since, my brother, thou wilt not take the flocks and the herds that I offer thee, be thou the shepherd of my people; be my vizir." The word "vizir" in the Ottoman language means the bearer of a burden; and Aladdin, in accepting the office, took on him, according to the oriental historians, his brother's burden of power. Aladdin did not, like many of his successors in that office, often command in person the armies of his race, but he occupied himself most efficiently with the foundation and management of the civil and military institutions of his country.

According to some authorities, it was in his time and by his advice that the semblance of vassalage to the ruler of Konieh, by stamping money with his effigy and using his name in the public prayers, was discontinued by the Ottomans. These changes are more correctly referred by others to Osman himself; but all the oriental writers concur in attributing to Aladdin the introduction of laws, which endured for centuries, respecting the costume of the

[¹ In 1299 Osman's old uncle tried to dissuade him from attacking the Greek stronghold of Köprihissar, urging caution. Osman, perhaps for fear that the old man's advice would affect his other followers, shot him dead on the spot.^a]

[1326-1359 A.D.]

various subjects of the empire, and of laws which created a standing army of regular troops and provided funds for its support. It was, above all, by his advice and that of a contemporary Turkish statesman that the celebrated corps of janissaries was formed, an institution which European writers erroneously fix at a later date, and ascribe to Murad I.

Military Organisation

Aladdin, by his military legislation, may be truly said to have organised victory for the Ottoman race. He originated for the Turks a standing army of regularly paid and disciplined infantry and horse a full century before Charles VII of France established his fifteen permanent companies of men-at-arms, which are generally regarded as the first standing army known in modern history. Orkhan's predecessors, Ertoghrul and Osman, had made war at the head of the armed vassals and volunteers who thronged on horseback to their prince's banner when summoned for each expedition, and who were disbanded as soon as the campaign was over. Aladdin determined to insure and improve future successes by forming a corps of paid infantry, which should be kept in constant readiness for service. These troops were called *Yaya*, or *Piadé*, and they were divided into tens, hundreds, and thousands, under their respective decurions, centurions, and colonels. Their pay was high, and their pride and turbulence soon made them objects of anxiety to their sovereign. Orkhan wished to provide a check to them, and he took counsel for this purpose with his brother Aladdin and Kara Khali Tschendereli, who was connected with the royal house by marriage. Tschendereli laid before his master and the vizir a project out of which arose the renowned corps of the janissaries, so long the scourge of Christendom—so long, also, the terror of their own sovereigns, and which was finally extirpated by the sultan himself.

Tschendereli proposed to Orkhan to create an army entirely composed of Christian children, who should be forced to adopt the Mohammedan religion. Black Khalil argued thus: "The conquered are the property of the conqueror, who is the lawful master of them, of their lands, of their goods, of their wives, and of their children. We have a right to do what we will with our own; and the treatment which I propose is not only lawful, but benevolent. By enforcing the conversion of these captive children to the true faith and enrolling them in the ranks of the army of the true believers, we consult both their temporal and eternal interests; for is it not written in the *Koran* that all children are, at their birth, naturally disposed to Islam?" He also alleged that the formation of a Mohammedan army out of Christian children would induce other Christians to adopt the creed of the prophet; so that the new force would be recruited not only out of the children of the conquered nations, but out of a crowd of their Christian friends and relations, who would come as volunteers to join the Ottoman ranks.

Acting on this advice, Orkhan selected out of the families of the Christians whom he had conquered a thousand of the finest boys. In the next year a thousand more were taken; and this annual enrolment of a thousand Christian children was continued for three centuries, until the reign of Sultan Muhammed IV, in 1648. When the prisoners made in the campaign of the year did not supply a thousand serviceable boys, the number was completed by a levy on the families of the Christian subjects of the sultan. This was changed in the time of Muhammed IV, and the corps was thenceforth recruited from among the children of janissaries and native Turks; but during the con-

quering period of the Ottoman power the institution of the janissaries, as designed by Aladdin and Tschendereli, was maintained in full vigour.

The name of *yeni tscheri*, which means "new troops," and which European writers have turned into janissaries, was given to Orkhan's young corps by the dervish Hadji Beytasch. This dervish was renowned for sanctity; and Orkhan, soon after he had enrolled his first band of involuntary boyish pros-

elytes, led them to the dwelling-place of the saint, and asked him to give them his blessing and a name. The dervish drew the sleeve of his mantle over the head of one in the first rank, and then said to the sultan, "The troop which thou hast created shall be called *yeni tscheri*. Their faces shall be white and shining, their right arms shall be strong, their sabres shall be keen, and their arrows sharp. They shall be fortunate in fight, and they shall never leave the battle-field save as conquerors." In memory of that benediction, the janissaries ever wore, as part of their uniform, a cap of white felt, like that of the dervish, with a strip of woollen hanging down behind, to represent the sleeve of the holy man's mantle that had been laid on their comrade's neck.

The Christian children who were to be trained as janissaries were usually chosen at a tender age. They were torn from their parents, trained to renounce the faith in which they were born and baptised, and to profess the creed of Mohammed. They were then carefully educated for a soldier's life. The discipline to which they were subjected was severe. They were taught the most implicit obedience; and they were accustomed to bear, without repining, fatigue, pain, and hunger. But liberal honours and prompt promotion were the sure rewards of docility and courage. Cut off from all ties of country, kith, and kin, but with high pay and privileges,



A DERVISH

with ample opportunities for military advancement and for the gratification of the violent, the sensual, and the sordid passions of their animal natures amid the customary atrocities of successful warfare, this military brotherhood grew up to be the strongest and fiercest instrument of imperial ambition which remorseless fanaticism, prompted by the most subtle statecraft, ever devised upon earth.

The Ottoman historians eulogise with one accord the sagacity and piety of the founders of this institution. They reckon the number of conquerors

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whom it gave to earth, and of heirs of paradise whom it gave to heaven, on the hypothesis that, during three centuries, the stated number of a thousand Christian children, neither more nor less, was levied, converted, and enlisted. They boast, accordingly, that three hundred thousand children were delivered from the torments of hell by being made janissaries. But von Hammer calculates, from the increase in the number of these troops under later sultans, that at least half a million of young Christians must have been thus made first the helpless victims and then the cruel ministers of Mohammedan power.

After the organisation of the janissaries Aladdin regulated that of the other corps of the army. In order that the soldier should have an interest not only in making but in preserving conquests, it was determined that the troops should receive allotments of land in the subjugated territories. The regular infantry, the *piadé*, had at first received pay in money; but they now had lands given to them on tenure of military service, and they were also under the obligation of keeping in good repair the public roads that led near their grounds. The irregular infantry, which had neither pay like the janissaries nor lands like the *piadé*, was called *azab*, which means "light." The lives of these undisciplined bands were held of little value, and the *azabs* were thrown forward to perish in multitudes at the commencement of a battle or a siege. It was over their bodies that the janissaries usually marched to the decisive charge or the final assault.

The cavalry was distributed by Aladdin, like the infantry, into regular and irregular troops. The permanent corps of paid cavalry was divided into four squadrons, organised like those which the caliph Omar instituted for the guard of the sacred standard. The whole corps at first consisted of only two thousand four hundred horsemen; but under Suleiman the Great the number was raised to four thousand. They marched on the right and left of the sultan; they camped round his tent at night, and they were his body-guard in battle. One of these regiments of royal horse guards was called the Turkish *spahis*, a term applied to cavalry soldiers generally, but also specially denoting these select horse guards. Another regiment was called the *sühhdars*, meaning the "vassal cavalry." A third was called the *oulou-fedji*, meaning the "paid horsemen"; and the fourth was called *ghoureba*, meaning the "foreign horse."

Besides this permanently embodied corps of paid cavalry, Aladdin formed a force of horsemen, who received grants of land like the *piadé*. As they paid no taxes for the lands which they thus held, they were termed *moselliman*, which means "tax-free." They were commanded by *sandjak beys* (princes of standards), by *binbaschi* (chiefs of thousands), and *soubaschi* (chiefs of hundreds). There were other holders of the grand and petty fiefs which were called *ziamets* and *timars*. These terms will be adverted to hereafter, when we reach the period at which the Turkish feudal system was more fully developed and defined. But in the earliest times their holders were bound to render military service on horseback when summoned by their sovereign; and they were arrayed under banners, in thousands and in hundreds, like the *mosellimans*. In addition to the regular and feudal cavalry, there were the *akindji*, or irregular light horse, receiving neither pay nor lands, but dependent on plunder, who were still called together in multitudes whenever an Ottoman army was on the march; and the terror which these active and ferocious marauders spread far and wide beyond the regular line of operations made the name of the *akindji* as much known and dreaded in Christendom as that of the janissaries and *spahis*.^b

Orkhan was the first sultan of the Osmanli Empire. Cantacuzenus joined

with him to attack John (V) Palæologus, and even gave him his daughter in marriage; and the Turks seized upon every opportunity to benefit by the dissensions in the Byzantine Empire. Orkhan's son, Suleiman, was the first prince who entertained the idea of gaining a firm footing in Europe. An earthquake about this time severely injured the towns in the Thracian littoral, and threw down their walls. Through these openings the Turks forced their way into the towns, and fortified themselves in them. The most important of these conquests was the town of Gallipoli, then called Callipolis, the key of the Hellespont and the emporium of the Greek and eastern trade.

MURAD I

Suleiman died before his father, in consequence of a fall from his horse (he was the first Osmanli prince buried in Europe); and consequently, on Orkhan's death, his younger brother, Murad I, mounted the throne (1359-1389). The latter conquered the whole country from the Hellespont to the Balkan, and made Adrianople the chief seat of his empire. For the first time the Greeks were surrounded in their capital by the same foe both in Europe and Asia. But it was not alone the Greek Empire that was menaced. The appearance of the Mohammedans in regions which had been inaccessible even to the Arabians under the first fervour of Islam was a cause of terror to the adjoining countries, if not to all Europe, and after Pope Urban V had preached a crusade against the Turks, the rulers of Hungary, Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia united in a war against the common foe. They were, however, defeated, and the Slavonic tribes between the Danube and the Adriatic became either tributary or entirely subject to the Turks. They attempted several insurrections, but without any permanent result.

In a rebellion of the Servians, in connection with the Albanians and the Bosnians, Murad found the termination of his glory and of his life. The Turks gained in 1389 a decisive victory on the Amselfeld in Servia; but after the end of the battle Murad fell by the hand of a Servian noble, by name Milosh Kobilovitch, under circumstances which bear a most romantic tinge. The sultan was going over the field of battle, accompanied by his vizir, in order to gaze on the multitude of victims who had fallen before his prowess. He remarked after a while, "It would be strange were my dream of last night to come true. I saw myself murdered by a hostile hand. But," he added, "dreams are the creation of the fancy; it cannot be possible." This was heard by a Servian who lay among the dead but had not yet expired, and he concluded that the sultan stood before him. Collecting his last despairing energies, he rose suddenly and stabbed the sultan. The Servian was of course cut to pieces, but the sultan also expired within two hours. Before he died, however, he ordered the execution of Lazarus, the captured king of Servia.^d

The Servian chroniclers and the Byzantine historians give another version of the death of Murad: "The night before the battle the king was drinking with his nobles out of cups called *stravizas*. 'Drink this cup to my health,' said Lazarus to Milosh, although you are accused of betraying us.' 'Thanks,' replied Milosh, 'to-morrow will prove my fidelity.' The next morning Milosh, on a powerful charger, went to the enemy's camp and asked, as a fugitive, to be allowed to kiss the sultan's feet. The boon was granted him."¹ It is then that Milosh is said to have seized the favourable moment to stab Murad.

¹ Jean Ducas.

[1389-1396 A.D.]

BAYAZID I

Murad had hardly drawn his last breath when the army acclaimed as king his eldest son Bayazid, whose brilliant merits had won him the cognomen Yilderim (lightning). The new prince inaugurated his reign by the assassination of his brother Yakub. He had been unable to see, without jealousy, this rival in glory sharing with him the affection of the soldiers; and fearing lest his brother might try to deprive him of his crown—according to the precedent set by Orkhan, who had been preferred to his elder brother—he had the young prince strangled with a bow-string.¹ The example thus set by Bayazid proved a precedent which all his successors followed. The assassination, or, at least, the captivity, of the brother of the sultan became a law of state.^e

Injustice and tyranny were the prominent features of Bayazid's reign; he was violent and unrestrained in his outbreaks of passion, and was the first Osmanli sultan who drank wine in opposition to the commands of the *Koran*. He crossed the Danube, took possession of nearly all the towns belonging to the Byzantines in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; invaded Greece, and subjugated the greater portion of Asia Minor. Simultaneously, a Turkish army conquered Wallachia, and carried on the war in Bosnia and Hungary.

In 1392, Sigismund, king of Hungary, advanced against the Turks in Bulgaria, and though victorious at first, was eventually forced to retreat. He then appealed to the other European princes, representing to them the danger that menaced them, and prayed for assistance. A special embassy was sent to France, and moved the compassion of that nation by a representation of a cruelty exercised by the Turks against the Christians, and found an influential patron in Philip the Bold of Burgundy. He sent his only son, the count de Nevers, to war against the Turks, and the flower of the French nobility accompanied him. The number of this army amounted to a thousand knights, the same number of soldiers, and six thousand mercenaries.

The march of this army through Germany resembled rather that of an extravagant court than of a band of warriors, so greatly did they yield to pleasure and enjoyment. Pesth was the general rendezvous, where the French and Hungarians were joined by bands of Germans. The number of warriors led by Sigismund against the Turks amounted to sixty thousand, and this army would have been sufficiently powerful to repulse the enemy, had not arrogance and disunion caused their destruction. The French knights boasted that they would support the sky itself with their lances, if it fell upon them; no thought of a defeat crossed their proud, impetuous minds, and it seemed an easy matter to them not only to drive the Turks out of Europe, but to advance into Asia and free the Holy Sepulchre. The campaign was opened by the siege of Nikopoli. Bayazid hurried up to the assistance of the garrison. The Europeans would not at first believe the truth of the rumour of his approach, and the preparations for battle were hurriedly commenced when the news was only too certain.

The day of this unhappy battle was the 28th of September, 1396. To no purpose did Sigismund entreat the French not to waste their strength on the light Turkish cavalry, but await the advance of the janissaries and spahis. They regarded this as an insult to their honour, and rushed madly and inconsiderately to battle. Thousands fell before them, and the victory might pos-

[¹ Strangulation with a bow-string is the most honourable form of capital punishment. Only the great of the empire are privileged to die by that means. Similarly, in former times only the condemned of the aristocracy had been honoured with death by beheading.]

sibly have been gained had they not rashly dispersed in pursuit ere they came up with the nucleus of Bayazid's army. When they perceived this phalanx their spirits sank. The majority fled in terror; a few only sought and found an honourable death, but even flight could not save the rest. The count de Nevers was taken prisoner with twenty-one of his most illustrious comrades-in-arms. In vain did Sigismund now lead up his Bavarian and Styrian knights and a body of his brave Hungarians. The fate of the day was decided by the Servians, who were the confederates of the Turks. Sigismund escaped with great difficulty on board a boat on the Danube.

When Bayazid on the next morning surveyed the battle-field and saw sixty thousand of his soldiers lying dead, he wept for grief, and swore to revenge the death of so many Turks upon the captives. After the French knights had been reserved for the sake of the heavy ransom, the sultan ordered a massacre, and ten thousand of the prisoners had been killed ere his magnates cast themselves at his feet and implored mercy for the rest, which he conceded. The count de Nevers and his comrades pined in captivity until they were liberated by a ransom of 200,000 ducats. Bayazid was only prevented by a severe attack of gout from pursuing his victorious career in the west, but his troops advanced far into Styria and burned Pettau.

In the mean while the terrible Timur the Lame had subverted the most powerful thrones in Asia, and had advanced to the Euphrates on the appeal for assistance from the Greek court of Trebizond. In 1400 he conquered the Pontic town of Sebastia (now called Sivas) and executed Bayazid's son, who fell into his hands on this occasion. Bayazid, who was then before the walls of Constantinople, raised the siege and hurried to Asia Minor. Timur had in the mean time marched southwards, and in a very short space of time Aleppo, Damascus, and Baghdad fell before his powerful army. At last the Turkish and Mongolian army met for the decisive contest before Angora (1402). The two armies probably amounted to a million of warriors, and although the Mongolians were far superior in number, the Turks made up for this by their experience in war.

But Bayazid selected, in opposition to the advice of his grand vizir, a plain for the battle-field, and as the Asiatics serving in his army deserted to Timur during the engagement, the Turks were defeated in spite of their usual bravery, and Bayazid was taken prisoner, after the whole of his body-guard had fallen. Three of his five sons saved their lives—Suleiman, Muhammed, and Musa, late the viceroy in Europe. Isa was taken prisoner with his father, and his remaining son, Mustapha, fell in battle. Timur treated the captured monarch with respect, and on his attempt to escape had him carried from each encampment in a gilded litter, like those that Turkish ladies made use of. Thence arose the rumour of the iron cage in which he was said to be kept. Bayazid died in imprisonment in 1403, and Timur retired to Samarkand, where he also died in 1405.

CIVIL WAR

With Bayazid's captivity and death the Turkish Empire seemed utterly annihilated, more especially as his sons carried on a war against each other, from which only an entire dissolution of the state could be expected. Suleiman, the eldest son, took possession of his father's treasures, occupied the Turco-European provinces, and selected Adrianople as his abode. Muhammed and Musa remained in Asia Minor, where the former resided in Amasia, the latter in Brusa.

[1403-1444 A.D.]

But the contest between the brothers led to the death of two (Musa and Suleiman), and the third reunited his father's empire, as Muhammed I (1413-1421), and subjected the Turkish emirs in Asia Minor. He died in 1421, but his vizirs considered it advisable to conceal his death for forty days, till Murad II (1421-1451), his son, arrived from Asia and ascended the throne. Murad had many contests with a false Mustapha who asserted that he was the son of Bayazid, and in 1440 he marched into Hungary on account of the assistance that country had afforded to the pretender. But on this occasion the Turks found an opponent equal to them, the brave Janos Hunyady, the future voyevod of Transylvania. He gained the first victory over the Turks on the 18th of March, 1442, at Herrmannstadt, and twenty thousand of the enemy were left on the battle-field; a second Turkish army of eighty thousand men he defeated with only fifteen thousand, at Vasag, although the Turkish leader had boasted that the Hungarians would fly as soon as they saw his turban.

MURAD II

Cardinal Julian, who had been sent by Pope Eugene to the Hungarian court, made every exertion to induce King Wladyslaw, who bore the double crown of Hungary and Poland, to commence a more effective war against the universal enemy of Christians. He promised the support of a crusade which the pope had ordered to be preached through the whole of the west. His words had effect, and in the summer of 1443 a large army, composed of Hungarians, Poles, Servians, Wallachians, and German crusaders, crossed the Danube. It was a glorious campaign, and had it been followed up by others of a similar nature the power of the Turks might have been broken. Hunyady gained the victory in two battles, and crossed the Balkan in December, 1443. But as the year was so far advanced, and want of provisions and sickness harassed the troops, they retreated, though not without brilliant hopes for the next year.^d

Murad had been personally successful in Asia; but the defeats which his forces had sustained in Europe and the strength of the confederacy there formed against him filled him with grave alarm. He sought by the sacrifice of the more remote conquests of his house to secure for the rest of his European dominions the same tranquillity which he had re-established in the Asiatic. After a long negotiation a treaty of peace for ten years was concluded at Szegedin on the 12th of July, 1444, by which the sultan resigned all claims upon Servia, and recognised George Brankovich as its independent sovereign. Wallachia was given up to Hungary; and the sultan paid sixty thousand ducats for the ransom of Mahmud Tchelebi, his son-in-law, who had commanded against Hunyady and had been taken prisoner in the late campaign. The treaty was written both in the Hungarian and in the Turkish languages; King Wladyslaw swore upon the Gospels, and the sultan swore upon the *Koran*, that it should be truly and religiously observed.

Murad now thought that his realm was at peace, and that he himself, after so many years of anxiety and toil, might hope to taste the blessings of repose. We have watched him hitherto as a man of action, and we have found ample reason to admire his capacity and vigour in council and in the field. But Murad had also other virtues of a softer order, which are not often to be found in the occupant of an oriental throne. He was gentle and affectionate in all the relations of domestic life. Instead of seeking to assure his safety by the death of the two younger brothers, for whose fate their

father had been so anxious, Murad treated them with kindness and honour while they lived, and bitterly lamented their loss when they died of the plague in their palace at Brusa. The other brother, who took up arms against him, was killed without his orders. He forgave, for the sake of a sister who was married to the prince of Kirman, the treasonable hostility with which that vassal of the house of Osman assailed him; and the tears of another sister for the captivity of her husband, Mahmud Tchelebi, and her entreaties that he might be rescued from the power of the terrible Hunyady, were believed to have prevailed much in causing Murad to seek the pacification of Szegedin.

When that treaty was concluded Murad passed over to Asia, where he met the deep affliction of learning the death of his eldest son Prince Aladdin, who had shared with him the command of the Ottoman forces in Asia during the operations of the preceding year. The bitterness of this bereavement increased the distaste which Murad had already acquired for the pomp and turmoil of sovereignty. He determined to abdicate the throne in favour of his second son, Prince Muhammed, and to pass the rest of his life in retirement at Magnesia. But it was not in austere privation nor in the fanatic exercises of Mohammedan monasticism that Murad designed his private life to be wasted. He was no contemner of the pleasures of sense, and the scene of his retreat was amply furnished with all the ministry of every delight.

TREACHERY OF CHRISTIANS

The tidings of warfare renewed by the Christian powers soon roused the bold Paynim, like Spenser's Cymocles, from his bower of bliss. The king of Hungary and his confederates had recommenced hostilities in a spirit of treachery that quickly received its just reward. Within a month from the signature of the Treaty of Szegedin the pope and the Greek emperor had persuaded the king of Hungary and his counsellors to take an oath to break the oath which had been pledged to the sultan. They represented that the confessed weakness of the Ottomans, and the retirement of Murad to Asia, gave an opportunity for eradicating the Turks from Europe, which ought to be fully employed. The cardinal Julian pacified the conscientious misgivings which young King Wladyslaw expressed, by his spiritual authority in giving dispensation and absolution in the pope's name, and by his eloquence in maintaining the infamously celebrated thesis that no faith is to be kept with misbelievers.

Hunyady long resisted the persuasions to break the treaty, but his conscience was appeased by the promise that he should be made independent king of Bulgaria when that province was conquered from the Turks. He stipulated only that the breach of the treaty should be delayed till September 1st; not out of any lingering reluctance to violate it, but in order that the confederates might first reap all possible benefit from it by securely establishing their forces in the strongholds of Servia, which the Ottomans were then evacuating in honest compliance with their engagements. On September 1st the king, the legate, and Hunyady marched against the surprised and unprepared Turks with an army of ten thousand Poles and Hungarians. The temerity which made them expect to destroy the Turkish power in Europe with so slight a force was equal to the dishonesty of their enterprise. They advanced into Wallachia, where Drakul, the prince of that country, joined them with his levies. That sagacious chieftain saw the inadequacy of King Wladyslaw's means for the task which he had undertaken, and remonstrated

[1444 A.D.]

against advancing further. This brought on a personal difference between him and Hunyady, in the course of which Drakul drew his sabre against the Hungarian general, and was punished by an imprisonment, from which he was released only by promising fresh supplies of troops and a large contribution of money.

The Christian army in full confidence of success crossed the Danube, and marched along the line of that river through Bulgaria to the Black Sea. They then moved southward along the coast, destroying a Turkish flotilla, receiving the surrender of many fortresses, and storming the strongholds of Sunium and Pezech. The Turkish garrisons of these places were put to the sword or thrown over precipices. Kavarna was next attacked and taken, and finally the Christians invested the celebrated city of Varna.

The possession of Varna was then, as now, considered essential for the further advance of an invading army against the Turkish European Empire. Hunyady was still successful; Varna surrendered to his arms; the triumphant Christians were encamped near it, when they suddenly received the startling tidings that it was no longer the boy Muhammed that was their adversary, but that Sultan Murad was himself again. They heard that the best warriors of Asiatic Turkey had thronged together at the summons of their veteran sovereign; that the false Genoese had been bribed to carry Murad and his army, forty thousand strong, across the Bosphorus, by a ducat for each soldier's freight, thus baffling the papal fleet that cruised idly in the Hellespont. Other messengers soon hurried into the Christian camp, who announced that the unresting sultan had come on against them by forced marches, and that the imperial Turkish army was posted within four miles of Varna.

A battle was inevitable; but the mode in which Hunyady prepared for it showed that his confidence was unabated. He rejected the advice which some gave in a council of war to form intrenchments and barricades round their camp and there await the sultan's attack. He was for an advance against the advancing foe. The young king caught the enthusiastic daring of his favourite general, and the Christian army broke up from their lines, and marched down into the level ground northward¹ of the city to attack the sultan, who had carefully strengthened his encampment there by a deep ditch and palisades.

BATTLE OF VARNA

On the eve of the feast of St. Mathurin, November 10th, 1444, the two armies were arrayed for battle. The left wing of the Christian army consisted chiefly of Wallachian troops. The best part of the Hungarian soldiery was in the right wing, where also stood the Frankish crusaders under the cardinal Julian. The king was in the centre with the royal guard and the young nobility of his realms. The rear-guard of Polish troops was under the bishop of Peterwardein. Hunyady acted as commander-in-chief of the whole army. On the Turkish side the first two lines were composed of cavalry and irregular infantry, the beyler-bey of Rumelia commanding on the right and the beyler-bey of Anatolia on the left. In the centre, behind their lines, the sultan took his post with his janissaries and the regular cavalry of his body-guard. The copy of the violated treaty was placed on a lance-head and raised on high among the Turkish ranks for a standard in the battle, and as a visible appeal to the God of truth, who punishes perjury among mankind.

¹ Murad had probably crossed the Balkan by the pass that leads from Aidos to Pravadi, and had then marched eastward upon Varna. This would bring him to the rear of Hunyady.

At the very instant when the armies were about to encounter, an evil omen troubled the Christians. A strong and sudden blast of wind swept through their ranks, and blew all their banners to the ground, save only that of the king.

Yet the commencement of the battle seemed to promise them a complete and glorious victory. Hunyady placed himself at the head of the right wing, and charged the Asiatic troops with such vigour that he broke them and chased them from the field. On the other wing, the Wallachians were equally successful against the cavalry and azabs of Rumelia. King Wladyslaw advanced boldly with the Christian centre; and Murad, seeing the rout of his first two lines and the disorder that was spreading itself in the ranks round him, despaired of the fate of the day and turned his horse for flight. Fortunately for the house of Osman, Karaja, the beyler-bey of Anatolia, who had fallen back on the centre with the remnant of his defeated wing, was near the sultan at this critical moment. He seized his master's bridle, and implored him to fight the battle out. The commandant of the janissaries, Yazidzi-Toghan, indignant at such a breach of etiquette, raised his sword to smite the unceremonious beyler-bey, when he was himself cut down by a Hungarian sabre. Murad's presence of mind had failed him only for a moment, and he now encouraged his janissaries to stand firm against the Christian charge. Young King Wladyslaw, on the other side, fought gallantly in the thickest of the strife; but his horse was killed under him, and he was then surrounded and overpowered. He wished to yield himself up prisoner, but the Ottomans, indignant at the breach of the treaty, had sworn to give no quarter. An old janissary, Khoja Khiri, cut off the Christian king's head and placed it on a pike, a fearful companion to the lance on which the violated treaty was still reared on high. The Hungarian nobles were appalled at the sight, and their centre fled in utter dismay from the field.

Hunyady, on returning with his victorious right wing, vainly charged the janissaries, and strove at least to rescue from them the ghastly trophy of their victory. At last he fled in despair, with the wreck of the troops that he had personally commanded and with the Wallachians who collected round him. The Hungarian rear-guard, abandoned by their commanders, was attacked by the Turks the next morning and massacred almost to a man. Besides the Hungarian king, Cardinal Julian, the author of the breach of the treaty and the cause of this calamitous campaign, perished at Varna beneath the Turkish scimitar. This overthrow did not bring immediate ruin upon Hungary, but it was fatal to the Slavonic neighbours of the Ottomans, who had joined the Hungarian king against them. Servia and Bosnia were thoroughly reconquered by the Mohammedans; and the ruin of these Christian nations, which adhered to the Greek church, was accelerated by the religious intolerance with which they were treated by their fellow Christians of Hungary and Poland, who faithfully obeyed the pope and hated the Greek church as heretical.^b

Murad descended a second time from the throne and returned to Magyesia to mourn his favourite son. His presence was, however, indispensable to the empire, and civil war again tore him from his retreat. The janissaries, despising the authority of a child, had revolted and sacked Adrianople. At the mere sight of Murad order was restored (1445). With him returned the glory of conquest; at the head of sixty thousand men he seized Corinth and Patras, ravaged the Peloponnesus, and forced Prince Constantine to pay tribute; then he turned to Albania, where an emulator of Hunyady's glory was already rising.

[1443-1448 A.D.]

SCANDERBEG

The despot of northern Albania, or, more correctly, Mirditia, had been obliged to give up his four sons to the sultan. The three eldest died at an early age, poisoned, it is said; the fourth son, George, brought up at court in the Mohammedan faith, became the favourite of Murad, who gave him, on account of his impetuous bravery, the name of Iskander Beg (Prince Alexander). It is this name which Europeans corrupted into Scanderbeg.

Though enjoying the sultan's favour, the young man did not forget his country or his despoiled father. He brooded vengeance in his heart. The first defeat of the Ottomans in the long campaign appeared to him the desired occasion for putting his project into execution. Taking advantage of the rout at Nish, Iskander, holding a dagger at the throat of the *reis effendi*, compelled him to sign an order enjoining the commander of Akhissar (Kroia) to give up his place to the favourite of the sultan. Iskander, in order that his secret might not be betrayed, killed the minister as soon as the position had been secured. He then hastened to Akhissar, secured the keys of the place, and massacred the garrison, who were sunk in deep sleep. Scanderbeg called to his standard the chiefs of the Albanian clans, seized Petrella, Petralba, Stelusia, and entered his ancestral states as a conqueror. All the feudal lords of Epirus recognised him as their chief, and at the head of fifteen thousand mountaineers he completely defeated the forty thousand men of Ali Pasha (1443).

The abdication of Murad gave him time to organise his forces and to prepare for the struggle. Firuz Pasha and Mustapha Pasha were beaten in turn and obliged to evacuate the Epirus; at the same time Scanderbeg attacked the Venetians, who had obtained possession of Daina. The approach of Mustapha decided Scanderbeg to conclude peace with Venice; Mustapha, being conquered, was made a prisoner and left ten thousand men on the battlefield. This was too much for the Crescent. Murad at the head of a hundred thousand men marched against the audacious Albanian who had dared to oppose him. The two cities of Sfetigrad and Debra fell into his power, but he bought their fall at the price of twenty thousand men (1447).

Hunyady, taking advantage of the embarrassments of the sultan, wished to take revenge upon him for his victory at Varna. At the head of eighty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Wallachians, Hunyady crossed the Danube and invaded Servia. Murad, to whom the Servian prince remained faithful, hastened to the aid of his vassal and met the Hungarian army in the plain of Kosovo. For the second time this place was to decide the destiny of the Illyrian peninsula.

Hunyady, trusting in fortune, began the attack without waiting for the support of Scanderbeg. The battle lasted three days. It was a furious mêlée where twenty-five thousand Christians fought, without retreating a step, against the hundred and fifty thousand Moslems of Murad. The Wallachians abandoned Hunyady, and their treason gave the victory to the Mohammedans. The Hungarians did not fall without taking vengeance: forty thousand Ottoman bodies were stretched out on the plain (October 17th, 1448).

All the forces of the Ottoman Empire were then directed against Scanderbeg. The Ottoman troops flooded the Epirus. Kroia was invested and blockaded. The commandant Uracoutel, inaccessible to fear as well as to corruption, disdainfully repulsed the presents of the sultan and in a sortie burned the besieging machines of the enemy. Scanderbeg continually harassed the Moslems and several times surprised their camp with nocturnal

attacks. Murad, tired of this inglorious warfare in which he was wearing out his army and losing his best soldiers, offered to give Scanderbeg the investiture of the insurgent countries on condition that they remain under the suzerainty of the Porte and that Scanderbeg pay 100,000 ducats tribute. The prince of Epirus refused; and the sultan, being obliged to raise the siege, took his way back to Adrianople. But Scanderbeg was awaiting him in the defiles of the mountains, and it was only at the price of superhuman effort and of half his remaining troops that the sultan was able to force a passage (1448-1450).

The marriage of Murad's son with the daughter of Suleiman Bey, a Turkoman prince, was scarcely celebrated when the sultan, overcome by a stroke of apoplexy, died in the midst of the feasting (February, 1451).^e He was

buried at Brusa. The old English historian, Knolles, who wrote in 1610, says of his sepulchre: "Here he now lieth in a chapel without any roof, his grave nothing differing from that of the common Turks, which they say he commanded to be done in his last will, that the mercy and blessing of God might come unto him by the shining of the sun and moon, and the falling of the rain and dew of heaven upon his grave."



MUHAMMED II

(1430-1481)

ACCESSION OF MUHAMMED II

Muhammed II, surnamed by his countrymen the Conqueror, was aged twenty-one years when his father died. He heard of that event at Magnesia, whither the grand vizir had despatched a courier to him from Adrianople. He instantly sprang on an Arab horse, and exclaiming, "Let those

who love me, follow me," galloped off towards the shore of the Hellespont. In a few days he was solemnly enthroned. His first act of sovereign authority showed that a different spirit to that of the generous Murad would now wield the Ottoman power. Murad had left a little son, a babe still at the breast, by his second wife, a princess of Servia. Muhammed ordered his infant brother to be drowned in a bath, and the merciless command was executed at the very time when the unhappy mother, in ignorance of her child's doom, was offering her congratulations to the murderer on his accession. Muhammed perceived the horror which the atrocity of this deed caused among his subjects; and he sought to avert it from himself by asserting that the officer who had drowned the infant prince had acted without orders, and by putting him to death for the pretended treason. But Muhammed himself, when in after years he declared the practice of royal fratricide to be a necessary law of the state, confessed clearly his own share in this the first murder of his deeply purpled reign.

[1451-1452 A.D.]

He had now fully outgrown the boyish feebleness of mind which had unfitted him for the throne when twice placed on it by his father six years before. For craft, capacity, and courage he ranks among the highest of the Ottoman sultans. His merits also as a far-sighted statesman and his power of mind as a legislator are as undeniable as are his military talents. He was also keenly sensible to all intellectual gratifications, and he was himself possessed of unusually high literary abilities and attainments. Yet with all these qualities we find combined in him an amount of cruelty, perfidy, and revolting sensuality, such as seldom stain human nature in the same individual. The character of Sulla will perhaps supply the closest parallel with that of the renowned Ottoman destroyer of the Greek Empire.

Three years before Muhammed II was girt with the scimitar of Osman, Constantine XI was crowned emperor of Constantinople—a prince whose heroism throws a sunset glory on the close of the long-clouded series of the Byzantine annals. The Roman Empire of the East was now shrunk to a few towns and a scanty district beyond the walls of the capital city; but that city was itself a prize of sufficient splendour to tempt the ambition and excite the hostility of a less aspiring and unscrupulous spirit than that of the son of Murad. The Ottomans felt that Constantinople was the true natural capital of their empire. While it was in the hands of others, the communication between their European and their Asiatic provinces could never be secure. Its acquisition by themselves would consolidate their power, and invest them with the majesty that still lingered round those walls, which had encircled the chosen seat of Roman empire for nearly eleven hundred years.

CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The imprudence of Constantine, who seems to have judged the character of Muhammed from the inability to reign which he had shown at the premature age of fourteen, hastened the hostility of the young sultan. Constantine sent an embassy, demanding the augmentation of a stipend which was paid to the Byzantine court for the maintenance of a descendant of Suleiman, Sultan Bayazid's eldest son. This personage, who was named Orkhan, had long been in apparent retirement but real custody at Constantinople; and the ambassadors hinted that if their demands were not complied with, the Greek emperor would immediately set him loose, to compete with Muhammed for the Turkish throne. Muhammed, who at this time was engaged in quelling some disturbances in Asia Minor, answered with simulated courtesy; but the old grand vizir, Khalil, warned the Byzantines, with indignant vehemence, of the folly of their conduct, and of the difference which they would soon experience between the fierce ambition of the young sultan and the mild forbearance of his predecessor.

Muhammed had indeed bent all his energies on effecting the conquest of the Greek capital, and he resolved to secure himself against any interruption or division of his forces while engaged in that great enterprise. He provided for the full security of his territories in Asia; he made a truce of three years with Hunyady, which guaranteed him from all attack from the north in Europe; and he then contemptuously drove away the imperial agents who received the revenues of the lands allotted for the maintenance of Orkhan, and began to construct a fortress on the European side of the Bosphorus, about five miles above Constantinople, at a place where the channel is narrowest, and immediately opposite one that had been built by Bayazid

Yilderim on the Asiatic shore. Constantine remonstrated in vain against these evident preparations for the blockade of his city; and the Ottomans employed in the work were encouraged to commit acts of violence against the Greek peasantry, which soon led to conflicts between armed bands on either side. Constantine closed the gates of his city in alarm, and sent another embassy of remonstrance to the sultan, who replied by a declaration of war, and it was clearly evident that the death-struggle of the Greek Empire was now fast approaching.

Each party employed the autumn and winter of 1452 in earnest preparations for the siege, which was to be urged by the one and resisted by the other in the coming spring. Muhammed collected the best troops of his empire at Adrianople; but much more than mere numbers of soldiery, however well disciplined and armed for the skirmish or the battle-field, was requisite for the capture of the great and strong city of Constantinople. Artillery had for some time previously been employed both by Turkish and Christian armies; but Muhammed now prepared a more numerous and formidable park of cannon than had ever before been seen in warfare. A Hungarian engineer, named Urban, had abandoned the thankless service and scanty pay of the Greeks for the rich rewards and honours with which the sultan rewarded all who aided him in his conquest. Urban cast a monster cannon for the Turks, which was the object both of their admiration and terror. Other guns of less imposing magnitude, but probably of greater efficiency, were prepared; and ammunition and military stores of every description and the means of transport were collected on an equally ample scale. But Muhammed did not merely heap together the materials of war with the ostentatious profusion so common in oriental rulers. He arranged all, he provided for the right use of all, in the keen spirit of skilful combination which we admire in the campaigns of Cæsar and Napoleon. He was almost incessantly occupied in tracing and discussing with his officers plans of the city, of his intended lines, of the best positions for his batteries and magazines, of the spots where mines might be driven with most effect, and of the posts which each division of his troops should occupy.^b

The siege and capture of Constantinople have already been narrated at length in these pages in connection with the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans began the siege with an immense army in the beginning of April, 1453. As little headway could be made, even with his immense cannon, against the heavy fortifications of the city, Muhammed decided on an attack by sea, and, finding the lower part of the Golden Horn blocked, built to the upper part a plank road leading from the Bosphorus. Over this road, which was five miles long, he dragged his ships into the upper harbour, where his cannons could be used with greater effect.^a

On May 24th Muhammed sent an envoy to the besieged, promising the inhabitants life and liberty and the emperor the possession of the Morea if the city would capitulate. Constantine replied that rather than surrender he would bury himself beneath the ruins of his capital. The 29th of May was fixed for the general assault. Warlike enthusiasm and religious fanaticism exalted the Ottoman troops to the highest point. Constantine conducted himself like a soldier and general. At the head of foreign troops he continued to fight at the breach. Seeing the rout of his soldiers he understood that all hope was gone. Not wishing to survive the ruin of his country, the massacre of his people, he collected a handful of braves, and throwing himself into the midst of the Ottomans, fell, after performing prodigies of valour, among the heaps of dead. At least he had died like a soldier and king.

[1453-1462 A.D.]

STATUS OF CONQUERED GREEKS

When the soldiers, glutted with booty and satiated with massacre, ceased at last to pillage and kill, Muhammed turned his attention to making good his conquest by the establishment of political institutions fitted to the temperament and customs of his new subjects.

The capture of Constantinople terrified the ancient countries of the Byzantine Empire. Greece was dismayed by this disaster. From the Morea and from the islands the people fled without knowing whither. The sea was covered with vessels and barks carrying the families of the Greeks and their riches. The mountains, the monasteries, the islands occupied by the Venetians and Genoese served as a refuge.

A firman ordered all the Greeks who were dispersed in the Ottoman Empire to return to Constantinople, and promised them the right of free exercise of their religion and the preservation of their property. The Greeks retained all their churches, from that called Suli-Monastir to those at the very gates of Adrianople. At the order of the sultan a new patriarch was installed in office by the usual ceremony. When Georgius or George Scholarius (Gennadius) had been crowned with the tiara, the sultan said to him: "Be patriarch, and may heaven protect you! On every occasion count upon my friendship and enjoy all the privileges possessed by your predecessors."

Preserving their religion, their goods, and the right of administering their own affairs, the Greeks formed a vast community entirely separate from the conquering nation. They paid double taxes, one for themselves and one for their lands. The head of the community was the patriarch, who was assisted by a synod; he had the rank of vizir and possessed a janissary guard. All civil and criminal cases of the Greek *rayahs* in the district of Constantinople were tried before his tribunal. This tribunal, composed of the principal dignitaries of the clergy, could pronounce any sentence, even that of death, and the military authorities were responsible for the execution of its decrees.

The synod formed the grand council of the nation and served at the same time as a court of appeal. The members of the synod as well as the patriarch were exempt from the land tax (*kharadj*). Every bishop enjoyed in his own diocese the same privileges that the patriarch enjoyed at Constantinople. The confiscated lands of the large Greek families were transformed into *tiamars*, but those belonging to the rayahs remained in the hands of their owners, and were subject only to the *kharadj*. Every community was governed by primates whom it appointed. They distributed the *kharadj* and the other taxes.

FURTHER CONQUESTS OF MUHAMMED

Profiting by the terror which the fall of Constantinople had spread as far as the Danube, Muhammed actively pursued his work of conquering the entire Illyrian Peninsula. In the Peloponnesus, Demetrius and Thomas Palæologus, brothers of the last emperor of Byzantium, submitted to the imposition of an annual tribute of twelve thousand ducats. Their base servility delayed their fall only a few years; eight years later, in 1462, Muhammed reunited the Peloponnesus to his states.

Servia was invaded and ravaged; fifty thousand prisoners of both sexes were carried into captivity; but Hunyady hastened to the aid of the Servians, and the terrible adversary of Murad II crushed Firuz Bey (1454). The orthodox Servians nourished against the Catholic Hungarians the same rancour and

hatred that the Greeks nourished against the Latins. George Brankovich hastened to buy, at the price of a tribute of thirty thousand ducats, a precarious and shameful peace. It was not, however, to be of long duration. The following year an Ottoman fleet, after conquering Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, and Lemnos, experienced a sanguinary defeat before Cos, and failed completely in an attempt to capture Rhodes by siege. The sultan, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men and three hundred pieces of artillery, then entered Servia and arrived before Belgrade without meeting with any resistance. Hunyady, assisting, had established himself in the town. The Turkish squadron, which was at the siege, was destroyed, a general attack failed, and the assailants, being driven back to their camp, were obliged to forego their attempt, leaving twenty-four thousand men buried in the intrenchments and abandoning all their artillery. The great Hungarian captain did not long enjoy his triumph. Twenty days after the flight of the Moslems he succumbed to the effects of a wound received in the combat.¹

As his death rid the Ottomans of the most redoubtable adversary they had yet met, the grand vizir Mahmud Pasha re-entered Servia. He took possession of Semendria, and in two years finished the definitive conquest of that country, which has been so often invaded and ravaged. The most energetic portion of the population, led by the patriarch, preferred exile to servitude. Taking refuge in Hungary, the Servians formed settlements somewhat like military colonies, which provided the emperors of Austria with their best soldiers; and nowhere did the Ottomans meet more determined enemies (1458-1460). The conquest of Bosnia followed soon after that of Servia. While Mahmed Pasha was conquering Servia and Bosnia, Sultan Muhammed took the city of Amasia from the Genoese and Sinope from Ismail Bey. The conquest of Greece was accomplished at the same time; only the islands of the Archipelago and of the Ægean Sea and the Venetian principalities of the Peloponnesus had escaped the conqueror.

Desirous of shielding Servia, his recent conquest, from the attacks of the Hungarians, Sultan Muhammed turned his arms against the voyevod of Wallachia, Vlad the Executioner. The ferocity of this prince had won for him from his subjects the name of Drakul (devil); the Moslems called him Kazikli-Woda (the impaling voyevod), on account of the punishment he was accustomed to inflict. Vlad hastened to submit to Sultan Muhammed and concluded with him a treaty which until recent times was regarded as a charter of the rights of Wallachia.

This treaty was hardly signed when Vlad allied himself with Matthias Corvinus, impaled the sultan's envoys with all their suite—"the pasha on an elevated pole as a sign of honour"—and invaded Bulgaria. Muhammed marched against him with fifty thousand men, and after several months of desperate and merciless warfare the voyevod took refuge in Hungary, where Matthias Corvinus threw him into prison. Vlad's brother, Radul, a favourite of the sultan, succeeded him, but was reduced to the condition of a simple pasha. Wallachia was incorporated with the empire (1462).^c

In Asia Muhammed's arms were more uniformly successful. He conquered and annexed to his empire Sinope and Trebizond, and he finally subdued the

[¹ The name of Giovanni di Capistrano is inseparably connected with the battle of Belgrade. He was a Franciscan monk, who traversed the whole of Europe trying to arouse people to fight against the infidels. He came to the aid of Hunyady at Belgrade with an army consisting of "townsmen, peasants, students, and begging monks." The victory of the Christians on that day was largely due to the confidence of Capistrano, who urged the attack when Hunyady thought all was lost.]

[1473-1477 A.D.]

princes of Karamania, those rancorous enemies of the house of Osman. The most important of all his conquests, after that of Constantinople, was the subjugation of the Crimea in 1475 by one of the most celebrated of the Turkish captains, Ahmed, surnamed Keduk, or Broken-mouth, who was Muhammed's grand vizir from 1473 to 1477. The immediate causes of the expedition to the Crimea were the sultan's hostility with the Genoese, who possessed the strong city of Kaffa in that country, and the entreaties which the deposed khan of the Crim Tatars addressed to Muhammed for aid against his revolted brothers. But it cannot be doubted that a prince of Muhammed's genius discerned the immense value of the Crimea to the occupiers of Constantinople, and the necessity of securing his dominions by its annexation. Ahmed Keduk attacked Kaffa with a powerful fleet and an army of forty thousand men. That city, then called Little Constantinople from its wealth and strength, surrendered in four days. The booty which the conqueror seized there was immense; forty thousand of the inhabitants were transplanted to Constantinople, and fifteen hundred young Genoese nobles were compelled to enter into the corps of janissaries. The whole of the peninsula was speedily covered by the Turkish troops; and the Crimean khans were thenceforth for three centuries the vassals of the Ottoman sultans.

Muhammed was frequently engaged in hostilities with the Venetians as well as with the Genoese. The Archipelago and the coasts of Greece were generally the scenes of these wars, in the course of which the sultan obtained possession of Eubœa, Lesbos, Lemnos, Cephalonia, and other islands. The conquest of the Eubœa was marked by base treachery and cruelty on the part of the sultan, and signalised by the pure courage of a Christian heroine. The Venetian commander, Paul Erizzo, after a long and brave defence, surrendered the citadel on condition of the sultan pledging his word for the safety of all within it. Muhammed signed the capitulation; and when the garrison had marched out and laid down their arms, he put all of them, except the Greeks, to death with the cruellest tortures. Paul Erizzo was sawed in two by his orders. The daughter of the Venetian general, the young and fair Anne Erizzo, was dragged to the sultan's tent; but the Christian maiden preferred death to dishonour, and, unmoved by either promise or threat, she was killed by the slaves of the angry tyrant.

Towards the end of Muhammed's reign, Scanderbeg was completely overpowered by the Ottoman forces, and Albania and the district of Herzegovina were united with the sultan's dominions. These conquests brought the Turkish arms into more extensive contact with the possessions of Venice along the eastern coasts of the Adriatic. In 1477 a powerful Turkish army marched into the territory of Friuli at the northern extremity of that sea, and menaced Venice itself. The Venetians carried a line of intrenchments from the mouth of the Isonzo to Görz. But the Turks in the October of that year passed their lines and defeated their army. Omar Pasha, the Ottoman general, next passed the Tagliamento, a stream destined to become so illustrious in after warfare. The Turkish troops spread themselves without resistance over all the rich level country as far as the banks of the Piave; and the trembling senators of Venice saw from their palace-roofs the northern horizon glow with the light of burning towns and villages. The Turks retired in November, loaded with booty. Venice eagerly concluded a treaty of peace with the sultan, which (according to one Italian historian) contained a stipulation, by which the republic was to aid the sultan, if attacked, with a fleet of one hundred galleys, and the sultan was, in case of like necessity, to send one hundred thousand Turkish cavalry against the enemies of Venice.

The subjugation of Italy was a project which Muhammed, though often obliged to delay, had never abandoned. In 1480 he prepared to carry it into execution on a scale of military and naval preparation equal to the grandeur of the enterprise, and at the same time he resolved to quell the sole formidable enemy that yet remained near the heart of his dominions. The strong island of Rhodes was still in the possession of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who had established themselves there in 1311, and gallantly maintained their sovereignty of the island as an independent power for upwards of a century and a half. Three renegades from the order had incited the sultan to attack Rhodes, by giving him plans of its fortifications, and promising that it would be easily captured by forces which the Turks could employ against it. Mesih Pasha was sent to capture Rhodes in the April of 1480, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys, a powerful army, and a large part of the heaviest artillery. The Ottoman pasha effected a landing on the island, and after capturing some inferior posts, he formed his lines of siege against the city itself, which is built on the northern extremity of the isle.

The grand master of the knights, Peter d'Aubusson, defended the city with indomitable fortitude and consummate skill; but it must have fallen, had it not been for the ill-timed avarice or military rigour of the Turkish commander. After a long siege and many severe encounters, the Turks made a general assault on the 28th of July, 1480. Their artillery had opened a wide rent in the walls; their numbers were ample, their zeal was never more conspicuous. In spite of the gallantry of the Christian knights, the attacking columns had gained the crest of the breach; and the Ottoman standard was actually planted on the walls, when Mesih Pasha ordered a proclamation to be made that pillage was forbidden, and that all the plunder of the place must be reserved for the sultan. This announcement filled the Turkish army with disgust and disaffection. The soldiery yet outside the town refused to march in to support their comrades who had won the breach, and these were borne back and driven in disorder from the city by a last desperate charge of the chevaliers, who had marked the sudden wavering of their assailants. The siege was raised, and Rhodes rescued for half a century.

On the same day that the Turks advanced to their unsuccessful assault on Rhodes, the leader of their other great expedition, Ahmed Keduk, the conqueror of the Crimea, effected his disembarkation on the coast of Italy, where no Ottoman before him had ever placed his foot. He landed on the Apulian shore, and marched against Otranto, which was then considered the key of Italy. His fleet cast anchor in the roads, and the city was promptly and fiercely assailed both by sea and by land. The resistance of Otranto, though spirited, was brief. The place was stormed on the 11th of August, 1480. Out of a population of twenty-two thousand, the greater number were massacred without mercy, and the wretched survivors subjected to the worst atrocities of Turkish warfare.

Muhammed was now master of a strong city and harbour, which secured an entrance for his armies into Italy. His arms had met reverses at Rhodes when he was absent, but he resolved to conduct the next enterprise in person. Early in the spring of 1481 the horsetails were planted on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, as signals for a new campaign; but no one, save the sultan himself, knew against which quarter the power of Turkey was now to be directed. His maxim was that secrecy in design and celerity in execution are the great elements of success in war. Once, when at the commencement of a campaign one of his chief officers asked him what were the main objects of his operations, Muhammed answered sharply, "If a hair of my beard knew them, I would



(Courtesy of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston)

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PORTRAIT OF A TURKISH PRINCE

(Painted by Gentile Bellini in Constantinople in 1480)

[1481 A.D.]

pluck it out and cast it into the fire." No one could tell what throne was menaced by the host that now gathered at the sultan's bidding; but while the musters were yet incomplete, the expedition was arrested by the death of the sultan, who expired suddenly in the midst of his army on May 3rd, 1481.^b

ORGANISATION OF EMPIRE

As a legislator Muhammed deserves a place apart from that of the other Ottoman monarchs. Before him the Osmanlis were an army rather than a nation; it was he who systematised their institutions and established them on a firm basis. His code, the *Kanun-nameh* (fundamental law), is divided into three parts. It treats of the hierarchy of the great, of ceremonies, of fines, and of the products of labour. The mystic number four is taken as the base of the governmental hierarchy in honour of the four angels which carry the *Koran*, and of the four caliphs, disciples of Mohammed.

The state is compared to a tent; in it the government is the gate (porte) or most conspicuous part. The four supports of the Sublime Porte are the first four dignitaries of the empire: the vizir, the *kadi-asker* (judge of the army), the *defterdar* (minister of finance), and the *nishandji* (secretary for the signature of the sultan). The number of vizirs was fixed at four, but the grand vizir was by far the most important; to him was confided the seal of state, badge of supreme dignity; he had the right to hold a separate divan at his own house in which matters of detail were discussed. The *kadi-askers*, of which there were two, one for Europe and one for Asia, appointed judges and professors for all posts, excepting a few privileged places, the bestowal of which was reserved for himself by the grand vizir. The *nishandji* affixed the *tughra* (sultan's seal) on documents, preparing and revising them. This function became honorific afterwards, all its attributes having gradually passed to the *reis effendi*, or secretary of state.



A REIS EFFENDI

After these dignitaries came the chiefs of the army—the *agha* of the janissaries, who at the same time was prefect of police in Constantinople, and the *aghas* of the spahis and other cavalry corps. The exterior *aghas* were the *topji-bashi*, general of artillery; the chamberlains, equerries, etc. The interior *aghas* were the grand officers of the palace, the *kapu agha* (chief of the white eunuchs), the *kislar agha* (chief of the black eunuchs), the *bostanji-bashi* (head gardener), the *tchaush-bashi* (chief of state messengers), etc. Beys—pashas having as their standard the tail of a horse—governed the provinces; beyler beys—pashas having as their standard the tails of two horses—levied the taxes, and performed duties of similar nature.

Opposite the names Muhammed entered an estimate of the wealth of their domains in order proportionately to regulate their rents. The customs, mines, fines, and tributes composed the remainder of the fiscal revenues.

ULEMAS

The most important part of the legislation of the conqueror was the organisation of the religious and judicial corps, known by the name of the "chain" of ulemas. "The so-called priests," says Von Hammer-Purgstall,^f "that is to



A KAPUDJI BASHI

say, the officiators in the mosques, the prayer-criers, the imams, and the preachers, have perhaps less influence in the Ottoman Empire than in any other state; the teaching corps, on the contrary, has an authority and importance which are unexampled anywhere else except in China." The ulemas are not a sacerdotal class; they are a learned and literary body. From them exclusively are recruited the primary civil functionaries, the magistrates, doctors, and professors. The "chain" of the ulemas includes professors and students, officials and candidates: All the officials are graduated from superior schools (*medresses*), in which are taught grammar, syntax, logic, rhetoric, metaphysics, geometry, astronomy, jurisprudence, and theology; the two last-named sciences the Moslems treat as one.

The candidates pass through the successive degrees of *thaleb* (student), of *damishmend* (endowed with science), and of *mulazim* (prepared). The grade of *damishmend* suffices for obtaining the position of an imam, of an inferior judge (*naib*), or of a professor in the primary schools; that of *mulazim* capacitates the candidate for the position of a *muderrri* (professor), a

medresse, of a *mollah*, or of one of the high officers of the magistracy. Ten degrees are conferred in the class of *muderris*. These can be gained only successively and always in the order of age. Every passage from one grade to another demands a new diploma (*ronus*). Arrived at the grade of *Suleymanich*, the ulemas pass in the order of age from the corps of *muderris* to that of *mollahs*.

The Ottoman body of magistrates is divided into five orders distinct in rank, prerogatives, and attributes. To the first order belong the *sadr-rum* or *kadi-asker* of Rumelia, the *sadr-anatoli* or *kadi-asker* of Anatolia, the *istambol-kadissi* or judge of Constantinople, the *mollahs* of Galata, *Scutari*, *Eyub*, etc. Under the first two sultans there was only one *kadi* in the capital; he had no prerogative other than simple pre-eminence over the *kadis* of the provinces. Muhammed II divided this office into two departments (1480). The two new officials had the collective title *Sadrein*, that is to say, two magistrates *par excellence*; the first had the jurisdiction in the European provinces, the second exercised the same powers in the Asiatic provinces.

[1459-1481 A.D.]

In the seventeenth century, while the authority of the *sadr-anatoli* became more and more restricted, even to the point of being annihilated, the jurisdiction of the *sadr-rum* reached a high degree of importance. The *sadr-rum* has a general acquaintance with all legal cases. It is to him that the grand vizir refers almost all civil and criminal affairs which have been cursorily examined by the *divan*. He has the power to summon before his tribunal all cases still pending in the other tribunals of the capital. It is his right after the decease of any citizens of higher condition, whether Mohammedan or not, to place seals upon their goods. His most eminent prerogative is that of deciding on all suits concerning state property, state claims, and the treasury.

The *istambol-kadissi* is the ordinary judge of Constantinople; he has under his supervision the commerce, arts, manufactures, and food-stuffs of the capital. The *mollahs* of Mecca and Medina come next in the hierarchal order, and after them the *mollahs* of Adrianople, Brusa, and Damascus. The last three magistrates are equal in rank, and from any one of these offices they may pass to those of Mecca or Medina. The *mollahs* of Galata, Scutari, Eyub, Smyrna, Aleppo, Yenisher (Larissa), and Saloniki form the inferior class of magistrates of the first order. To the first order of the magistracy belong also five of the chief officers of the *serai* (palace): the *khodja*, or preceptor of the sultan; the *hekim bashi*, chief physician; the *munedjim bashi*, chief astrologian; the *hunkars imami*, or chaplains of the *serai*. The *mollahs* of Marash, Baghdad, Bosra, Sofia, Belgrade, Kutaya, Konieh, and Philippopolis compose the class of magistrates of the second order, which usually does not count more than seventy members.

The right of appeal is unknown in Moslem legislation. The magistrates are at the same time notaries and officers of the civil state. The tribunals have neither councillors nor assessors. "A registrar, *wekayi-kiatibi*," writes D'Ohsson,^g "is present at all trials, pen in hand, to register the deeds and the pleas of the parties; most frequently it is he who directs the procedure and determines the judgment of the magistrates. Cases are pleaded by the parties themselves or by persons who have received the power of attorney; the testimony of two witnesses is accepted as complete proof in both civil and criminal cases."

The *muftis* form a body of a little more than two hundred doctors or jurisconsults, whose sole occupation is to furnish *fetvas* (legal opinions) to those who have occasion to consult the sacred law concerning doctrine, morals, or civil and criminal jurisprudence. There were never more than one in every principal city. The *mufti* who resided near the sovereign had pre-eminence over the others. In the capital, as in the provinces, they came only after the *kadis* in the hierarchal order. Immediately after the capture of Constantinople, however, Muhammed II gave the two charges of *mufti* and *kadi* of the capital to Djelal Zade Kidir Bey Tchelebi, conferred on him the title of *sheikh ul-islam* (chief dignitary of Islam), and among other prerogatives submitted to his jurisdiction all the *muftis* of the provinces.

At the death of Kidir Bey, Feramuz Zade Khosru Muhammed Effendi united the offices of *sheikh ul-islam*, of *istambol-kadissi*, and of *mollah* of



A BOSTANJI BASHI

Galata and Scutari (1459). Particular reasons led him to resign his offices (1472). The sultan then gave the former to Abdul-Kerim Effendi, separating the duties of mufti and of kadi. The authority of the mufti, supported by religion, soon became all-powerful, and often their fetvas counterbalanced the despotic power of the sultans. This body of mufti so strongly constituted—chiefly through the labours of the grand vizir Mahmud—has contributed not a little towards keeping the Ottomans at a stand-still in the midst of the universal progress which has been realised under their eyes. It is to this institution that must be attributed their religious fanaticism, their servile attachment to the letter of the law, and their blind respect for tradition.

The second part of the Kanun-nameh establishes fratricide in principle and in practice: "The ulemas have declared it permissible that whoever of my illustrious sons and grandsons attains the supreme power may put his brothers to death to assure the peace of the world." Muhammed had set the example; his first act on mounting the throne had been, as we have seen, to order the death of his brother, an infant at the breast.

The third part of the law regulates the price of blood: the price of a murder is fixed at 3,000 aspers; of an eye put out, at 1,500; of a wound in the head, at 30, etc.; the police are charged with collecting these taxes. Together with the ordinances of Suleiman the Magnificent, the Kanun-nameh forms all the civil legislation of the Ottomans.

In establishing themselves in the Byzantine Empire the Turks left untouched almost all the laws, habits, customs, ceremonies, the pompous etiquette, and the administrative, financial, and municipal system of the conquered people. Far from seeking to assimilate the traditions of Greek and Roman civilisation by adapting them to their own character, habits, and religion; far from trying to fuse the conquered with the conquering race, to attain unity and to form a single nation, the victors thought only of making more distinct the line which separated them from their subjects, while accepting *en bloc* the refined, despotic, venal, and corrupting legislation of the Byzantines.

"At the same time that they adopted the spirit, if not the letter," says Despies,^h "of the system of taxation in force among the Greeks, they recognised the privileges of the large landholders of Bosnia and Albania. Finally they themselves instituted little by little vast fiefs under the name of *beyliks*, which were founded on the principle of peasant servitude. This system encouraged the spahis possessing *timars* and *ziamets* to exchange their right to a title for a right of ownership in land and persons."

The Ottoman armies were filled with Christians, who either were converted to Islam by force or served with the title of auxiliaries; a large proportion of the vizirs and generals were of Christian origin; all the administrators, scribes, collectors, and envoys were Slavs or Greeks. "It was a maxim of state among the Osmanlis," says Von Hammer-Purgstall,^f "that it was necessary to be the son of a Christian to attain the highest dignities in the empire."^e

Muhammed had veritably created a Turkish Empire, giving it Constantinople for its capital and the Kanun-nameh for its code. He had completed the conquest of Anatolia to the upper Euphrates and that of the Balkan Peninsula to the Danube; he had by so many incursions beyond these frontiers pointed out the battle-fields for succeeding reigns; he had disquieted Persia and Egypt and carried terror to the confines of Austria and Italy. At two points his impetuous course was broken—at Belgrade and at Rhodes. And without Belgrade the Ottoman Empire was bridled on the Danube; without Rhodes it was not master of the Ægean Sea and could not risk itself on the Mediterranean.^c

[1481-1512 A.D.]

BAYAZID II

Muhammed's son and successor, Bayazid II (1481-1512), was compelled, immediately after ascending the throne, to march against his younger brother, Zizim [or Jem], viceroy of Karamania, as he refused obedience. Zizim, defeated at Nicæa, fled in the first instance to Egypt, and then to the knights of St. John, who effectually protected him. Bayazid bound himself to pay them an annual sum of 45,000 ducats, on condition that they would not allow him to quit their territory.

They kept their promise, although the kings of France, Aragon, and Hungary in turn demanded Zizim's extradition, in order to embarrass the sultan by taking his part. At last, however, they were compelled to give him up to Pope Alexander VI. The latter, who was seated on the papal throne from 1492-1503, and disgraced it by conduct only paralleled by that of a Nero or an Elagabalus, entered into negotiations with Bayazid II, in consequence of which he removed Zizim by means of poison in 1495.

In 1492 Bayazid attempted to take Belgrade by surprise, but was repulsed. He then attacked Albania, and simultaneously ravaged Transylvania, Croatia, Styria, and Carinthia. At Villach his troops were attacked by a Christian army, when ten thousand of them were killed, seven thousand taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand captured Christians liberated. In 1498 the Turks twice attacked Poland, and in the following year, through the instigation of the pope, waged war with the Venetians, and on this occasion made a fresh invasion into Carinthia. The last years of Bayazid's reign were disturbed by the rebellions and wars of his sons, who wished to assure themselves of the throne. In 1509 the eldest, Korkud, rebelled, but was forced to fly to Egypt. Bayazid then appointed his second son, Ahmed, his successor; but the third son, Selim, rose in opposition, and though defeated at Adrianople he established himself in Asia; and the janissaries then summoned Selim to Constantinople, and declared him to be the heir to the monarchy (1512). His father, who was forced to abdicate, and was exiled to Demotika, died on the road to his place of banishment.^d

FIRST RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

The first appearance of the Russians in the affairs of the Ottomans dates from the end of the reign of Bayazid II and the first days of the reign of Selim I. The savage brutality of an ambassador of this great people, a people which was only beginning to enter politics and which was still ignorant of oriental forms of politeness, has too much analogy with the attitude of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople in 1853 to pass unobserved of history.

John III, prince of Moscow, sent Michel Plestshiev to negotiate with the court of Constantinople a treaty of free commerce in the states of the sultan. Plestshiev had orders from his sovereign not to bend the knee either before Bayazid II or before Selim, not to confer with the vizirs as organs of the government, but to treat only with the sultans themselves, and not to cede place before any ambassador of the powers of Europe or Asia. Plestshiev exceeded in insolence the pride of his court. He affected to disdain the customs of the nation from which he was receiving hospitality; he refused to be present at an entertainment given by the vizir for his reception; he sent back the robes and diplomatic presents which the divan offered him. His outrages of the Ottoman customs aroused the indignation of the western ambassadors.

"The sovereign of the Russians," wrote the sultan, "with whom I strongly desire to contract friendship, has sent me an insolent man; I cannot let one of my slaves accompany him back to Russia for fear lest he might continue his insults. I who am respected in Europe and in the Orient should blush to submit an Ottoman to such affronts. Let him send me a polite ambassador, or let him send me an army to uphold his insolence."ⁱ

SELIM I

Selim I (1512-1519 A.D.) on his accession made himself worthy of his surname the Inflexible by immediately murdering the sons of his deceased brothers. A war, in consequence, broke out with his still living brothers, Korkud and Ahmed, which was terminated by their defeat and execution. Murad, a son of Ahmed, fled to Persia, whose Mohammedan population rejected the *sunna* (tradition or oral history), and hence were termed *shiites*, or heretics, by the Turks. Selim took vengeance for the protection Murad had received from the Persian shah, by having forty thousand innocent shiites in his empire executed; and when Ismael exercised the right of requital in Persia, he attacked him, utterly defeated him on the 14th of August, 1514, and marched triumphantly into Tabriz. An insurrection of the janissaries, however, compelled his return; but in the year 1516 he entirely subjugated Syria and Palestine, defeated in the following year the sultan of Egypt, and marched into Cairo, which he suffered his troops to plunder. With the incorporation of Egypt Selim assumed the title of caliph, which the Egyptian sultans had till then borne. Selim I died on the 21st of September, 1519.^d

Selim I was mourned only by Piri Pasha, the grand vizir, who concealed his death from the soldiers and people until the arrival of his son Suleiman. The physicians in burying him secretly under his tent found on his body seven marks of the colour of blood, which, according to the astrologers, corresponded to the seven murders of his two brothers and of his five nephews, by which he had ensanguined his reign. He had brought into the government the same ferocity of will which had gained him his throne. He heaped his Divan with corpses as he did his camps. His mufti Jemali, the casuist of the empire, rendered him judgments conformable to his ambitions and to his anger. The Ottomans called Jemali "the mufti of the basket," because he answered all the questions addressed to him by the people or by the cadis with a brief "yes" or "no" thrown into a basket which hung from his window. The decisions which he made at the sultan's request, although severe, are proverbial for their conscientiousness and for their absolute independence. They did not correspond sufficiently, however, to the impetuosity of Selim. One day when the sultan was on horseback beside the mufti on the way from Adrianople to Constantinople, Selim reproached Jemali for his indulgence: "Why," said he, "didst thou not authorise the death of those four hundred merchants whom I condemned to die for having traded in silk with Persia? Is it not permitted to put to death two-thirds of the inhabitants of the empire for the good of the other third?" "Yes," replied Jemali, "if the existence of those two-thirds must involve the misfortune of the others. But the disobedience of these merchants has not been juridically proved." The sultan on his return to Constantinople set the merchants at liberty, and wished to give Jemali the office of judge over the armies of Europe and of Asia in addition to his office of mufti. Jemali refused, not wishing, he said, to impair in himself the independence of the mufti by any political ambition.

[1519 A.D.]

Jemali constantly preserved the Christians from Selim's religious persecutions. Selim having once ordered the grand vizir to force belief by terror in order to multiply the converts to Islam in the empire, the grand vizir, horrified at the order, had recourse to Jemali. Jemali advised the Greek patriarch to appear at Selim's audience with all his clergy, having a *Koran* and the pledges of Muhammed II in his hand. The *Koran* forbids conversion by force; the promises of Muhammed II pledge the word of the sultan to tolerate and protect the Christians. In default of this treaty, which had been preserved in writing, but had been lost, the patriarch took with him several old janissaries, as witnesses of the conquest, who under oath testified to the words of the conqueror. Selim, on the representation of Jemali, retracted the order given to the grand vizir. He contented himself with taking away from the Christians the most beautiful churches of Constantinople, to convert them into mosques, but he authorised them to build others more in keeping with the small number of the faithful who then inhabited the capital.

This prince in dying left a sinister example to Ottoman sovereigns of fratricide and usurpation of his father's throne. He had added one victory in Persia to the renown of his race, and two conquests—Syria and Egypt—to the territory of his nation. But he had corrupted the morals and politics of the Ottomans by the soldierly influence of the janissaries, against which he had struggled in vain, after having won his throne by means of it. This corruption had been further increased by a sanguinary despotism substituted for the paternal policy of his house, and above all by the scandal caused in the Orient by the accession to the throne of a fratricide. The Tatar had reappeared in him in the character of sultan. He had steeped the conquering Ottomans in war, but he had above all steeped them in barbarity and in blood. His reign is one of those which it would be a pleasure to efface from the history of a people, for it afflicts and humiliates humanity.ⁱ





CHAPTER III

MERIDIAN AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE

[1520-1656 A.D.]

THE period comprised within the reign of Suleiman I (1520-1566) is one of the most important not only in Ottoman history, but in the history of the world. The great monarchies of western Christendom had now emerged from the feudal chaos. They had consolidated their resources and matured their strength. They stood prepared for contests on a grander scale, for the exhibition of more sustained energy, and for the realisation of more systematic schemes of aggrandisement, than had been witnessed during the centuries which we term the ages of mediæval history. At the commencement of this epoch (1520) nearly forty years had passed away since the Ottomans had been engaged in earnest conflict with the chief powers of central and western Europe. The European wars of the feeble Bayazid II had been coldly waged and were directed against the minor states of Christendom; and the fierce energies of his son, Selim the Inflexible, had been devoted to the conquest of Mohammedan nations.

During these two reigns the great kingdoms of modern Europe had started from childhood into manhood. Spain had swept the last relics of her old Moorish conquerors from her soil, and had united the sceptres of her various Christian kingdoms in the sway of a single dynasty. France, under three warlike kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, had learned to employ in brilliant schemes of foreign conquest those long discordant energies and long divided resources which Louis XI had brought beneath the sole authority of the crown. In England, and in the dominions of the house of Austria, similar developments of matured and concentrated power had taken place. Moreover, while the arts which enrich and adorn nations had received in Christendom, towards the close of the fifteenth century, an almost unprecedented and unequalled impulse, the art of war had been improved there even in a higher degree. Permanent armies, comprising large bodies of well-

[1520-1566 A.D.]

armed and well-trained infantry, were now employed. The manufacture and the use of firearms, especially of artillery, were better understood and more generally practised; and a school of skilful as well as daring commanders had arisen, trained in the wars and on the model of the "Great Captain" Gonsalvo of Cordova. Besides the commencement of the struggle between France and Austria for the possession of Italy, many other great events signalised the transition period from mediæval to modern history at the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries; and those events, though not all strictly connected with warfare, were all of a nature calculated to waken a more far-reaching and a more enduring heroism among the Christian nations, and to make them more formidable to their Mohammedan rivals.

The great maritime discoveries and the conquests effected by the Portuguese and the Spaniards in the East Indies and in the New World, the revival of classical learning, the splendid dawns of new literatures, the impulse given by the art of printing to enlightenment, discussion, and free inquiry, all tended to multiply and to elevate the leading spirits of Christendom, to render them daring in aspiration, and patient of difficulty and long-suffering in performance. There was also reason to expect that these new energies of the Franks would find their field of action in conquests over Islam; for religious zeal was still general and fervent in that age, and the advancement of the cross was the ultimate purpose of the toils of the mariner, the philosopher, and the student, as well as of the statesman and the soldier. The hope that the treasures to be derived from his voyages would serve to rescue the Holy Land from the infidels was ever present to the mind of Columbus amid his labours and his sufferings, and amid the perils of the unknown deep, even as Charles VIII, amid his marches and battle-fields between the Alps and Naples, still cherished the thought of proceeding from conquered Italy to the rescue of Constantinople from the Turks.

The probability of a marked change in the balance of power between Christendom and Islam before the middle of the sixteenth century may seem to have been materially increased by the fact that one Christian sovereign combined many of the most powerful states under his single rule. The emperor Charles V reigned over an empire equal to that of Charlemagne in space, and immeasurably surpassing it in wealth and strength. He had inherited the Netherlands, the Austrian states, and the united Spanish monarchy, with the fair kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the newly discovered territories in America. He obtained by election the imperial throne of Germany; and Cortés and Pizarro gave him the additional transatlantic empires of Mexico and Peru, with their almost countless supplies of silver and gold. It might perhaps have been foreseen that the possessor of this immense power would be trammelled, when employing it against the Ottomans, by the ambitious rivalry of France and by the religious dissensions of Germany; but, on the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was at least in an equal degree impeded from full action against Christendom by the imperial rivalry of Persia, by the hatred of Shiite against Sunnite, and by the risk of revolt in Syria and Egypt.

Yet the house of Osman not only survived this period of peril, but was lord of the ascendant throughout the century, and saw numerous and fair provinces torn from the Christians and heaped together to increase its already ample dominions. Much, unquestionably, of this success was due to the yet unimpaired vigour of the Turkish military institutions, to the high national spirit of the people, and to the advantageous position of their territory. But

the principal cause of the Ottoman greatness throughout this epoch was the fact that the empire was ruled by a great man—great not merely through his being called on to act amid combinations of favouring circumstances, not merely by tact in discerning and energy in carrying out the spirit of his age, but a man great in himself, an intelligent ordainer of the present, and a self-inspired moulder of the future.

SULEIMAN I

Sultan Suleiman I, termed by European writers Suleiman the Great and Suleiman the Magnificent, bears in the histories written by his own countrymen the titles Suleiman Kanuni (Suleiman the Lawgiver) and Suleiman Sahibi Kiran (Suleiman the Lord of his Age).^b

Suleiman, being the only son of Selim I, did not have to soil his hands with the blood of his brothers. Moreover, he was born under favourable auspices. He bore one of the most venerated names in the Orient, that of the great King Solomon. He was the tenth sultan of the Turks; he was born at the beginning of the tenth century of the Hejira, and the number ten is considered exceedingly lucky by Orientals. Suleiman lived in the full brilliancy of the European Renaissance; he has exercised the pens of our most famous writers and of the ablest Venetian ambassadors. Paul Veronese in his *Marriage at Cana* has painted him seated at table with the celebrated sovereigns of his time.

He was fine-looking, and so robust in health that he was able to endure the fatigues of sixteen campaigns; he was of an enlightened spirit, well educated, a brilliant poet. Whereas most of his successors emerged from the seclusion of the harem or of a *serai* to mount the throne, he was at his accession experienced in affairs. He had been governor of Kaffa while his grandfather Bayazid was alive, and during the reign of his father he had not been excluded from the council or from the camp. He did not have to wait and languish in the precarious situation of heir-apparent, for Selim occupied the throne only eight years. Fate smiled upon him, consequently he appears more humane and of a more generous and clement nature than most of the sultans. He was not prodigal with punishments, like Selim. The post of grand vizir ceased to be feared. On occasion, however, native ferocity and perfidy were revealed in him. This was shown when Ibrahim, the favourite grand vizir, was suddenly given over to the bow-string of the mutes, and when on several different occasions massacres of prisoners were ruthlessly ordered.^c

IBRAHIM, GRAND VIZIR

The history of Ibrahim, the favourite of Suleiman I, is one of those popular tales of the Orient which would impress the Occident as the chimera of fable. Ibrahim was the son of a poor Greek fisherman. Being captured one day in his father's boat by Turkoman pirates of Cilicia, the beautiful child was sent as a slave to Smyrna, sold to a rich widow from the valley of Magnesia, and employed to tend her gardens. The grace and intelligence of the child, which flattered the pride of the widow, led her to give a maternal care to his education. She had the most renowned teachers of Magnesia to instruct him in the *Koran*, in languages, rhetoric, poetry, and, above all, in music, which the voluptuous inhabitants of Ionia prefer to all the arts. Whether she planned

[1520-1522 A.D.]

to adopt him some day as a son, or whether she wished to profit by the talents of her slave to rent or sell him to some powerful family of Magnesia for a big price, is not known; but she clothed him with the richest costumes; she made notorious the gifts which he had received by nature and by education; she exposed his beauty in public places, causing the youth to follow her with great ostentation. Men and women envied her the possession of the beautiful slave.

All this was taking place at the time when the young Suleiman was relegated by his father to the governorship of Magnesia. One day while hunting on horseback in the fields of the valley, Suleiman on the bank of a little stream heard the exquisite tones of a flute which came to his ears through the plane trees, and which testified that the player possessed an art or a genius remarkable for a simple shepherd. He approached, he saw Ibrahim, he was charmed with his face, with his answers, with his talent for music; he bought the young slave with the prodigality of an heir to a throne; he admitted him to his serai, gave him his liberty, became intoxicated with the sound of his instrument, was astonished at his skill, at his intelligence, at his aptitude in all exercises of mind and body; he perfected the boy's talents with lessons from his own masters, enjoyed more and more his conversations with the youth, and made of him the favourite companion of his studies and of his pleasures. From the slave of a poor village woman, Ibrahim at twenty had become the friend of the future sultan of an empire. His modesty and fidelity justified the passionate favour of his master.

On the death of Selim I, Suleiman took his young favourite to Constantinople, to the Danube, to Rhodes, in order to accustom him to war, to government, and to politics, without giving him any other duties than those of confidant and friend. Ibrahim, being endowed with that prompt and universal aptitude which distinguishes young Greeks of Dalmatia, grew in knowledge, courage, and genius with his fortune. He thought, fought, and governed with the sultan in secret. His modest intimacy did not cause the vizirs to envy a flute-player. For a long time they saw in him only an instrument of the pleasures of his master.^d

THE CAPTURE OF BELGRADE AND OF RHODES

The commencement of Suleiman's reign was happily marked by the restoration to liberty of six hundred Egyptians whom his father, Selim, had torn from their native country and reduced to slavery at Constantinople. In 1521 he undertook a campaign against Belgrade, and obtained possession of it. He then returned to Constantinople, and assiduously devoted himself to the affairs of government. The island of Rhodes was a constant source of annoyance to the sultan, and the more so because it menaced the new conquest of Egypt. On July 28th, 1522, Suleiman landed in this hitherto impregnable island, under the fire of an invincible artillery. The seven bastions of the city were defended by the knights of eight Christian nations. On several occasions the besiegers were repulsed, and in a desperate assault, on September 24th, they lost fifteen thousand men. On December 21st the place, being no longer tenable, was surrendered by the grand master on honourable terms of capitulation. This memorable siege lasted five months, with a loss to the Turks of one hundred thousand men, and was marked by the most brilliant feats of courage on the part of its chivalric defenders.^e

By the terms of capitulation (December 25th, 1522) which Suleiman granted to the knights, he did honour to unsuccessful valour; and such honour

is reflected with double lustre on the generous victor. The knights were to be at liberty to quit the island with their arms and property within twelve days in their own galleys, and they were to be supplied with transports by the Turks if they required them; the Rhodian citizens, on becoming the sultan's subjects, were to be allowed the free exercise of their religion; their churches were not to be profaned; no children were to be taken from their parents; and no tribute was to be required from the island for five years. The insubordinate violence of the janissaries caused some infraction of these terms, but the main provisions of the treaty were fairly carried into effect. By Suleiman's request, an interview took place between him and the grand master before the knights left the island. Suleiman addressed, through his interpreter, words of respectful consolation to the Christian veteran; and, turning to the attendant vizir, the sultan observed: "It is not without regret that I force this brave man from his home in his old age." Such, indeed, was the esteem with which the valour of the knights had inspired the Turks that they refrained from defacing their armorial bearings and inscriptions on the buildings. For more than three hundred years the Ottomans had treated the memory of their brave foemen with the same respect; and the escutcheons of the knights of St. John, who fought against Sultan Suleiman for Rhodes, still decorate the long-captured city.¹

THE MEETING OF THE JANISSARIES

Suleiman had experienced the turbulence of the janissaries at Rhodes, and he received three years afterwards a more serious proof of the necessity of keeping that formidable body constantly engaged in warfare, and under strict but judicious discipline. The years 1523 and 1524 had not been signalised by any foreign war. The necessity of quelling a revolt of Ahmed Pasha, who had succeeded Khair Bey in the government of Egypt, had occupied part of the Ottoman forces; and after the traitor had been defeated and killed, Suleiman sent his favourite grand vizir Ibrahim into that important province to resettle its administration and assure its future tranquillity. Suleiman's personal attention for the first eighteen months after the campaign of Rhodes was earnestly directed to improving the internal government of his empire; but in the autumn of 1525 he relaxed in his devotion to the toils of state, and, quitting his capital, he repaired for the first time to Adrianople, and followed there with ardour the amusement of the chase. The janissaries began to murmur at their sultan's forgetfulness of war, and at last they broke out into open brigandage and pillaged the houses of the principal ministers. Suleiman returned to Constantinople, and strove to quell the storm by his presence. He boldly confronted the mutinous troops, and cut down two of their ring-leaders with his own hand; but he was obliged to pacify them by a donative, though he afterwards partly avenged himself by putting to death many of their officers, whom he suspected of having instigated or of having neglected to check the disorder. He then recalled his vizir Ibrahim from Egypt, and, by his advice, determined to lead his armies into Hungary, with which country he was still at war, though no important operations had taken place since the

¹ "Three hundred and fifteen years have now elapsed since this illustrious order was obliged to abandon its conquests, after a possession of two hundred and twelve years. The street of the knights is uninjured, and the door of each house is still ornamented with the escutcheon of the last inhabitant. The buildings have been spared, but are unoccupied, and we could almost fancy ourselves surrounded by the shades of departed heroes. The arms of France, the noble *fleur-de-lis*, are seen in all directions. I observed those of the Clermont-Tonnerres, and of other ancient and illustrious families."—MARSHAL MARMONT.

[1525-1555 A.D.]

campaign of Belgrade. Suleiman was at this time vehemently urged to invade Hungary by Francis I of France, who wished to distract the arms of his rival Charles V; and, on the other hand, an ambassador had been sent from Persia, the natural foe of Turkey, to the courts of Charles and the king of Hungary, to form a defensive and offensive league against the Ottomans.^b

CAMPAIGNS IN ASIA

By the capture of Belgrade and of Rhodes all the routes of the Occident were open. Nevertheless, since Suleiman's attention was, throughout his reign, constantly diverted from European affairs by events in Asia, we shall narrate here without interruption his campaigns against Persia.

Suleiman was no less zealous a Sunnite than his father; he hated the Shiites as much as he. To the tardy felicitations of Shah Tamasp, the successor of Ismail, Suleiman replied by massacring the Persian prisoners held at Gallipoli, which Selim the Fierce had spared. New grievances had been added to those which the two princes already entertained against each other; Sherif Bey, the Ottoman governor of Bitlis, had surrendered himself and his city to the shah; Oulama, the Persian governor of Baghdad, had sent the keys of that city to the sultan. Suleiman I ordered the grand vizir Ibrahim to take possession of it. The places situated about Lake Van were gained by Ibrahim by force of arms or through defection. He reoccupied Tabriz (July 13th, 1534) and completed the conquest of Azerbaijan. He was then joined by an army commanded by the sultan in person. The princes of Ghilan, of Shirvan, and many other vassals of the shah made their submission. The Ottomans marched upon Baghdad by the defiles of the Elwend (Orontes). The stages were so difficult that they were obliged to burn their artillery wagons and bury their cannon. The grand vizir took the lead to receive the submission of Baghdad and to close the gates so that the city should not be pillaged by the janissaries and the azabs. In January, 1535, the sultan made his entry into the ancient capital of the caliphs.

He did not reappear upon the frontier of Persia until thirteen years afterwards (1548). In the mean while the shah Tamasp had reoccupied the regions of Lake Van. Suleiman retook Tabriz and Van. Against Tamasp he supported a brother of Tamasp, called Elkass, who pushed his incursions as far as Ispahan. He seized twenty castles in Georgia and returned to Constantinople in December, 1549. Five years later the attacks of the Persians upon the conquered lands obliged the sultan to undertake another campaign into Asia. In 1554 he invaded Persian Armenia, and conquered Nakhitchevan, Erivan, and Karabagh. These victories led to the Peace of Amasia (May 29th, 1555), the first to be signed between orthodox Turkey and heretic Persia. It was the re-establishment of the *status quo ante bellum*.

If the conquest of Mesopotamia and of Babylonia, countries of the plain, had been definitive since the campaigns of Selim and since the campaigns of 1534, the same was not true of the mountainous regions of Armenia, of Azerbaijan, and of Kurdistan. They could be retained only by giving the cities and castles as fiefs to vassals, who were generally native chiefs. But the rival families or the princes of the same family, faithful to their old habits of anarchy, disputed with one another the possession of the peaks and valleys; the feudatories invested by the sultan out of caprice transferred their allegiance from the sultan to the shah or from the shah to the sultan. Petty guerilla warfare and sieges went on incessantly in the intervals between

the great Turko-Persian wars. The Turkish Empire indeed was obliged to renounce Azerbaijan and half of Armenia and Kurdistan.

On the other hand the Turkish domination was firmly established on the Shat el-Arab, formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris. Through the port on the river and of Basra (Bassora) and through the port of Suez in Egypt, the suzerainty of Turkey extended over the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. In the period following the year 1526 the captain Selman Reis traversed the Red Sea, chastised the Arab corsairs, and confirmed the sovereignty of the sultan over the sacred cities of Arabia and over Yemen. The eunuch Suleiman, the governor of Egypt, organised at Suez a fleet of eighty sail (1538). Aden was occupied. Turkey could then make its influence felt even in the affairs of Hindustan. In 1538 appeared at Constantinople an Indian prince, son of the sultan Iskander of Delhi, who was at war with the grand mogul Humaiun. The Indian came as ambassador from Bahadur, prince of Guzerat, from whom the Portuguese had just taken the city of Diu. Suleiman ordered the pasha of Egypt to equip a fleet to aid in recapturing the city. Before the armament was complete it was learned that Bahadur had been killed by the Portuguese. The treasures which this prince had deposited at Mecca—three hundred coffers full of gold and silver—were sent to Constantinople. In 1547 Suleiman received an ambassador from Ala-ad-din (Aladdin), another prince of India, who came to implore his help against the Portuguese. In 1551 Piri Reis paraded the Ottoman flag in the Asiatic seas, took Marcate on the coast of Oman, and besieged Ormus. His successor, Murad, in sight of this island, delivered and lost a battle to the Portuguese. In 1553 Sidi Ali, surnamed Katibi al-Rumi, lost another battle to them before Basra and took refuge in the ports of Guzerat. However, the principal concern of Suleiman was not Egypt, nor Arabia, nor Persia, nor Hindustan; it was the fight against the king of Hungary, the German emperor, and their allies.

UNDERSTANDING WITH FRANCE

Nothing in the first quarter of the sixteenth century could appear more paradoxical than a rapprochement between France, the eldest daughter of the church, and Turkey, the last and most redoubtable incarnation of Islam; such a rapprochement would seem to be "a sacrilegious union of the lily and the crescent." The "very Christian" king had always been at the head of all projects for effecting a crusade. But on February 24th, 1525, Francis I had been defeated and taken prisoner before Pavia. The terrified Protestants of Germany bowed their heads, the Italian states felt themselves at the mercy of the strongest, the England of Henry VIII grovelled before the victor. A Turkish alliance, a Turkish war with all its ferocity could alone restore the European equilibrium. Who was it in France who first had the idea of that heroic and atrocious remedy?

It is not known whether the idea emanated from Francis I or from his mother, the regent Louise. One thing is certain—that the first French embassy to Turkey was sent immediately after the battle of Pavia. The name of the ambassador is not known. He was carrying to the sultan a letter and the ring of Francis I, when, in passing through Bosnia, he and his twelve companions were massacred. It appears that the papers and ring were recovered and sent to Constantinople. Later the grand vizir Ibrahim, in conversing with the Hungarian envoys, showed them a ring on his finger and

[1525-1526 A.D.]

said: "This ruby was on the right hand of the king of France when he was taken prisoner, and I have bought it." Another envoy, Giovanni Frangipani, was more successful and brought a letter to the sultan from the king of France.

The answer of the sultan is superb in its generosity and pride: "Thou who art Francis, king of the country of France, thou hast sent thy faithful servant Frangipani to my Porte, the asylum of sovereigns. Thou hast made known that the enemy has seized thy country and that thou art now in prison, and thou hast asked for aid and succour for thy deliverance. All thy petitions have been laid at the foot of my throne, the refuge of the world, and my imperial wisdom has embraced them in detail. It is not an unheard-of thing for emperors to be conquered and to become prisoners; wherefore take courage and be not cast down. Our glorious ancestors (may God illumine their tomb) have never ceased to make war to repulse the enemy and to conquer new territory. We also have walked in their footsteps. Night and day our horse is saddled and our sabre is girt."

BATTLE OF MOHÁCS

On April 23rd, 1526, "the sultan blessed by fortune, having decided to attack the most accursed of the infidels and to deliver battle to this adversary full of hatred," left his capital at the head of a hundred thousand men and three hundred pieces of artillery. As long as the route led through Ottoman provinces, pillaging was strictly forbidden; "spahis were decapitated for having let their horses graze in the grain fields."

On July 18th the town of Peterwardein was conquered, and the citadel was taken a few days after. A bridge, two hundred and ninety-four ells long, was thrown over the Drave near Essek and the town pillaged and burned. The Ottomans arrived in the marshy plain of Mohács, where the Hungarian army was ranged in battle order (August 28th, 1526). Its force consisted chiefly of cavalry.

The first line was commanded by Peter Pereny and by the bishop Paul Tomori, the second by the young king Louis of Hungary.

The first line of Hungarian cavalry routed the Ottoman vanguard and then put to flight the troops of Anatolia, which were commanded by the grand vizir, turning them back upon the Anatolians of the beyler-bey Behram. It was then charged to the right and left by the *akindji* (irregular cavalry) and had to split up to meet this double attack. The second Hungarian line broke through the army of Anatolia. The valiant Marczali, at the head of thirty-four cavaliers, who had all sworn to take the sultan or perish, cut a path to Suleiman. Several of the sultan's guards were killed around him; he owed his life to his cuirass, against which the arrows and lances were blunted. The Hungarian



COSTUME OF AN ATTENDANT OF
THE GRAND VIZIR

cavalry, surrounded by the Turkish army, hurled itself upon batteries whose cannon were chained together and defended by numerous arquebusiers. It was checked at a distance of ten paces from the batteries by a series of terrific discharges. The janissaries, the azabs, and the akindji completed the victory. "The intrepid Moslems, having forced the enemy to turn their backs, changed their day into darkest night. They precipitated them by troops of fifty or a hundred to their doom, making some victims of the sword, others of the arrow of destruction." Everywhere the Hungarians, broken and disbanded, tried to escape; one detachment sank into quicksands, another was drowned in the morass; among the latter was the young king Louis. The battle had lasted two hours. The *defterdars* (secretaries) of the Turkish army made a count of the Hungarian dead, and declared the number to be twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry soldiers, besides four thousand prisoners, who were executed.

CHARACTER OF RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

During this period of the alliance between France and the Ottomans, Suleiman showed much more consistency in his ideas than Francis I, more decisiveness in action, and consequently more loyalty. The king of France was constantly torn between two sentiments: he understood the interests of state, but he was held back by scruples of religion; he had need of the Turks, and he did not dare to acknowledge them as his allies; sometimes he sent them ambassadors to hasten their action, sometimes he remembered that he was the "very Christian" king, and envied Charles V his rôle as chief of the crusade.

In the case of the sultan, on the contrary, religious zeal was in harmony with interests of state. The king of Hungary and the emperor were to him political and at the same time infidel enemies; hence he betrayed neither scruple nor hesitation. He was always ready to invade Hungary and Austria; he never missed the rendezvous assigned by Francis I. With the exception of the years when the war in Asia demanded his presence, he took every spring the road to Adrianople against the countries of the north. Whereas Francis I appears so often double-faced and uncertain, prompt to contradict himself, duping himself and duping others, the Osmanli padisha shows a certain lofty frankness, and, as it were, a proud affectation of loyalty; he is magnificent in actions as in words. Whereas Francis I is always a year behind in the amount of his revenue and the strength of his army, the sultan seems to dispose of the treasures and resources of the world, lavishing gold with full hands as soon as he receives it, throwing into the field armies ten times the size of those of the Occident.

He put in motion armies of two hundred thousand men, fleets of two hundred sail. Were it not for the superior numbers of his troops and for the devastation of territory by his myriads of irregulars, one might say that he made war in a way superior to that of the occidentals. There was an order and discipline in his camp which contrasted with the anarchy in the French and imperial camps. Before Nice all was in order on his fleet, whereas the French were reduced to asking projectiles and powder of Khair-ad-din. When the siege of Nice was raised, the Spanish general, "regarding the works of the Turks, was so much astonished at their skill in building ramparts that he confessed that our people seemed to him much inferior in such things compared with those barbarians."

The Turkish alliance marked the beginning of prosperity for the French

[1523-1529 A.D.]

ports in the Mediterranean. The hatti-sherif of 1528 confirmed and extended the privileges of the French in Egypt. France commenced from that time to enjoy in the Ottoman states a privileged and preponderating position; other European nations, like the English, Sicilians, Genoese, etc., had to navigate and trade under the French flag. The king of France was the only sovereign that the sultan consented to treat as an equal, for the old "bey of France" bore from that time the title of *padisha* (emperor) in the acts of the chancery.^c

Disturbances in Asia Minor had hastened Suleiman's departure from Hungary, but he returned in the third year, still more menacing and more formidable. The struggle was now to be with Austria, and the next campaign of Suleiman, the campaign of the first siege of Vienna, is one of the most important in German and in Ottoman history.^b

CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY; SIEGE OF VIENNA

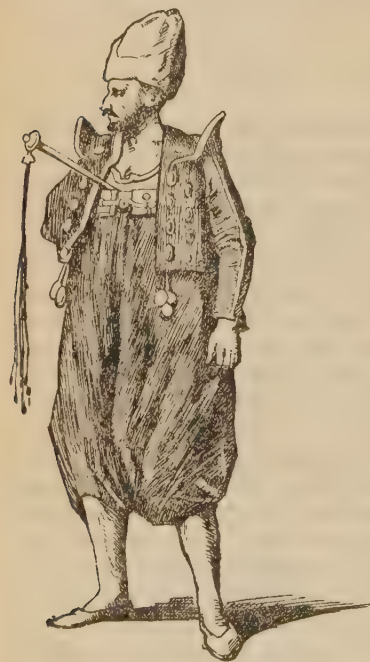
Zapolya, supported by the Ottomans, whose vassal he professed to be, fought against Ferdinand of Austria, who had been called to the throne by the national party. The two rivals met in the plain of Tokay. Zapolya was completely defeated, and implored the aid both of his father-in-law, Sigismund, king of Poland, and of the sultan. An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between Hungary and the Porte. Ferdinand tried in vain to obstruct this negotiation; his ambassadors, after being held captive for nine months, returned with the ironical message: "Your master has not yet borne towards us the relation of a friend and neighbour, but such a relation he soon shall bear. Tell him that I am coming to him with all my forces and that I myself will give him what he demands. Let him therefore prepare for our visit."^a

The Moslem army, commanded by Ibrahim Pasha, who had been created serasker of all the Ottoman troops, started on May 10th, 1529. Two hundred and fifty thousand men marched to the aid of Zapolya, who had been forced to abandon to Ferdinand Pesth and almost the entire country. Zapolya met the sultan at Mohács and did not blush to swear fidelity and allegiance to him on that place which had witnessed the massacre of the Hungarians by the Moslems. Buda surrendered to the sultan after a siege of six days; the troops were permitted to retire with arms and baggage; but the janissaries, deceived in the expectation of plunder, violated the capitulation treaty and massacred almost the entire garrison.

Zapolya was installed king of Hungary; the new monarch imposed, as his first gift after a joyful accession, an extraordinary levy on his capital city. The money thus extorted was distributed among the janissaries who composed the escort of the Hungarian king. The times of Hunyady and Matthias Corvinus were far distant. It would appear that baseness is contagious. Bogdan, the prince of Moldavia, seizing this moment to place his neck in the yoke, acknowledged himself vassal to the sultan. When the *fêtes* given in honour of Zapolya and Bogdan were terminated, the sultan, with the new king in his suite, marched upon Vienna. In the month of September, 1529, one hundred and twenty thousand men and four hundred pieces of artillery invested the city, while a fleet of eight hundred sail was stationed on the Danube. To these formidable forces the besieged could oppose only sixteen thousand men and sixty-two pieces of artillery. Their ramparts were without batteries and were only six feet thick. But the ardour of the German soldiers was doubled by their hatred of the Osmanlis, the courage and skill of the leaders supplemented

the insufficiency of the means of defence. The works of the Ottomans were several times destroyed in vigorous sorties; their camp was burned; all the assaults were repulsed; in vain the artillery and the sappers destroyed the ramparts; new walls arose as if by enchantment. The soldiers, disheartened by the stubborn defence of the place, refused, in spite of the threats and blows of their officers, to march to the attack; discouragement was at its height.

Suleiman retired in anger (October 14th) and not without sanguinary farewells. All the prisoners were burned alive or massacred without pity. The Ottoman army had lost forty thousand men before Vienna, and Suleiman had for the first time experienced a check. To console himself and to try to alter public opinion, the sultan on his return to Pesth ordered grand fêtes and public rejoicings. Zapolya was solemnly installed as king of Hungary, and the crown, famous in legend as the crown of St. Stephen, was placed upon his head.⁹



A JANISSARY IN THE DRESS OF CEREMONY

A peace was concluded between the sultan and Ferdinand in 1533, by which Hungary was divided between Ferdinand and Zapolya. Suleiman had, in the interval, again invaded Germany with forces even stronger than those which he led against Vienna; and as Charles V, on this occasion (1532), put himself at the head of the armies of the empire, which gathered zealously around him, a decisive conflict between the two great potentates of Christendom and Islam was anxiously expected. But Suleiman was checked in his advance by the obstinate defence of the little town of Güns; and after honourable terms had been granted to the brave garrison of that place (August 29th, 1532), Suleiman, finding that Charles did not come forward to meet him but remained posted near Vienna, turned aside from the line of march against that city, and, after desolating Styria, returned to his own dominions. Each, probably, of these two great sovereigns was unwilling to risk life, and empire, and the glorious fruits of so many years of toil and care, on the event of a single day; and neither was sorry

that his adversary's lukewarmness for battle furnished a creditable excuse for his own. The warlike energies of the Ottomans were now for some time chiefly employed in the East, where the unremitted enmity of Persia to Turkey, and the consequent wars between these two great Mohammedan powers, were a cause of relief to Christendom, which her diplomatists of that age freely acknowledged.

The modern Turk, who seeks consolation in remembering the glories of the great Suleiman, must dwell with peculiar satisfaction on the tokens of respectful fear which his nation then received from the most powerful as well as from the weaker states of Christendom. And the year 1547 is made a peculiarly proud one in the annals of the house of Osman by the humble concession which its rival, the Austrian house of Habsburg, was then compelled to make to its superior strength and fortune. The war in Hungary

[1539-1547 A.D.]

had been renewed in consequence of the death of John Zapolya, in 1539; upon which event Ferdinand claimed the whole of Hungary, while the widow of Zapolya implored the assistance of the sultan in behalf of her infant son. Suleiman poured his armies into that country, and in 1541 and the following years he again commanded in person on the banks of the Danube. He professed the intention of placing the young prince Zapolya on the throne of Hungary and Transylvania when he should have attained the age of manhood; but Buda and the other chief cities were garrisoned by him with Turkish troops, the country was allotted into sandjaks, over which Turkish governors were appointed, and the Ottoman provincial system was generally established.

The strong cities of Gran, Stuhlweissenburg, and many others were taken by the Turks in this war; and though their success was not unvaried, the general advantage was so far on the side of the sultan that as early as 1544 Charles V and Ferdinand made overtures for peace, and in 1547 a truce for five years was concluded, which left the sultan in possession of nearly the whole of Hungary and Transylvania, and which bound Ferdinand to pay to the Sublime Porte 30,000 ducats a year—a payment which the Austrians called a present, but the Ottoman historians more correctly term a tribute.

This treaty, to which the emperor Charles, the pope, the king of France, and the republic of Venice were parties, may be considered as a recognition by Christendom of the truth of Suleiman's title, Sahibi Kiran (Lord of his Age). Austrian pride, indeed, had previously stooped so low before the sultan that King Ferdinand, when seeking peace in 1533, consented to style himself the brother of Ibrahim, Suleiman's favourite minister, and thus to place himself on the level of a Turkish vizir. Francis I had repeatedly sought the aid of Suleiman in the most deferential and submissive terms. That aid was more than once effectively given by the Turkish invasions of Hungary and Germany, which compelled the emperor to draw the weight of his arms from off France; and, still more directly, by the Turkish fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean to attack the enemies of the French king.

THE TURKISH NAVY

We have hitherto directed our chief attention to the military history of Suleiman's reign; but the awe which the Ottoman Empire inspired in this age was due not only to the successes gained by the Turkish armies, but also to the achievements of the Turkish navy, which extended the power and the renown of Sultan Suleiman along all the coast of the Mediterranean, and in the more remote waters of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. His predecessors had devoted much care and treasure to the maritime force of their empire, but they were all surpassed in this respect by Suleiman; and the skill and valour of his admirals made the Ottoman flag almost as formidable by sea as it was by land. The most celebrated of the Turkish naval commanders in this reign was Khair-ad-din Pasha, better known in Europe by the surname of Barbarossa. It was principally by his means that the piratical states of North Africa placed themselves under the sovereignty of the sultan, and that the naval resources of the Sublime Porte were augmented by the commodious havens, the strong forts and cities, the well-built and well-found squadrons, and the daring and skilful corsairs of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis.

Barbarossa was born in the island of Mytilene. His father, a spahi of Rumelia, had settled there when the island was conquered by Muhammed II.

Of four sons, the eldest, Ishak, traded as a merchant in Mytilene; the other three, Elias, Urudsch, and Khizr (afterwards called Khair-ad-din), practised commerce and piracy conjointly during the reign of Bayazid II and Selim. Elias fell in a sea-fight with the knights of Rhodes. Urudsch was taken prisoner, but was released through the influence of Prince Krkoud, then governor of Karamania. Urudsch and Khair-ad-din next practised as bold and fortunate sea-rovers, under Muhammed, the sultan of Tunis. They saw, however, the feebleness of the Mohammedan princes of the North African seaports, and they knew the strength of the Ottoman Empire, especially under such a ruler as Selim. They paid court therefore to the Sublime Porte, by sending one of their richest prizes to Constantinople, and received in return two galleys and robes of honour. They now made themselves masters of some small towns on the African coast; and being joined by their brother, Ishak, the merchant of Mytilene, they increased their squadron, and succeeded in taking possession by force or by stratagem of Tlemcen, and also of the strong city of Algiers. Ishak and Urudsch soon after this fell in battle with the Spaniards, and Khair-ad-din was left sole master of their conquests. He formally recognised the sovereignty of the Turkish sultan, and received from Selim the regular insignia of office, a sabre, a horse, and a banner, as beyler-bey of Algiers.

Khair-ad-din carried on active war against the Spaniards and the independent Arab tribes of North Africa. He took from the Spaniards the little island in front of the port of Algiers, which had for fourteen years been in their occupation; and he defeated and captured a Spanish squadron which was sent to succour the garrison. Acting steadily up to his policy of professing allegiance to the Sublime Porte, Barbarossa sent regular reports of his operations to Constantinople, and desisted, in obedience to orders received thence, from attacking the ships or coasts of France, when that country became connected by treaty with Turkey. The red-bearded sea-king of Algiers was now required by Sultan Suleiman to measure himself with a formidable opponent in the Genoese Doria, Charles V's favourite admiral. Barbarossa, joining his galleys with those of the corsair, Sinan, sailed in triumph along the Genoese coast, which he swept with fire and devastation. He next transported seventy thousand of the persecuted Moors of Spain from Andalusia to strengthen his own Algerine dominions. In the mean while Doria had captured from the Turks the city of Koron, in the Morea; and Suleiman, who recognised in Barbarossa the only Mohammedan admiral that could compete with the Genoese hero, sent for Khair-ad-din to Constantinople to consult with him as to the best mode of carrying on the war by sea against the Spaniards. Khair-ad-din set sail for Algiers (1533) in obedience to his padisha's commands, with eighteen vessels, five of which belonged to pirates, who had volunteered into the sultan's service, and he captured on the voyage two of Doria's galleys. He was received by the Sublime Porte with the highest honours, and under his personal direction the arsenals of Constantinople were busy throughout that winter with the equipment of a powerful fleet of eighty-four vessels (including the Algerine squadron), with which Barbarossa sailed for Italy in the spring of 1534, while Suleiman was commencing his campaign against Persia.

Barbarossa (now Khair-ad-din Pasha and Kapitan) sacked Fondi, principally in the hope of surprising and carrying off the celebrated beauty of the age, Giulia Gonzaga, the wife of Vespasian Gonzaga. Barbarossa wished to present her as a courtly offering to Suleiman, and he designed that the flower of the fair of Christendom should shine in his sultan's harem. Barbarossa's crews

[1534-1546 A.D.]

landed so stealthily in the night, and assailed Fondi so vigorously, that the beautiful Giulia was roused from sleep only by the alarm that the Turks were in her palace. Evading their hot pursuit with the greatest difficulty and danger, she was set on horseback in her night-dress by an Italian cavalier, who rescued and rode off with her alone to a place of safety. The sensitive beauty afterwards caused her preserver and companion to be assassinated—whether it was, says the German historian, that he had dared too much on that night, or that he had only seen too much.

After plundering the Neapolitan coasts, Barbarossa stood across to Africa, and captured Tunis, which had long been the object of his ambition. He did not, however, retain this prize more than five months. The Moorish prince, whom he expelled, implored the assistance of Charles V; and the emperor led to Tunis an army and fleet of such strength that Barbarossa, after a brave and skilful defence, was obliged to abandon the city. The cold-blooded and unsparing cruelty with which, after Barbarossa's retreat, the unresisting and unoffending city was sacked by the Christian forces, which had come thither as the nominal allies of its rightful king, equalled the worst atrocities that have ever been imputed to the Turks.

Though driven from Tunis, Khair-ad-din was still strong at Algiers, and, sailing from that port with seventeen galleys, he took revenge on Spain by plundering Minorca, and he then repaired to Constantinople, where the sultan conferred on him the highest naval dignity, that of Kapitan Pasha. In 1537 he again desolated the shores of Italy; and when Venice took part in the war against the Sublime Porte, Barbarossa captured from her nearly all the islands that she had possessed in the Archipelago, and the cities of Nauplia and Castelnovo. He recovered Koron from the Spaniards; and on the 28th of September, 1538, he engaged the combined fleets of the pope, Venice, and the emperor in a great battle off Prevesa. Barbarossa on this occasion practised the bold manœuvre of cutting the line, which Rodney, St. Vincent, and Nelson made afterwards so celebrated in the English navy. The Turkish admiral's force was inferior to the enemy in number and size of vessels and in weight of metal; but by seamanship and daring Barbarossa gained a complete and glorious victory, though the coming on of night enabled the defeated Christians to escape without very heavy loss.

The disastrous reverse which Charles V sustained when he attacked Algiers in 1541 was chiefly the work of the elements. Barbarossa commanded the Turkish fleet sent by Suleiman to protect Algiers, but he was detained in harbour by the same tempest that shattered the ships of Spain. The last great service in which Khair-ad-din was employed by the sultan was in 1543, when he was sent with the Turkish fleet to assist Francis I, and acted in conjunction with the French squadron in the Mediterranean. He captured the city of Nice, though the castle held out against him; and he is said to have roughly reproved the French officers for their negligence, and for the defective state of their ships as to equipment and necessary stores. The allies, whom he came to protect, were obliged to listen submissively to his rebukes; and it was only by the earnest entreaties and apologies of the French admiral, the duke d'Enghien, that the choler of the old Turkish veteran was appeased.

During the latter years of Barbarossa's life, he was, when not employed at sea, a regular attendant, as Kapitan Pasha, at the divan of the Sublime Porte, where the counsels of the old admiral were always listened to with respect. He died in 1546; and his tomb on the side of the Bosphorus near Beschik-Tasch still invites attention by the romantic beauty of its site, and

by the recollection of the bold corsair who sleeps there by the side of the sounding sea, which so long he ruled. His wealth had been principally devoted by him to the foundation of a college: a striking tribute to the general respect for literature and science which prevailed in Suleiman's court, and which exercised its influence over even the rugged temper of Barbarossa, who, from the circumstances of his early life, could not possibly have been a Turkish Raleigh.¹

Some, however, of the Ottoman admirals were themselves eminent for their scientific attainments, and for their contributions to the literature of the country. Such were Piri Reis and Sidi Ali, two of the commanders of the squadrons which by Suleiman's orders were equipped in the ports of the Red Sea, and which, issuing thence, conquered for the sultan of Constantinople the port of Aden, which England now possesses and justly values for its important position in the line of European commerce with India by the Red Sea and Egypt. Many other cities and districts on the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and the northwest of India were added to the Ottoman Empire; and many gallant contests were sustained with the Portuguese, as well as with the native rulers, by the Turkish admirals, the octogenarian Suleiman Pasha and Murad, and the two whose names have been already mentioned. Piri Reis was the author of two geographical works, one on the Ægean and one on the Mediterranean Sea, in which their currents, their soundings, their harbours, and their best landing-places were described from personal surveys. Sidi Ali was a poet as well as a sailor; and besides his productions in verse, he wrote a description of his travel overland to Constantinople from Guzerat, where his fleet had been damaged by tempests so as to be no longer able to cope with the Portuguese. Sidi Ali was also the author of several mathematical and nautical treatises, and of a very valuable work called *Mouhit*, on the navigation of the Indian Sea, which he drew from the best Arabian and Persian authorities of his time on the subject of India.²

Two other Turkish admirals of this reign must not be omitted, Dragut (Torghud) and Piali. Piali was a Croatian by birth; Dragut was born a subject of the sultan, but of Christian parentage. He, early in life, joined the crew of a Turkish galley, and was chosen captain of a band of thirty searovers. He collected a force of thirty vessels, and attacked the island of Corsica, but was defeated by Doria, who took him prisoner and chained him to the bench of his galley, where Dragut toiled at the victor's oar for many a weary month. At last Barbarossa rescued him by threatening to lay Genoa waste if Dragut was not set free; and, under the patronage of Khair-ad-din, Dragut soon reappeared on the waves, chief of a squadron of twenty galleys that spread terror along the coasts of Italy and Spain. He made himself master of Tripoli; and, following the example of Barbarossa, he acknowledged himself to be the sultan's vassal, and received in return high rank and substantial aid from Constantinople.

Dragut had more than once the advantage of Doria in their encounters, and was almost as much dreaded in the Mediterranean as Barbarossa himself.

¹ The true biography of Barbarossa was little known in western Europe before the German Von Hammer-Purgstall narrated it from the full and indisputable authorities which are found in the Ottoman literature. Barbarossa himself had, by Sultan Suleiman's order, dictated an account of his life and adventures to a writer named Sinan, which is still extant; and it is also epitomised and embodied in the *History of the Naval Wars of the Turks*, written by Haji Khalfa.

² Von Hammer-Purgstall states that copies of the work of Piri Reis on the Archipelago and Mediterranean are to be found in the royal libraries at Berlin and Dresden, in the Vatican, and at Bologna. The only known copy of Sidi Ali's *Mouhit* is at Naples.

[1560 A.D.]

His boldness of spirit was shown even towards the sultan. He had on one occasion been tempted by the sight of a rich fleet of Venetian argosies, and had captured them, though there was peace at that time between the republic of St. Mark and the Porte. Dragut was ordered to Constantinople to answer for this outrage, and, as the grand vizir Rustem was his enemy, his head was in serious peril. But Dragut, instead of obeying the order of recall, sailed out of the straits of Gibraltar and took service under the emperor of Morocco, until Suleiman, after Barbarossa's death, recalled him by pledge of pardon and ample promises of promotion. We shall soon have occasion to notice his final services and death at the siege of Malta.

Piali Pasha was chiefly signalised during the reign of Suleiman by the capture of Oran, and by the great defeat which he gave in 1560 to the combined Christian fleets that were destined for Tripoli and the isle of Jerba. Two hundred vessels were prepared for this expedition by the pope, Genoa, Florence, Malta, Sicily, Naples, and the prince of Monaco. Doria was high admiral of the fleet, and Don Alvaro de Sandi commanded the army which it conveyed. The fleet effected the passage to Jerba in safety; the troops were landed, the island nearly subdued, and a fortress erected. But before the Christian galleys left the waters of Jerba, Piali had heard of the attack, and had left the Dardanelles with a fleet which was reinforced at Modon by the squadrons of the governors of Rhodes and Mytilene. On the 14th of May, 1560, he attacked Doria's fleet and completely defeated it. Twenty galleys and twenty-seven transports of the Christians were destroyed; seven galleys ran for shelter up the channel of Jerba, where they were subsequently captured; the rest fled to Italy, leaving their comrades of the land forces to be besieged and captured in their new fortress by the troops whom the active Piali soon brought together against them.

On the 27th of September Piali re-entered the harbour of Constantinople in triumph. He had previously sent a vessel to announce his victory, which appeared in the Golden Horn with the captured high standard of Spain trailing in the sea behind her stern. On the day of the arrival of Piali, Suleiman went to the kiosk of his palace, at the water's edge, to honour with his presence the triumphal procession of his Kapitan Pasha. Don Alvaro and other Christian prisoners of high rank were placed on the poop of the Ottoman admiral's galley, and the captured vessels were towed along rudderless and dismasted. Those who were near Sultan Suleiman observed that his aspect on this proud day of triumph bore the same grave and severely calm expression which was its usual characteristic. The ambassador of King Ferdinand, who was present, attributed this stoical composure to magnanimity, and admired "the great heart of that old sire," which received unmoved anything that fortune could bring. The modern German historian of the house of Osman points out that this unexulting austerity of the great sultan may have been caused by the domestic affliction which by this time he had sustained, and which may have steeled while it saddened his heart.

Glorious, indeed, and prosperous as had been the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, he had, as a man, drunk deeply of sorrow and remorse; and the Erinnyes of family bloodshed, that for so many centuries has haunted the house of Osman, was fatally active in his generation. To be friendless is the common penalty of despotic power; and Suleiman must have felt it the more severely, inasmuch as he appears naturally to have had a capacity for friendship and to have sought earnestly for it in the early part of his reign. His celebrated grand vizir, Ibrahim, was for many years not only his most trusted counsellor and general, but the companion of his pleasures and his studies. Yet his suspicions

were at last raised against the overpowerful and incautious favourite; and a vizir whom a sultan begins to dread has not long to live. Ibrahim was married to Suleiman's sister, but not even this close affinity could save him.^b

INFLUENCE OF THE HAREM; ROXELANA

It would seem that the wives of the sultan, slaves captured or bought, who were kept strictly in the depths of the serai by black eunuchs, could have little influence on affairs. In general this was true. But quarrels often arose

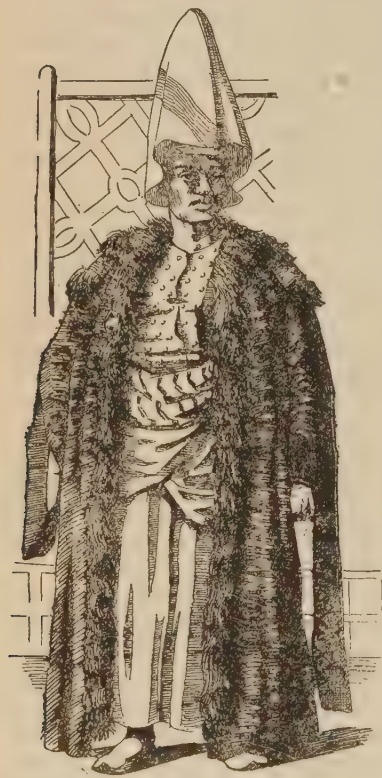
among the sons of the sultan from the fact that, being sons of the same father, they still had different mothers. The name *sultana valida* was given to the mother of the sultan, that of *sultana khasseki* to the one who had borne him a son.

Under the reign of Suleiman one woman in particular played an important rôle, which proved disastrous to the future of Turkey. In an expedition which the Tatars made into Red Russia they carried off the daughter of the pope of Rogatino. She was bought for the sultan's harem, and finally eclipsed the other women there, less perhaps by her beauty (the most beautiful Circassian girls were in the harem) than by her grace, vivacity of mind, and joyous temperament. She was called Khurrem (the "laughing one") and also Roxelana (perhaps "the Russian"). A Circassian woman—the mother of that prince Mustapha who was adored by the sultan, the army, and the people—at that time was the sultana khasseki. She became violently jealous of the unexpected precedence given this slave and tried to fight against the favourite, but was discomfited.

Roxelana became sultana khasseki. She was not only the favourite of the sultan but his most trusted counsellor; it was she who caused him to make war against Persia in 1548. Later she carried on a curious corre-

spondence with the favourite sultana of Shah Tamasp, in which both ladies vied with each other in hyperbolical praises and oriental metaphors. She was in truth an empress. Her power was known throughout Europe. Her gaiety covered a boundless ambition, a dangerous spirit of intrigue, and a vindictive soul. After driving away the Circassian, her displeasure fell upon Prince Mustapha, the heir to the throne. She first secured his transfer from the governorship of Magnesia, a few days' journey from the capital, to that of Anasia, twenty-five days distant; she then turned against a devoted friend of the prince, the grand vizir Ibrahim.

Doubtless Ibrahim exposed himself to such an attack; he almost believed himself sultan and added the title to all his others, signing himself boldly



COSTUME OF THE BLACK EUNUCH
OF THE SERAI

[1536-1565 A.D.]

"Sultan Ibrahim." He was not tender to his particular enemies. He had even asked—and secured—the head of the defterdar Iskandar Tchelebi. He was open to attack also on the ground of his Moslem faith; at first he had affected the profoundest respect for the holy book, pressing it to his lips and forehead whenever anyone gave him a copy; but at the end of the campaign in Persia (1536) he fell into a rage when a *Koran* was offered him, saying that he had plenty of copies at home. All this was of course used against him. On March 5th, 1536, when he had gone to the serai as usual to dine with the sultan and to sleep in his chamber, he was strangled.

The death of the Albanian placed all the power in the hands of the Russian. In order to have a means of executing her designs she secured a few years afterwards for the austere Rustem, to whom she had given her daughter in marriage, the appointment of grand vizir. Her object now was to make a way to the throne for her two sons Selim and Bayazid. She pursued more bitterly her hostility against Mustapha. Rustem accused him of having an understanding with the Persians. He reported to the sultan certain words of the janissaries, accusing them of saying, "The sultan is too old to march against the enemy; it is about time to proclaim the prince and to send the old padisha to his repose." Suleiman ordered his son to appear before him. The friends of Mustapha, fearing for his life, tried to persuade him not to obey the command of the sultan. Mustapha replied: "I must above all things obey my father; I have no cause to reproach myself; if my life is forfeit, at least let it be taken by him who gave it." When he entered the sultan's tent he found him on his throne; in a corner were five mutes with the bow-string in their hands. Suleiman watched with dry eyes his son's desperate struggle with his executioners (September 21st, 1553).

Roxelana triumphed, but soon the vice and incapacity of her favourite son, Selim, became apparent to all eyes. The janissaries no longer concealed their scorn for this degenerate Osmanli. The cry of the army became so loud that Selim's brother, Bayazid, Roxelana's other son, took up arms in his province of Karamania. Roxelana died at the beginning of this new civil war; and Suleiman, already broken by old age, and still more overcome by the loss of his "laughing one," had to march against his rebellious son. Bayazid was defeated (1559) and escaped to Persia. His brother and his father showed equal ferocity in reclaiming his extradition from the shah Tamasp. The shah gave him up for the enormous sum of 400,000 pieces of gold; he was strangled with his five sons (1561). Thus the intrigues of the harem had ended in the murder of the greatest of Suleiman's ministers and in the execution of those of his sons who alone were worthy to succeed him.^c

Besides the domestic sorrows which clouded the last years of Suleiman, his military glory and imperial ambition sustained, in the year 1565 (the year before his death), the heaviest blow and most humiliating disappointment that had befallen them since the memorable retreat from Vienna. This second great check was caused by the complete failure of the expedition against Malta, which was led by the admirals Mustapha and Piali, and nobly and victoriously encountered by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, under their heroic grand master, La Valette.^b

The peace with Hungary, precarious as it was, allowed the sultan to push his naval operations more energetically. Piali, the kapudan pasha, Salih Bey, the beyler-bey of Algeria, and Dragut, the beyler-bey of Tripoli, held the maritime forces of Spain in check. In order to dominate the Mediterranean without dispute it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Malta. On April 11th, 1565, the kapudan pasha set sail with one hundred and eighty ships, and

on May 20th twenty thousand men landed on the island and opened fire upon the fortress of St. Elmo. On the very first day Dragut ordered an assault, during which he was killed by a bullet. After a month of murderous fighting St. Elmo fell into the hands of the assailants. The serasker, Mustapha Pasha, at the sight of the immense loss which the conquest had cost, could not help exclaiming, "If the son has cost so much, what sacrifice will be necessary to buy the father!" In order to intimidate the garrison he had the prisoners quartered and their limbs nailed to boards in the shape of a cross, which were thrown at the foot of the walls. The grand master, La Valette, replied by massacring the Ottoman prisoners and loading his cannon with their heads, which he thus returned to the besiegers. When summoned to surrender, the bold chevalier, pointing to the moats, answered the envoy, "That is all the land I can cede to thy master; let him come and fill it with the bodies of his janissaries."

On September 11th, after losing twenty thousand men, the kapudan pasha re-embarked. War had already begun again with Hungary; Ferdinand was dead (1564), and his son Maximilian wished nothing better than to renew the truce, but Stephen Zapolya suddenly invaded Austrian territory and took Szathmay by surprise. Maximilian replied by seizing Tokay. During this double infraction of the treaty Ali Pasha died (1565). His successor, Muhammed Sokkoli, a Bosnian Slav, breathed only war; hostilities commenced immediately. Croatia and Transylvania were invaded, but the governor of Buda, Arslan Bey, hastening to fight, met with a disaster before Palota, where he was defeated by the count Eck de Salm (1566). On June 29th Suleiman affectionately received the young Stephen Zapolya in a solemn audience at Schabatz, and gave him the territory between the Theiss and the frontier of Transylvania, promising him not to leave Hungary before he had assured him its possession.

The army was marching upon Erlau when the news of the death of Muhammed Bey, the sandjak bey of Tirhala, who had been defeated and killed by the count Nicholas Zrinyi, the palatine of Sziget, modified the plan of campaign and led the sultan to lay siege to Sziget. Zrinyi, having resolved to fight to the finish, put into his defence a degree of pomp worthy of the magnificence and splendour which Suleiman manifested in his expeditions. The ramparts of Sziget were covered with red draperies, and the principal tower was hung with tin plaques which gleamed like silver. At the end of fourteen days the advance works had fallen; the besieged abandoned the city, set fire to it, intrenched themselves in the citadel, and opposed a determined resistance. After a siege of four months the Ottomans had made no visible progress, and on September 5th, Suleiman, who had been ill for a long time, died, complaining that he did not hear the beating of the great drum of victory. In order to avoid the discouragement which would seize upon the army were it to learn of the death of its glorious emperor, Muhammed Sokkoli carefully kept the catastrophe a secret, and letters purporting to be from the sultan were read to the soldiers to arouse their courage. Finally, on September 8th, there was nothing left to the besieged but the great tower which had been their powder magazine; all hope of escape was gone. Zrinyi put on a silken garment and took the keys of the fortress with a hundred ducats. He armed himself with the oldest of the four swords of honour which he had won, saying: "It was with this weapon that I acquired my first honours and my first glory; with it I should like to appear before the throne of the Eternal and there hear my sentence."

After a short harangue to the six hundred brave men who were left him, he gave the order to open the gates just as the janissaries advanced. An enormous cannon sent a charge of grapeshot among them. In the midst of the

[1566 A.D.]

smoke, the palatine, preceded by his standard-bearer and followed by an equerry, plunged into the thickest of the hostile ranks; in spite of prodigies of valour he was taken alive and decapitated on the mouth of a cannon. The janissaries, mad with rage, rushed into the citadel, massacring all the inhabitants, cutting to pieces women and children; suddenly the mined tower exploded with a terrible noise, burying three thousand Ottomans in its ruins.⁹

EMPIRE OF SULEIMAN

Sultan Suleiman I left to his successors an empire to the extent of which few important permanent additions were ever made, except the islands of Cyprus and Candia, and which under no subsequent sultan maintained or recovered the wealth, power, and prosperity which it enjoyed under the great lawgiver of the house of Osman. The Turkish dominions in his time comprised all the most celebrated cities of biblical and classical history, except Rome, Syracuse, and Persepolis. The sites of Carthage, Memphis, Tyre, Nineveh, Babylon, and Palmyra were Ottoman ground; and the cities of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, Smyrna, Nice, Brusa, Athens, Philippi, and Adrianople, besides many of later but scarcely inferior celebrity, such as Algiers, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Bassorah, Baghdad, and Belgrade, obeyed the sultan of Constantinople. The Nile, the Jordan, the Orontes, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Tanais, the Borysthenes, the Danube, the Hebrus, and the Ilyssus rolled their waters "within the shadow of the Horsetails." The eastern recess of the Mediterranean, the Propontis, the Palus Mœotis, the Euxine, and the Red Sea were Turkish lakes. The Ottoman crescent touched the Atlas and the Caucasus; it was supreme over Athos, Sinai, Ararat, Mount Carmel, Mount Taurus, Ida, Olympus, Pelion, Hæmus, the Carpathian and the Acroceraunian heights. An empire of more than forty thousand square miles, embracing many of the richest and most beautiful regions of the world, had been acquired by the descendants of Ertoghul in three centuries from the time when their forefather wandered, a homeless adventurer, at the head of less than five hundred fighting men.

Suleiman divided this empire into twenty-one governments, which were again subdivided into 250 sandjaks. The governments were: (1) Rumelia, under which term were then comprised all the Ottoman continental possessions in Europe south of the Danube: these included ancient Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus, Illyria, Dalmatia, and Mœsia; (2) the islands of the Archipelago: this government was vested in the kapudan pasha; (3) Algiers and its territory; (4) Tripoli in Africa; (5) Buda, comprising the conquered portions of western Hungary; (6) Temesvar, combining the Bannat, Transylvania, and the eastern part of Hungary; (7) Anatolia, a title commonly given to the whole of Asia Minor, but here applied to the northwestern part of the peninsula, which includes the ancient Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pisidia, and the greater part of Phrygia and Galatia; (8) Karamania, which contains the residue of the last-mentioned ancient countries, and also Lycaonia, Cilicia, and the larger part of Cappadocia; (9) Rum, called also the government of Sivas, and sometimes the government of Amasia: it comprehended part of Cappadocia, and nearly the whole of the ancient Pontus that lay in Asia Minor; (10) Sulkadr: this embraced the cities of Malatea, Samosata, Elbostan, and the neighbouring districts, and the important passes of the eastern ridges of Mount Taurus; (11) Trebizond: the governor of this city commanded the coasts round the southeastern extremity of the Black Sea; (12) Diarbekir; (13) Van: these two governments included the greater part of Armenia and

Kurdistan; (14) Aleppo; (15) Damascus: these two embraced Syria and Palestine; (16) Egypt; (17) Mecca and Medina, and the country of Arabia Peträa; (18) Yemen and Aden: this government extended over Arabia Felix, and a considerable tract along the coast of the Persian Gulf and northwestern India; (19) Baghdad; (20) Mosul; (21) Basra: these last three contained the conquests which Selim and Suleiman had made from the Persians in Mesopotamia and the adjacent southern regions: the Tigris and the Euphrates (after its confluence with the other river) formed their eastern limit, and at the same time were the boundaries between the Turkish and the Persian dominions.

Besides the countries that were portioned out in these twenty-one governments, the sultan was also sovereign over the vassal states of Wallachia, Moldavia, Ragusa, and Crim Tatar. They paid him tribute, which in the cases of the two former were considerable; and the last-named feudatories of the Porte, the Crim Tatars, furnished large and valuable contingents to the Turkish armies. It is not easy to define the territory then belonging to the vassal khans of the Crimea beyond that peninsula. They and their kinsmen, the Tatar khans of Astrakhan, were chiefs of numerous and martial tribes that roved amid the steppes to the north of the Euxine, and round the sea of Azov; but the fluctuation of their almost perpetual wars with the Cossacks, the Muscovites, and each other prevents the fixing of any territorial boundaries in those regions for any specified epoch.

An ample revenue judiciously collected, and prudently though liberally employed, was one decisive advantage which Suleiman possessed over his contemporary monarchs.

The crown lands of the sultan at that time produced the large sum of 5,000,000 ducats. The tithe or land tax, the capitation tax on the rayahs, the customs, and the other regular taxes raised this to between seven and eight millions. The burden of taxation on the subject was light, and it was only twice in his reign that Suleiman levied an additional impost. The necessity caused by the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, in the beginning of his reign, and the cost of armaments in the year of the battle of Mohacs, compelled him to impose a poll-tax on all his subjects, without distinction of creed or fortune. But the amount was small on each occasion; and never was a similar measure again necessary. The victorious campaigns of the sultan were soon made to reimburse their outlays, and still further to enrich the Porte. Large contributions were drawn from Hungary and Transylvania; and Ragusa, Moldavia, and Wallachia poured tribute into the treasury of the Porte. Another less glorious source of revenue was found in the confiscated goods of the numerous high officers of state who were executed during this reign. By invariable usage the property of those who die thus is forfeited



CAPITAL OF THE CHURCH OF RAGUSA

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to the crown; and the riches of the grand vizir Ibrahim, and other unhappy statesmen of this age, were no unimportant accessions to the ways and means of the years in which they perished.

We examined the general principles of the Ottoman government when reviewing the institutes of Muhammed the Conqueror. Every branch of the administration of the empire received improvement from Suleiman Kanuni; and, like another great conqueror and ruler, he has come down to posterity with his legislative works in his hand. He organised with especial care the Turkish feudal system of the *ziamets* and *timars*, reforming the abuses which had then already begun to prevail. He ordained that no *timar* (small fief) should be allowed to exist if below a certain value. A number of the smaller fiefs might be united so as to form a *ziamet* (a grand fief), but it was never lawful to subdivide a *ziamet* into *timars*, except in the case of a feudatory who was killed in battle and left more than one son. By permission of the supreme government several persons might hold a fief as joint tenants; but it was still reckoned a single fief, and any partition and subdivision not especially authorised by the Sublime Porte itself was severely punished.

The reader who is familiar with the workings of the feudal system in western Europe will perceive how admirably these provisions were adapted to check the growth of evils like those which the practice of subinfeudation produced in mediæval Christendom. The Turkish fiefs descended from father to son, like our fees in tail male. There was no power of devise or alienation; and in default of male issue of the deceased holder, the *timar* or *ziamet* reverted to the crown. It had been usual before Suleiman's time to allow the vizirs and governors of provinces to make grants of the lapsed fiefs within their jurisdiction, but Suleiman restricted this to the case of the minor fiefs. None but the sultan could make a new grant of a lapsed *ziamet*, and in no instance did the feudatory who received the investiture of a *timar* from a subject pay any homage or enter into any relation of feudal duty to the person who invested him. There was no *mesne lordship*. The *spahi* was the feudal vassal of his sultan, and of his sultan alone.

The number of the larger fiefs, or *ziamets*, in Suleiman's time was 3,192; that of the smaller fiefs, or *timars*, was 50,160. It will be remembered that each *spahi* (or holder of a military fief) was not only bound to render military service himself in person, but, if the value of his fief exceeded a certain specified amount, he was required to furnish and maintain an armed horseman for every multiple of that sum; or (to adopt the phraseology of early English institutions) the estate was bound to supply the crown in time of war with a man-at-arms for each knight's fee. The total feudal array of the empire in the reign of Suleiman amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand cavalry, who, when summoned by the beyler-beys and sandjak beys, joined the army at the appointed place of muster, and served throughout the campaign without pay. We must not only add this number to the forty-eight thousand regularly paid and permanent troops when we estimate the military force of the Turkish Empire in its meridian, but we must also bear in mind the numerous squadrons of Tatar cavalry which the vassal khans of the Crimea sent to swell the Turkish armies, and we must remember the swarms of irregular troops, both horse and foot, the *akindji* and the *azabs*, which the sultan's own dominions poured forth to every campaign.

There is no surer proof of the true greatness of Suleiman as a ruler than the care which, at the same time that he reformed the Turkish feudal system so as to make it more efficient as an instrument of military force, he bestowed on the condition of those *rayahs* who, like the serfs of mediæval Europe,

cultivated the lands assigned to the spahis. The Kanuni Rayah, or "code of the rayahs," of Suleiman, limited and defined the rents and services which the rayah who occupied the ground was to pay to his feudal lord. It is impossible to give any description of this part of the Turkish law which shall apply with uniform correctness to all parts of the sultan's dominions. But the general effect of Suleiman's legislation may be stated to have been that of recognising in the rayah rights of property in the land which he tilled, subject to the payment of certain rents and dues, and the performance of certain services for his feudal superior. The Englishman who understands the difference between the position of a modern copyholder and that of a mediæval villein towards the lord of his manor will well understand the important boon which the enlightened wisdom of the Turkish lawgiver secured, if he did not originate. And when the difference of creed between the lawgiver and the rayahs is remembered, and we also bear in mind the fact that Suleiman, though not a persecutor like his father, was a very sincere and devout Mohammedan, we cannot help feeling that the great Turkish sultan of the sixteenth century deserves a degree of admiration which we can accord to none of his crowned contemporaries in that age of melancholy injustice and persecution between Roman Catholic and Protestant throughout the Christian world.

The difference between the lot of the rayahs under their Turkish masters and that of the serfs of Christendom under their fellow Christians and fellow countrymen, who were their lords, was practically shown by the anxiety which the inhabitants of the countries near the Turkish frontier showed to escape from their homes, and live under that Turkish yoke which is frequently represented as having always been so tyrannical. "I have seen," says a writer who was Suleiman's contemporary, "multitudes of Hungarian rustics set fire to their cottages, and fly, with their wives and children, their cattle and instruments of labour, to the Turkish territories, where they knew that, besides the payment of the tenths, they would be subject to no imposts or vexations."

Besides the important branches of law and government that have been mentioned, the ceremonial law (a far more serious subject in the East than in western Europe), the regulations of police, and the criminal law received the personal attention of the great sultan, and were modified and remodelled by his edicts. Every subject-matter of legislation is comprised in the great code of Ottoman law, compiled by Suleiman's mollah, Ibrahim of Aleppo, which has been in authority down to the present age in the Turkish Empire. Suleiman mitigated the severity of the punishments which had previously been appointed for many offences. The extreme slightness of the penalties with which crimes of sensuality were visited by him is justly blamed as a concession to the favourite vices of the Turkish nation; but, in general, his diminution of the frequency with which the punishments of death and mutilation were inflicted entitles him to the praise of the modern jurist.

The minuteness of the laws by which he strove to regulate rates of prices and wages, and to prescribe the mode in which articles of food should be prepared and sold, may raise a smile in our more enlightened age; but we should remember how full our own statute book is of similar enactments, and how far our own excise laws still maintain the spirit of vexatious and mischievous interference. Some of the more noticeable laws of Sultan Suleiman are those by which slanderers and tale-bearers are required to make compensation for the mischief caused by their evil-speaking: false witnesses, forgers, and passers of bad money are to have the right hand struck off,

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interest is not to be taken at a higher rate than eleven per cent.; a fine is imposed for three consecutive omissions of a Mussulman's daily prayer, or a breach of the solemn fasts; kindness to beasts of burden is enjoined.

Whatever the political economists of the present time may think of the legislation of Suleiman Kanuni as to wages, manufactures, and retail trade, their highest praises are due to the enlightened liberality with which the foreign merchant was welcomed in his empire. The earliest of the contracts, called capitulations, which guarantee to the foreign merchant in Turkey full protection for person and property, the free exercise of his religion, and the safeguard of his own laws administered by functionaries of his own nation, was granted by Suleiman to France in 1535. An extremely moderate customs duty was the only impost on foreign merchandise; and the costly and vexatious system of prohibitive and protective duties has been utterly unknown among the Ottomans. No stipulation for reciprocity ever clogged the wise liberality of Turkey in her treatment of the foreign merchant who became her resident, or in her admission of his ships and his goods. The boasted civilisation of western Europe, which long followed a different course, is now beginning painfully to retrace its steps, and gain the vantage-ground which was acquired three centuries ago by the nation which we so often hear derided as barbarous, and against whose rulers are frequently brought such sweeping accusations of savage and short-sighted rapacity.

We have already observed, in referring to the institutes of Muhammed II, the authority which the *ulema*, or educators and men learned in the law, possess in Turkey, and the liberal provisions made there for national education. Suleiman was a munificent founder of schools and colleges, and he introduced many improvements into the educational discipline and rank of the *ulema*. But the great boon conferred by him on this order, and the peculiar homage paid by him to the dignity of learning, consisted in establishing, as rules of the Ottoman government, the exemption of all the *ulema* from taxation, and the secure descent of their estates from father to son; the property of a member of this body being in all cases privileged from confiscation. Hence it has arisen that the only class among the Turks in which hereditary wealth is accumulated in families is furnished by the educational and legal professions; and the only aristocracy that can be said to exist there is an aristocracy of the brain.^b

LITERATURE UNDER SULEIMAN

The Ottoman literature had followed the progress of civilisation and politics during the last reigns, and particularly during the reign of Suleiman. Arts, sciences, and letters, which are eclipsed under conquering princes, shone forth again under legislative princes. Suleiman himself cultivated philosophy and poetry; he signed his poems with a conventional name, Muhibbi, a word which signifies "the man with a sympathetic heart." His verses, which are imbued with a pious morality and a tender passion for the felicity of his people, are the pastime of a man of war who does not take up the pen except when he lays down the sword. But he admired enthusiastically in others the genius which he did not have the leisure to cultivate sufficiently in himself. He even pardoned the poets of his time offences prompted by their genius.

The greatest of Ottoman lyric poets, Abdul Baki the Immortal, a name given to him while he was still alive, sang during the reign of Suleiman. In an elegy similar to that of Fontaine on Fouquet's disgrace he had the daring to celebrate the death of the unfortunate Mustapha. These funerary verses,

which soon became popular in Turkey, redounded in inarticulate reproaches against the father of Mustapha. The tears of the poet were like acid upon the wound in the heart of the sultan and father. People believed that Abdul Baki would be punished. Suleiman, instead of punishing his courage, honoured it. He addressed a poem to the poet, in which he congratulated himself upon reigning by right of descent during a century made illustrious by one of those geniuses who dominate the human mind by the very right of nature. He bestowed upon the poet the surname Immortal, predicting that future ages would ratify this title—the most glorious that can be given to mortal men. Baki, upon the death of Suleiman, wrote a funerary ode, which is considered by the Ottomans as the most “splendid sepulchre” in which poetry has ever entombed the memory of a great man.

Nine poets, whose work, though inferior to that of the Immortal, is superior to anything which the Ottomans had yet admired in their language, vied with Abdul Baki for the popularity of this Pindar of the Turks and for the favour of the sultan. The Quintilian of Ottoman literature, von Hammer Purgstall,^h enumerates their names and their works after the annals and libraries of the empire: Abu Suud, who also celebrated the death of Suleiman, his master and his friend, in a *ghazel* of mourning; Khiali, so dazzling in his images that the sultan compared his words to diamonds and assigned him an income of 10,000 piastres from his own treasury; Ghazali, the cynic; Fuzuli, the Anacreon of the Turks, who told of the intoxications of opium and of wine, and of the loves of Leila and Mejnun; Jelili, who was inspired with the Persian adventures of Shirin, an inexhaustible subject for orientals; Fikri, who described in verse the luminous march of the planets; Rewani, author of the *Book of Pleasures*; Lamii, who introduced into Turkey the fables of Pilpay (Bidpai), that puerile but parabolical poetry which eternally charms the childhood of men and people.

One hundred and fifty other eminent poets adorned this literary reign at Constantinople. Three hundred more illumined the distant provinces of the empire. A universal history by the Persian Lari, whom Suleiman had called to his court from Taurus, served to spread general notions of history in Turkey and to discredit the fables which were promulgating erroneous ideas concerning the customs of the people. Birgeli, whose works are still printed to-day, wrote the most complete commentaries on jurisprudence and legislation.

The annals of the empire, recounted successively by five historiographers, registered the national events from day to day. These Ottoman historians carry their scrupulousness to the point of the most sincere minuteness and nicety. When compared with the accounts of Venetian historians and with the correspondence of ambassadors who resided at that period in Constantinople, these historic memoirs do not leave in shadow any character or any event in Ottoman history. No people possesses in its archives more numerous documents bearing on its own history. The greater part of them are written by vizirs or high officials of the serai, witnesses, confidants, or by those who were themselves actors in the dramas which they relate. When an event is of a nature to dishonour the reigning sultan they do not give a false account of it, but pass it over without mention. Silence is their only flattery. A gap in the recital is always easily filled in by the reports which the foreign agents address to their courts. The minister of foreign affairs, Feridun, and the two *nishandjis*, Mustapha Jelal Zade and Muhammed Ramazan Zade, are the most illustrious of these historian statesmen during the reign of Suleiman.

Philosophy, and that philosophy of the people, religion, became, during this culminating reign of Ottoman civilisation, no less refined than politics

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customs, laws, arts, and letters. The religious dogmas of the people had until this time been puerilised by the superstitions and fables added by Arabia to the simplicity of the *Koran*. Now the labours of the reformers and commentators of the holy book gradually freed these dogmas of such extraneous matter. And little by little Islam was divested of its religious character, and was organised into a cult whose creed was conscience.^d

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

Constantinople saw again the days of its great constructor, the *basilicus* Justinian. Under Muhammed II arose the mosque of the conqueror, Eyub, who was the standard-bearer of the prophet, the mosque of the grand sheikh Bokkari (at the gate of Adrianople), and that of the janissaries (Orta Jami) near their barracks. At Adrianople, Kasim Pasha built the mosque which bears his name. Bayazid II founded one at Adrianople and another on the third of the hills of Constantinople. In 1556 Suleiman finished the Suleimanieh, the most beautiful of all the mosques, superior even to that of St. Sophia for the boldness of its cupola and the magnificence of its columns. A wealth of sculpture was lavished on the *mikrab* (tabernacles of the *Koran*) and on the pulpit. The architecture is the work of the celebrated Sinan; the window panes are that of a master called Ibrahim the Drunkard, and the inscriptions that of the skilled Kara Hissari. Suleiman also built the mosque of Selim I (the Selimieh); those of his brothers Muhammed and Jihangir at Galata; that of the sultana khasseki Khurrem or Roxelana; that of his daughter Khanun Sultana, also called Mikrmah (moon of the sun), the wife of the grand vizir Rustem. Another was built in honour of this same princess at Scutari. To Suleiman I is also due the aqueduct of the Forty Arches, or of the Forty Fountains (so called on account of the number of fountains it fed).

The minarets chiefly distinguish a Turkish mosque from the old orthodox church. Their tall and slender profiles give to the panorama of Constantinople its aspect of graceful *hêrissement*. Every mosque has two, three, or four minarets. That built by the sultan Ahmed I is the only one which has the "glorious crown of six minarets," a privilege reserved till then for the holy Kaaba.

In the Ottoman Empire, as elsewhere, the religion of the conquerors has appropriated the religious art of the conquered. Nearly all the mosques, says De Amicis, are "imitated from the basilicus of Justinian; they have its large cupola, the little cupolas placed below, the courts, and the porticoes; some of them are in the form of the Greek cross. But Islam has so spread its own colour and light over everything that the union of these familiar forms presents the appearance of a new edifice, in which one perceives the horizons of an unknown world and feels the breath of an unknown God. There is nothing to distract the mind; across the white emptiness the thought goes straight to the object of its adoration; nothing save the distinct, dazzling, and formidable idea of a solitary God, who takes pleasure in the severe nudity of these vast spaces flooded with light which admit no image of himself other than the sky!

"The mosque occupies only the smallest part of the enclosure which embraces a labyrinth of courts and houses. There are halls for the reading of the *Koran*, places of deposit for private treasures, libraries, academies, schools of medicine and schools for children, lodgings for children and kitchens

for the poor, asylums for travellers, bathing-places—in short, there is a whole little city, hospitable and benevolent, its buildings gathered around the high mass of the temple as at the foot of a mountain, and shaded by gigantic trees.”^c

CAUSES FOR THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

In spite of the incomparable brilliancy of this reign, in spite of the rights of Suleiman to the titles of great legislator and great man, it must be admitted that he introduced into the empire germs of decadence, germs which were to grow rapidly under his incapable successors. Khatshi Bey, a contemporary of Murad IV, whose work on the decadence of the Ottoman Empire has won for him the name of the Turkish Montesquieu, enumerates various causes of dissolution, which he attributes to Suleiman.

Towards the end of his days the sultan, borrowing the customs of the effeminate despots of Asia, had ceased to appear at the divan. Desiring to invest the person of the sovereign with a sacred prestige, he had made himself invisible. This custom contributed not a little towards developing love of ease and idleness among his successors. The elevation of favourites to the highest positions of the state was a dangerous example, which tended to give to intriguers places hitherto reserved for men of talent and experience. The influence of the harem in public affairs, though appearing to assure the position of Rustem, in reality weakened his authority, and no longer the women only, but the eunuchs also, had a share in the government.

Under the influence of Rustem Pasha venality and corruption were introduced into the administrative offices. “He sold the posts of governor,” writes von Hammer-Purgstall,^h “at fixed prices, and, in return for considerable sums, confirmed the property of the state in the possession of Jews and people of no consideration, who in order to mend their fortunes committed all sorts of outrages.” The grand vizirs imitated the sumptuous prodigality of the sultan, and luxury suddenly invaded Ottoman society. The salary of the grand vizir, which had been only 10,000 aspers a month, was raised to 25,000 in favour of Ibrahim Pasha. The use of wine, so severely prohibited by the prophet, began to become public, to the great scandal of zealous Mohammedans. Suleiman, being a tolerant and enlightened prince, closed his eyes to these evils. The poets had the courage even to jest at the interdictions of the law. Mafiz celebrated wine in song. In one of his most beautiful *ghazels* he dared to exclaim, without respect for the word of the prophet, “Wine, that mother of all the vices, is sweeter to us than the kiss of a young girl!” The mufti Emir Saud refused to have him prosecuted, saying that he ought not to be judged too severely. But the ideas of tolerance disappeared with Suleiman, and the few steps that had been taken towards reform served only to change the national institutions.

To this conquering prince also belongs the responsibility for the decadence in the army. The principal force of the Ottoman armies consisted in the janissaries. This chosen corps had the right not to enter a campaign unless the sultan commanded the troops, hence the sultans are always seen to conduct important operations in person. In depriving the janissaries of this prerogative Suleiman freed his successors from the obligation of commanding the armies, and thus their inclination to inertia was increased. The first padishas were always in the tent; the successors of Suleiman no longer left the serai. The janissaries, moreover, were no longer recruited exclusively from the levy of Christian children, but from adventurers of all sorts who

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were attracted by the privileges of the corps. It was permitted them to marry; their sons were admitted into the ranks; they engaged in trades and became sedentary in their garrisons; they were no longer soldiers, but ordinary citizens, and this troop, formerly the first in the empire, now became only a national guard. As long as Suleiman lived, as long as the grand vizir Sokolli upheld his traditions, all the causes of weakness remained latent; but the longer their activity was retarded the more rapid was their final disorganising action.^g

SELIM II

Suleiman the Great, the Magnificent, the Lawgiver, the Lord of his Age, was succeeded by a prince to whom his own national historians give the epithet Selim the Sot. The ignoble vices of this prince (to secure whose accession so much and such dear blood had been shed) had attracted the sorrowful notice and drawn down the indignant reprimand of the old sultan in his later years; but there was now no brother to compete for the throne with Selim, and on the 25th of September, 1566, the sabre of Osman was girt for the first time on a sovereign who shrank from leading in person the armies of Islam, and wasted in low debauchery the hours which his predecessors had consecrated to the duties of the state. The effects of this fatal degeneracy were not immediately visible. The perfect organisation, civil and military, in which Suleiman had left the empire cohered for a time after the strong hand which had fashioned and knit it together for nearly half a century was withdrawn.

There was a numerous body of statesmen and generals who had been trained under the great sultan, and thus somewhat of his spirit was preserved in the realm, until they had passed away, and another generation arisen which knew not Suleiman. Foremost of these was the grand vizir Muhammed Sokolli, who had victoriously concluded the campaign of Sziget after Suleiman's death; and who, fortunately for Selim and his kingdom, acquired and maintained an ascendancy over the weak mind of the young sultan, which was not indeed always strong enough to prevent the adoption of evil measures or to curb the personal excesses of Selim's private life, but which checked the progress of anarchy and maintained the air of grandeur in enterprise and of vigour in execution by which the Sublime Porte had hitherto been distinguished.

An armistice was concluded with the emperor Maximilian in 1568, on the terms that each party should retain possession of what it then occupied; and there was now for many years an unusual pause in the war between the houses of Habsburg and Osman. The great foreign events of Selim's reign are the attempts to conquer Astrakhan and unite the Don and the Volga, the conquest of Cyprus, and the naval war of the battle of Lepanto. The first of these is peculiarly interesting, because the Turks were then for the first time brought into armed collision with the Russians.^b

Muhammed Sokolli, who exercised talents of the highest order, had conceived the gigantic project of joining the Don to the Volga to insure the domination over the Muscovite countries. The possession of Astrakhan was necessary for the success of this plan. The siege of the place was decided upon, but the enterprise was badly conducted, and failed. The Russians defeated the besieging body and destroyed all the works that had been already raised. The khan of the Crimea, judging the enterprise to be harmful to his interests, skilfully worked on a prejudice of the Moslems which made them regard the north as forbidden to true believers. The night, he said, was only four hours

long in summer; it would be necessary either to interrupt sleep for prayer two hours after sunset and again at break of dawn, or else to violate the prescriptions of the *Koran*. These causes, operating with the cold, the hunger, and the storms, completely demoralised the army, which refused to obey the orders of the generals; the project had to be abandoned, and peace was renewed with the czar.

Sokolli now conceived the audacious idea of penetrating the isthmus of Suez.⁹

His schemes in this quarter, however, were delayed by a revolt which broke out in Arabia, and which was not quelled without a difficult and sanguinary war. And when that important province was brought back to submission, the self-willed cupidity and violence of Sultan Selim himself involved the Porte in a war with Venice and other Christian states, for the sake of acquiring the island of Cyprus, which he had coveted while he was governor of Kutalya in his father's lifetime.¹ There was a treaty of peace between Venice and the Porte; but Selim obtained from his mufti Abu Suud a fetva authorising him to attack Cyprus, in open violation of the treaty. Cyprus had at one time been under Mohammedan rulers; and the Turkish authorities now proclaimed and acted on the principle that the sovereign of Islam may at any time break a treaty, for the sake of reconquering from the misbelievers a country which has formerly belonged to the territory of Islam.²

The Venetians formed an alliance with the king of Spain, the pope, the duke of Savoy, and the knights of Malta, and their united fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria, gained a decisive victory over the Turks at Lepanto, October 7th, 1571. The Turks lost two hundred and twenty-four ships and thirty thousand men; nearly three hundred and fifty cannon were taken by the conquerors, and fifteen thousand Christian captives liberated. But instead of taking advantage of this victory and sailing to Constantinople, the Christian leaders separated, and sailed back, as they could not agree about their further proceedings.³

Meanwhile the sea-captain, Uludj Ali, with a squadron which he had saved from Lepanto, gleaned together the Turkish galleys that lay in the different ports of the Archipelago, and at the end of December sailed proudly into the port of Constantinople at the head of a fleet of eighty-seven sail. In recompense of his zeal he received the rank of kapudan pasha, and the sultan changed his name of Uludj into Kilidj, which means "the sword." The veteran admiral Piali, the hero of Jerba, was yet alive, and under his and Kilidj Ali's vigorous and skilful directions a new fleet was constructed and launched before the winter was past. While the rejoicing Christians built churches, the resolute Turks built docks. The effect was that before June a Turkish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, comprising eight galleasses or mahons of the largest size, sailed forth to assert the dominion of the seas. The confederate Christian powers, after long delays, collected a force numerically superior to the Ottoman; but, though two indecisive encounters took place, they were unable to chase Kilidj Ali from the western coasts of Greece, nor could the duke of Parma undertake the siege of Modon, which had been designed as the chief operation for that year. It was evident that, though the Christian confederates could

¹ It seems that Selim, like Cassio, found the attraction of Cyprus wine irresistible. A Jew, named Joseph Nassi, had been Selim's boon companion, and persuaded him that he ought to be master of the isle in which the juice of the grape was so delicious.

² The case laid by Selim before the mufti, and the answer of that functionary are given at length by von Hammer. The reader will observe how utterly opposed this principle is to the doctrine laid down in the Turkish military code.

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win a battle, the Turk was still their superior in a war.¹ The Venetians sought peace in 1573, and in order to obtain it consented not only that the sultan should retain Cyprus, but that Venice should pay him his expenses of the conquest. It was not unnaturally remarked by those who heard the terms of the treaty that it sounded as if the Turks had gained the battle of Lepanto.

After Venice had made peace with the Porte, Don John undertook an expedition with the Spanish fleet against Tunis, which Uludj Ali had conquered during the year in which Cyprus was attacked. Don John succeeded in capturing the city, which was the more easy inasmuch as the citadel had continued in the power of the Spaniards. Don John built a new fortress and left a powerful garrison in Tunis; but, eighteen months after his departure, his old enemy Kilidj Ali reappeared there, and after a sharp siege made the sultan again master of the city and citadel, and stormed Don John's new castle. Tunis now, like Algiers and Tripoli, became an Ottoman government. The effectual authority which the Porte exercised over these piratical states of North Africa grew weaker in course of time, but the tie of allegiance was never entirely broken; and though the French have in our own time seized Algiers, the sultan is still sovereign of Tripoli, the scene of the successful valour of Dragut, the great admiral.

Selim the Sot died not long after the recovery of Tunis; and the manner of his death befitted the manner of his life. He had drunk off a bottle of Cyprus wine at a draught, and on entering the bath-room with the fumes of his favourite beverage in his head, he slipped and fell on the marble floor, receiving an injury of the skull which brought on a fatal fever (1574). He showed once a spark of the true Osman, by the zeal with which he aided his officers in restoring the Turkish navy after Lepanto. He then contributed

his private treasures liberally, and gave up part of the pleasure-gardens of the serai for the site of the new docks. Except for this brief flash of patriotism or pride, his whole career, both as prince and sultan, is unrelieved by a single merit; and it is blackened by mean treachery, by gross injustice and cruelty, and by grovelling servitude to the coarsest appetites of our nature.

There is an eastern legend that, when the great king and prophet Solomon died, he was sitting on his lion-throne, clad in the royal robes, and with all the insignia of dominion round him. The lifeless form remained in the mon-



TURKISH COURT DRESS

¹ The Venetian envoy, Barbaro, endeavoured to open negotiations at Constantinople in the winter after the battle of Lepanto. The vizir, in reference to the loss of the Turkish fleet and the conquest of Cyprus, said to him: "There is a great difference between our loss and yours. You have shaved our chin, but our beard is growing again. We have lopped off your arm, and you can never replace it."

arch's usual attitude; and the races of men and beasts, of genii and demons, who watched at respectful distance, knew not of the change, but long with accustomed awe paid homage, and made obeisance before the form that sat upon the throne; until the staff on which Solomon had leaned, holding it in both hands towards the mouth, and on which the body had continued propped, was gnawed by worms and gave way, letting the corpse fall to the ground. Then, and not till then, the truth was known and the world was filled with sorrow and alarm.

This fable well images the manner in which the empire of Sultan Suleiman remained propped on the staff of the vizirate, and retained its majesty after his death and during the reign of Selim, so long as the power of Suleiman's grand vizir Sokolli remained unimpaired. When Sokolli's authority was weakened and broken by the corrupt influence of favourites and women at the court of Selim's successor, Murad III, the shock of falling empire was felt throughout the Ottoman world, spreading from the court to the capital, from the capital to the provinces, and at last becoming apparent even to foreign powers.

Murad III was summoned at the age of twenty-eight from his government at Magnesia to succeed his father at Constantinople. He arrived at the capital on the night of the 21st of December, 1574, and his first act was to order the execution of his five brothers. In the morning the high officers of state were assembled to greet their master, and the first words of the new sultan were anxiously watched for, as ominous of the coming events of his reign. Murad turned to the aga of the eunuchs and said, "I am hungry; bring me something to eat." These words were considered to be prophetic of scarcity during his reign; and the actual occurrence of a famine at Constantinople in the following year did much to confirm the popular superstition.

Sokolli retained the grand vizirate until his death, in 1578, but the effeminate heart of Murad was ruled by courtiers who amused his listless melancholy, and by four women, one of whom was his mother, the dowager sultana, or (as the Turks term her) the sultana validi, Nur Banu; the next was Murad's first favourite sultana, a Venetian lady of the noble house of Baffo, who had been captured by a Turkish corsair in her early years. The fair Venetian so enchanted Murad that he was long strictly constant to her, slighting the other varied attractions of his harem, and neglecting the polygamous privileges of his creed. The sultana validi, alarmed at the ascendancy which the sultana Safiye (as the Venetian lady was termed) was acquiring over Murad, succeeded in placing such temptation in her son's way as induced him no longer to make his Venetian love his only love; and he thenceforth rushed into the opposite extreme of licentious indulgence even for a Mohammedan prince. Such was the demand created for the supply of the imperial harem that it is said to have raised the price of beautiful girls in the slave-market of Constantinople.

One of this multitude of favoured fair, a Hungarian by birth, obtained considerable influence over her lord; but his first love, Safiye, though no longer able to monopolise Murad's affections, never lost her hold on them; and it was her will that chiefly directed the Ottoman fleets and armies during his reign—fortunately for her native country Venice, which she prevented Turkey from attacking, even under circumstances of great provocation, caused by the outrages and insolence of some of the cruisers of the republic of St. Mark. The fourth lady who had sway in Murad's counsels did not owe it to her own charms but to the adroitness with which she placed before him the charms of others. This was Djanfeda, who was *kiaya* (or grand mistress) of the harem. These were the chief ladies who interposed and debated on

[1576-1584 A.D.]

all questions how the power bequeathed by the great Suleiman should be wielded, and with whom the house of Osman should have peace or war.

Generals and admirals trained in the camps and fleets of Suleiman still survived; and the hostilities in which the Turkish Empire was involved during the reign of Murad III were marked by more than one victory, and were productive of several valuable acquisitions of territory. War between Turkey and Persia broke out again soon after Murad's accession, and was continued for several years.^b

PERSIAN WAR

The old shah Tamasp died in 1576, poisoned by his wife, leaving his crown to his fifth son, Haider. The latter reigned only a few hours, then died, assassinated by the Tcherkes party. His brother, Shah Ismail, who was half madman, succeeded him, and was strangled after a tyranny of eighteen months. The vizirs Sinan Pasha and Mustapha Pasha persuaded the sultan of Turkey to profit by these internal dissensions to attempt the conquest of Persia. Mustapha Pasha, being appointed serasker, invaded Georgia without a declaration of war and gained a brilliant victory over Tokmak Khan. Tiflis fell into the hands of the victors, and a second defeat of the Persians on the borders of the Kansak was followed by the submission of Georgia.

The country was divided into four provinces confided to as many beyler-beys: Uzdemir Osman Pasha commanded in Shirvan, Muhammed Pasha at Tiflis, Haider Pasha at Sukhum, and the son of Lewend in Georgia proper. Four Persian armies advanced with forced marches to wrest from the Ottomans their new conquest. Osman Pasha crushed the governor of Shemakha, Eres Khan, and defeated Prince Hamza; but, being attacked by the main contingent of the Persian army, he had to evacuate Shirvan and fall back upon Derbent. Simon Luarseb, the dispossessed prince of Tiflis, laid siege to his old capital; the valiant defence of the garrison gave Hassan Pasha, son of Sokolli, time to arrive. The siege was raised (1579).

The interior troubles of Persia and the changes in the command of the Turkish armies delayed operations a long time. However, Uzdemir Osman Pasha valiantly upheld in the Daghestan the honour of the imperial arms. On May 9th, 1583, a great battle was fought on the banks of the Samur; such was the fury of the conflict that it lasted all night, by torchlight. The four days following were spent in strategical manœuvres, at the end of which the Ottomans were completely surrounded. They attacked boldly, opened a path for themselves, and dispersed the enemy. Three thousand prisoners and a pyramid of heads were the trophies of the victory. After having completed the conquest of the Daghestan, Osman Pasha crossed the Caucasus and reached Kaffa by a painful march which was often harassed by the Russians. He had to depose the khan of Crimea, Muhammed Girai, who had refused to furnish the Osmanlis with the aid demanded by the Porte; Muhammed Girai, however, took up arms, and at the head of forty thousand cavalry blocked up Osman Pasha, who was too weak to hold the field, in Kaffa. Fortunately his brother, Islam Girai, to whom the Porte promised the investiture, revolted against the khan, and Muhammed, being betrayed by his own people, was assassinated (1584). The entry of Osman Pasha into Constantinople was triumphal, and the victor was heaped with honours such as had never been accorded to any general. A few days afterwards he was appointed grand vizir and serasker of the army destined to invade Azerbaijan.

At the head of a hundred and sixty thousand men, he marched upon Tabriz;

in vain did the Persian prince, Hamza Mirza, defeat his vanguard, in vain did he crush Muhammed Pasha's corps; the Persians, overwhelmed by numbers, had to give way and evacuate Tabriz. The poor health of the vizir marred the success of the operations. Cicala¹ was defeated by Hamza Mirza, and lost twenty thousand men. This disaster forced Osman Pasha to retreat. Pursued by Hamza Mirza and forced to give battle, he was conquered, and expired at the moment when his troops were routed. Cicala's son took the command and managed the retreat in good order, even gaining a victory over the enemy.

While Hamza, pursuing his success, was defeating the pashas of Erivan and of Selmas, Tokmak Khan and Ali Kuli Khan invested Tabriz, and Simon of Georgia again laid siege to Tiflis. The garrison of Tabriz defended itself heroically; in the space of ten months it sustained fifteen assaults and delivered forty-eight battles. It was finally liberated by Fuhad Pasha, the serasker. The death by an assassin of the brave prince Hamza Mirza, a victory won by Fuhad Pasha in 1586, the success of Cicala Zade in Khuzistan, and the capture of the capital of Karabagh (1588)—all these events determined the king of Persia, Shah Abbas, who was menaced at the same time by the Usbeks, to conclude peace (March 21st, 1590). The treaty abandoned to the Ottomans Georgia, Shirvan, Loristan, Tabriz and a part of Azerbaijan.

DEATH OF MURAD

A few months before, an insurrection of the janissaries had broken out at Constantinople, because it had been attempted to pay them in coin of a base alloy, "as light as an almond leaf and of no more value than a drop of dew." The rebels attacked the serai and demanded with loud cries the heads of the defterdar and of the beyler-bey of Rumelia. The sultan was obliged to yield to their demands. From 1589 to 1592 troubles and disorders of all kinds bore witness to the disorganisation of the empire. In Egypt the militia rose against the governor; at Tabriz the troops mutinied and refused the changed coinage of Constantinople; Jafar massacred eighteen hundred of them; at Buda the garrison, to whom six months' pay was due, assassinated the pasha. In Asia an adventurer claimed to be the son of Shah Tamasp, but he was taken prisoner by the governor of Erzerum. Finally a terrible plague which raged in the capital completed the public disaster.

The insolence of the janissaries increased from day to day; they had the audacity to establish a voyevod in Moldavia on their own authority. To give occupation to this ferocious militia it was resolved to make war. Through the efforts of Sinan Pasha, the grand vizir, an invasion of Hungary was decided upon. Hassan Pasha, governor of Bosnia, opened hostilities with the siege of Sissek; but being cornered in the angle formed by the Kulpa and the Odra, he suffered a complete defeat and was drowned with most of his followers. Sinan Pasha started at once to take command of the army. Meanwhile the pasha of Buda was defeated at Stuhlweissenburg, and nine fortresses fell into the hands of the imperial forces (1593). The successes on each side balanced each other, until Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia revolted simultaneously, made an alliance with the emperor, and massacred all the Moslems established in the country (1594). Murad tried to reanimate the courage of the troops by bringing from Syria the sacred standard, which tradition says was that of the Prophet; nothing could remedy the lack of discipline among the troops and the disorganisation of the army. Soon the feeble sovereign, stricken with fear of

¹ An Italian renegade.

[1595-1596 A.D.]

a strange dream which he interpreted as a presage of his early death, fell ill and died (January 6th, 1596).

During his reign the Turkish Empire still possessed forty pashalics and four great tributary countries. Of these pashalics, eight were in Europe and Hungary: Bosnia, Semendria, Rumelia, Kaffa, Temesvar, Candia, and the Archipelago, to the latter of which also belonged the Morea, Lepanto, and Nicodemia. In Africa were the four pashalics of Egypt, Algiers, and Tripoli; in Asia there were eight. The four tributary countries were Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, and Ragusa.

The death of Murad was kept secret at Constantinople also, but this was the last occasion on which recourse was had to this stratagem; for he was the last prince who, at the death of the sultan, was residing at a distance from the capital. From this period all the heirs to the crown were kept in close confinement until their accession—an unnatural custom, which has precipitated the ruin of the empire.

MUHAMMED III

Murad was succeeded by Muhammed III, his son by the Venetian woman of Baffa. He signalled his accession by the murder of his nineteen brothers. Nevertheless, in spite of this bloody application of the law of fratricide, the sultan—who was not only a pupil of the poet Nevi and of the historian Saad ad-din, but also himself a poet—appeared to be animated by the best intentions. He paid all his father's debts, scrupulously practised the laws of Islam, and pretended to enforce their observance. "Know," he said to one of his ministers, "that I have sworn by the household gods of my ancestors never to pardon a grand vizir, but to punish severely the least prevarication of which he shall be found guilty; he shall be put to death, his body quartered, and his name made infamous." Nevertheless, in spite of these energetic words, the empire, which had already begun to give signs of disorganisation under the reign of his predecessor, proceeded rapidly on its downward way. Muhammed, completely dominated by his mother, who maintained her influence by constituting herself purveyor of the imperial harem, left all the cares of government to his ministers, Sinan Pasha, Cicala Zade, and Hassan the Cruel, who bargained in civil and military offices, altered the currency, and crushed the people with new imposts and taxes in natural produce and in money.

War, bitter and pitiless, continued on one side and another; the successes were fairly balanced, except in Wallachia, where the Ottoman armies again and again suffered sanguinary disasters. The voyevod of Wallachia, Michael the Brave, at the end of Murad's reign had concluded a treaty of alliance with Aaron, voyevod of Moldavia, with Sigismund Báthori, prince of Transylvania, and with the emperor Rudolf II. The grand vizir Sinan Pasha marched upon Bukharest and took possession of it (1595). But Michael drew the Ottomans into impracticable swamps and took Tergovishte; the garrison was impaled, and Ali Pasha and Kodji Bey, who commanded it, were roasted at a slow fire. The Turks beat a retreat; surprised at the passage of the Danube near Giurgevo, they were totally defeated; Giurgevo was carried by assault and the garrison massacred; Nikopoli and Widdin capitulated. The disasters in Wallachia and Hungary finally aroused the weak-minded sultan to action. Statesmen and people urged him to march in person against the unbelievers. Muhammed left Constantinople in June, 1596, and gained a brilliant victory over the Christians in October. After this spasmodic effort Muhammed returned to his life of indolence, and the war in Hungary dragged on.^a

AHMED I

The reign of Muhammed III was a continued succession of hostilities down to his death in 1603. One of the most calamitous epochs in Ottoman history, it was, nevertheless, distinguished by the flourishing state of literature and legal science and the rigid enforcement of the laws of Islam. Ahmed I, his eldest son, followed him. In 1606 he terminated the war which was desolating Europe, by a treaty of peace, the necessity of which was another conclusive sign that the once formidable Ottoman power was broken.^e

The Peace of Sitavorok (Zsitvatorok), which has not sufficiently attracted the attention of writers and the memory of which has been lost, being effaced by that of the Treaty of Karlowitz, which was signed a century later, has nevertheless a deep significance in the history of political law and of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the rest of Europe. It fixed for the first time a limit to the Ottoman conquest, which till then had threatened the Occident. The signs of vassalage—the annual tributes brought by the ambassadors—were suppressed and diplomatic relations were established on a footing of equality. Transylvania was half removed from the Turkish yoke, and Hungary, although still submitted to Ottoman domination for a part of its territory, was at least relieved from Turkish tribute for the rest. For the first time the formalities current among the nations of Europe were observed by the sultan and the grand vizir. The Peace of Sitavorok announced to European powers the decadence of the Porte and prepared the way for the Treaty of Karlowitz.^h

Under this reign the use of tobacco was first introduced into Turkey. The Hollanders, who for some time had divided the trade of the Levant with the Venetians, made the Ottomans acquainted with this new source of enjoyment in 1605. They surrendered themselves with such passionate delight to its use that the mufti, believing they saw in its effects some resemblance to the intoxication produced by wine, issued a severe edict against the innovation. This proceeding aroused the whole population. It was insisted that, as tobacco was not prohibited by Mohammed, the mufti had no right to be more severe than the Prophet himself. These murmurs were followed by an insurrection of the people, the troops, and the officers of the seraglio; and the mufti was obliged to revoke his ordinance to preserve the public peace.

About the same time a singular event happened at Constantinople, which illustrates in a remarkable manner the charity of Mussulmans to animals. The plague having broken out in the capital, the physicians declared that it was necessary to destroy the dogs, which propagated the scourge. The mufti took up the defence of the proscribed, and pleaded their cause with such zeal that the fatal decree was commuted to simple banishment. The *protégés* of the high priest of Islam were then embarked in boats and transported to a neighbouring island.

THE SULTANS MUSTAPHA I, OSMAN II, MUSTAPHA II

Mustapha, who in 1617, by the death of his father, inherited the throne, was no sooner invested with the imperial insignia than the report of his imbecility produced his deposition and imprisonment. Osman II, yet a child, took his place. Upon arriving at manhood he undertook the conquest of Poland, but without obtaining any important results. These repeated failures of the Turkish arms increased the already widespread discontent of the nation. The

[1622-1632 A. D.]

soldiers detested the sultan on account of his avarice, and rose and murdered him in 1622. This was the first instance in which the Ottoman throne had been stained with blood. Mustapha II succeeded, but his weak and irresolute character gave rise to new military disorders. Upon his death Murad became sultan.^e

MURAD IV

Murad IV at the time of his accession (September 10th, 1623) was only twelve years of age. But even thus early he gave indications of a resolute and revengeful character, and showed that a prince animated by the spirit of the first Selim was once more on the Ottoman throne. The Turkish historian, Evliya, relates of him: "When Sultan Murad entered the treasury after his accession, my father, Dervish Muhammed, was with him. There were no gold or silver vessels remaining—only 30,000 piastres in money, and some coral and porcelain in chests. 'Inshallah' (please God), said the sultan, after prostrating himself in prayer, 'I will replenish this treasury fifty-fold with the property of those who have plundered it.'"

The young sultan during the first year of his reign acted principally under the directions of his mother, the sultana Mahpeker, who, providentially for the Ottoman Empire, was a woman of remarkable talent and energy, which were taxed to the uttermost to meet the dangers and disasters that clouded round the dawn of her child's sovereignty. From every part of the empire messengers arrived with evil tidings. The Persians were victorious on the frontiers. The rebel Abaza was lord and tyrant over Asia Minor. The tribes of the Lebanon were in open insurrection. The governors of Egypt and other provinces were wavering in their allegiance. The Barbaresque Regencies assumed the position of independent powers, and made treaties with European nations on their own account. The fleets of the Cossack marauders not only continued their depredations along the Black Sea, but even appeared in the Bosphorus, and plundered the immediate vicinity of the capital. In Constantinople itself there were an empty treasury, a dismantled arsenal, a debased coinage, exhausted magazines, a starving population, and a licentious soldiery. Yet the semblance of authority was preserved, and by degrees some of its substance was recovered by those who ruled in the young prince's name; and, though amid tumult and bloodshed, and daily peril to both crown and life, young Murad, observing all things, forgetting nothing and forgiving nothing, grew up towards man's estate.

There is a wearisome monotony in the oft-repeated tale of military insurrections; but the formidable mutiny of the spahis, which convulsed Constantinople in the ninth year of Murad's reign, deserves notice on account of the traits of the Turkish character which its chief hero and victim remarkably displayed, and also because it explains and partly palliates the hard-heartedness which grew upon Murad, and the almost wolfish appetite for bloodshed which was shown by him in the remainder of his reign. In the beginning of that year a large number of mutinous spahis, who had disgraced themselves by gross misconduct in the late unsuccessful campaign against Baghdad, had straggled to Constantinople, and joined the European spahis, already collected in that capital. They were secretly instigated by Redjib Pasha, who wished by their means to effect the ruin of the grand vizir Hafiz, a gallant though not fortunate general, to whom the young sultan was much attached, and who had interchanged poetical communications with his sovereign when employed against the Persians. The spahis gathered together in the hippodrome on

three successive days (February, 1632); and called for the heads of the grand vizir Hafiz, the mufti Jahia, the defterdar Mustapha, and other favourites of the sultan, seventeen in all. The shops were closed, and the city and the serai were in terror.

On the second day the mutineers came to the gate of the palace, but withdrew on being promised that they should have redress on the morrow. On the third day, when the morning broke, the outer court of the seraglio was filled with raging rebels. As the grand vizir Hafiz was on his way thither to attend the divan, he received a message from a friend, who warned him to conceal himself until the crowd had dispersed. Hafiz answered with a smile, "I have already this day seen my fate in a dream; I am not afraid to die."



A SPAHI

He rode into the seraglio, the multitude made a lane for him as if out of respect, but as he passed along they cast stones at him; he was struck from his horse, and borne by his attendants into the inner part of the palace. One of his followers was murdered and one grievously wounded by the spahis. The sultan ordered Hafiz to make his escape, and the grand vizir took a boat at the watergate of the serai, and crossed over to Scutari.

Meanwhile the rebels forced their way into the second court of the seraglio, which was the usual hall of the divan, and they clamoured for the sultan to come forth and hold a divan among them. The sultan appeared and held a divan standing. He spoke to the mutineers, "What is your will, my servants?" Loudly and insolently they answered, "Give us the seventeen heads. Give these men up to us, that we may tear them in pieces, or it shall fare worse with thee." They pressed close upon the sultan; and were near upon laying

hands on him. "You can give no hearing to my words; why have you called me hither?" said Murad. He drew back, surrounded by his pages, into the inner court. The rebels came after him like a raging flood. Fortunately the pages barred the gate; but the alarm and the outcry became the greater. They shouted aloud, "The seventeen heads, or abdicate."

Redjib Pasha, the secret promoter of the whole tumult, now approached the young sultan, and urged on him that it was necessary to still the tumult by granting what was demanded. He said that it had become a custom for the chiefs to be given up to the soldiery. "The unchained slave must take what he pleases; better the head of the vizir than that of the sultan." Murad sorrowfully gave way, and sent a summons to Hafiz to return and die. The vizir hesitated not, and as he came back the sultan met him at the water-gate. The gate of the inner court was then opened. The sultan ascended the throne of state, and four deputies from the insurgents, two spahis and two janissaries,

[1632 A.D.]

came before him. He implored them not to profane the honour of the caliphate; but he pleaded in vain; the cry was still "The seventeen heads!" Meanwhile Hafiz Pasha had made the ablution preparatory to death which the Mohammedan law requires, and he now stood forth and addressed Murad. "My padisha," said he, "let a thousand slaves such as Hafiz perish for thy sake. I only entreat that thou do not thyself put me to death, but give me up to these men, that I may die a martyr, and that my innocent blood may come upon their heads. Let my body be buried at Scutari." He then kissed the earth, and exclaimed, "In the name of God, the all-merciful, the all-good. There is no power or might save with God, the most high, the Almighty. His we are, and unto him we return."

Hafiz then strode forth a hero into the fatal court. The sultan sobbed aloud, the pages wept bitterly, the vizirs gazed with tearful eyes. The rebels rushed to meet him as he advanced. To sell his life as a martyr, he struck the foremost to the ground with a well-aimed buffet, on which the rest sprang on him with their daggers, and pierced him with seventeen mortal wounds. A janissary knelt on his breast and struck off his head. The pages of the seraglio came forward and spread a robe over the corpse. Then said the sultan: "God's will be done! But in his appointed time ye shall meet with vengeance, ye men of blood, who have neither the fear of God before your eyes nor respect for the law of the prophet." The threat was little heeded at the time, but it was uttered by one who never menaced in vain.

Within two months after this scene fresh victims had fallen before the bloodthirsty rabble that now disgraced the name of Turkish troops. The deposition of Murad was openly discussed in their barracks, and the young sultan saw that the terrible alternative, "Kill, or be killed," was no longer to be evaded. Some better spirits in the army, shamed and heart-sick at the spirit of brigandage that was so insolently dominant over court and camp, placed their swords at their sovereign's disposal; and a small but brave force, that could be relied on in the hour of need, was gradually and quietly organised. The dissensions also among the mutinous troops themselves, and especially the ancient jealousy between the spahis and the janissaries, offered means for repressing them all, of which Murad availed himself with boldness and skill. His first act was to put the archtraitor, Redjib Pasha, suddenly and secretly to death.

Murad's Reign of Terror

He then proceeded to the more difficult one of reducing the army to submission. This was done on the 29th day of May, 1632, the day on which the sultan emancipated himself from his military tyrants and commenced also his own reign of terror. Murad held a public divan on the shore of the sea near the kiosk of Sinan. The mufti, the vizirs, the chief members of the ulema were there, and the two military chiefs, who had devoted themselves to the cause of the sultan against the mutinous troops, Kœsè Muhammed and Rum Muhammed. Six squadrons of horse guards, whose loyalty could be trusted, were also in attendance and ready for immediate action. Murad seated himself on the throne, and sent a message to the spahis, who were assembled in the hippodrome, requiring the attendance of a deputation of their officers. Murad then summoned the janissaries before him, and addressed them as faithful troops who were enemies to the rebels in the other corps. The janissaries shouted out that the padisha's enemies were their enemies also, and took with zealous readiness an oath of implicit obedience,

which was suggested at the moment. Copies of the *Koran* were ready, and were handed through the ranks. The janissaries swore on the sacred book, "By God, with God, and through God." Their oath was formally registered; and Murad then turned to the deputies of the spahis, who had by this time arrived and had witnessed the loyal fervour of the janissaries. The sultan reproached them for the rapacity and lawlessness of their body. They answered humbly that the sultan's charges were true, but that they were personally loyal, though unable to make their men obey them. "If ye are loyal," said Murad, "take the oath which your brethren the janissaries have taken, and deliver up to me the ringleaders of rebellion from your ranks." Surrounded by the royal horse guards and janissaries, the spahi officers obeyed in fear and trembling.

Murad then ordered the judges to stand forward. He said to them: "Ye are accused of selling your judgments for gold, and of destroying my people. What answer have you to give?" "God is our witness," said they, "that we seek not to make a traffic of justice, or to oppress the poor; but we have no freedom or independence; and if we protect thy subjects against the violence of the spahis and the tax-gatherers, we are accused of corruption, our tribunals are assailed by armed men, and our houses are pillaged." "I have heard of these things," said the sultan. Then arose in the divan a valiant judge of Asia, an Arab by birth, and he drew his sabre, and cried, "My padisha, the only cure for all these things is the edge of the sword." At these words the sultan and the whole assembly fixed their eyes on the Arabian judge, who stood before them with flashing eyes and weapon, but said no more. The declaration of the judge was registered; and then all present, the sultan, the vizirs, the mufti, and the chief officers, signed a written manifesto, by which they bound themselves to suppress abuses and maintain public order, under the penalty of bringing on their heads the curses of God, of the prophet, of all angels, and of all true believers.

Murad had need of acts as well as of words, and the work of death speedily began. Energetic and trusty emissaries were sent through Constantinople, who slew the leaders of the late insurrection and all whom Murad marked for destruction. The troops, deprived of their chiefs and suspicious of each other, trembled and obeyed. The same measures were taken in the provinces, and for many months the sword and the bow-string were incessantly active. But it was in the capital, and under Murad's own eye, that the revenge of royalty for its long humiliation reaped the bloodiest harvest. Every morning the Bosphorus threw up on its shores the corpses of those who had been executed during the preceding night, and in them the anxious spectators recognised janissaries and spahis whom they had lately seen parading the streets in all the haughtiness of military license. The personal appearance and courage of Murad, his bold and martial demeanour, confirmed the respect and awe which this strenuous ferocity inspired. He was in the twentieth year of his age, and though but little above the middle stature, his bodily frame united strength and activity in a remarkable degree. His features were regular and handsome. His aquiline nose and the jet-black beard which had begun to grace his chin gave dignity to his aspect; but the imperious lustre of his full dark eyes was marred by an habitual frown, which, however, suited well the sternness of his character. Every day he displayed his horsemanship in the hippodrome, and he won the involuntary admiration of the soldiery by his strength and skill as a cavalier and swordsman, and by his unrivalled force and dexterity in the use of the bow. He patrolled the streets in disguise at night; and often, with his own hand, struck dead the offenders against his numerous edicts in matters of police.

[1634-1638 A. D.]

The insurrection in Asia Minor had been quelled in 1630 by the defeat and submission of Abaza, whom Murad had spared, principally out of sympathy with his hatred towards the janissaries, and had made pasha of Bosnia. He now employed that able and ruthless chief in Constantinople, and appointed him aga of his old enemies the janissaries. Abaza served his stern master well in that perilous station; but he at last incurred the displeasure of Murad, and was executed in 1634. The habit of bloodshedding had now grown into a second nature with the sultan. All faults, small or great, were visited by him with the same short, sharp, and final sentence; and the least shade of suspicion that crossed his restless mind was sufficient to insure its victim's doom. He struck before he censured: and, at last, the terror with which he was regarded was so general and profound that men who were summoned to the sultan's presence commonly made the death-ablution before they entered the palace.

The number of those who died by his command is reckoned at a hundred thousand. Among them were three of his brothers, and, as was generally believed, his deposed uncle Mustapha. One of his sayings is preserved by an Italian writer, who asserts that Murad's favourite book was *The Prince* of Macchiavelli, which had been translated into Turkish. The sultan's own maxim is certainly worthy of such inspiration. It is this: "Vengeance never grows decrepit, though she may grow grey." In the last years of Murad's life his ferocity of temper was fearfully aggravated by the habits of intoxication which he had acquired.

Never, however, did Murad wholly lose in habits of indulgence the vigour of either mind or body. When civil or military duty required his vigilance, none could surpass him in austere abstemiousness or in the capacity for labour. And, with all his misdeeds, he saved his country. He tolerated no crimes but his own. The worst of evils, the sway of petty local tyrants, ceased under his dominion. He was unremittingly and unrelentingly watchful in visiting the offences of all who were in authority under him, as well as those of the mass of his subjects; and the worst tyranny of the single despot was a far less grievous curse to the empire than had been the military anarchy which he quelled. Order and subordination were restored under his iron sway. There was discipline in the camps; there was pure justice in the tribunals. The revenues were fairly raised and honestly administered. The abuses of the feudal system of the ziamets and timars were extirpated; and if Murad was dreaded at home, he made himself still more feared by the foe abroad.

Expedition Against Persia

In 1638 he made his final and greatest expedition against the Persians, to reannex to the Ottoman Empire the great city of Baghdad, which had been in the power of those enemies of the house of Osman and the Sunnite creed for fifteen years, and had been repeatedly besieged in vain by Turkish armies. There is a tradition in the East that Baghdad, the ancient city of the caliphate, can only be taken by a sovereign in person. The great Suleiman had first won it for Turkey; and now, at the end of a century after that conquest, Murad IV prepared his armies for its recovery. The imperial standard of the seven horsetails was planted on the heights of Scutari on the 9th of March, 1638, and a week afterwards Murad joined the army. A proclamation was made by which the march from Scutari to Baghdad was

divided into 110 days' journey, with fixed periods for halts, and on the 8th of May the vast host moved steadily forward in un murmuring obedience to its leader's will. Throughout this second progress of Murad (the last ever made by an Ottoman sovereign in person through any of the Asiatic provinces not immediately adjacent to Constantinople) he showed the same inquisitorial strictness and merciless severity in examining the conduct of all the provincial authorities that had been felt on his former march to Erivan. Pashas, judges, imams, and tax-collectors thronged to kiss the sultan's stirrup; and if there was the slightest taint of suspicion on the character of any functionary for probity, activity, or loyalty, the head of the unhappy homager rolled in the dust beneath the imperial charger's hoofs.

On the 15th of November, 1638, after the pre-appointed 110 days of march and 86 days of halt, the Ottoman standards appeared before Baghdad, and the last siege of this great city commenced. The fortifications were strong; the garrison amounted to thirty thousand men, twelve hundred of whom were regularly trained musketeers; and the Persian governor, Bektish Khan, was an officer of proved ability and bravery. A desperate resistance was expected and was encountered by the Turks; but their numbers, their discipline, and the resolute skill of their sultan prevailed over all. Murad gave his men an example of patient toil as well as active courage. He laboured in the trenches, and pointed the cannons with his own hands. And when, in one of the numerous sorties made by the garrison, a Persian soldier, of gigantic size and strength, challenged the best and boldest Turk to single combat, Murad stood forth in person, and after a long and doubtful conflict clove his foe from skull to chin with a sabre stroke.

On the 22nd of December the Turkish artillery had made a breach of eight hundred yards, along which the defences were so completely levelled that, in the words of an Ottoman writer, "a blind man might have galloped over them with loose bridle without his horse stumbling." The ditch had been heaped up with fascines, and the Turks rushed forward to an assault, which was for two days baffled by the number and valour of the besieged. On the evening of the second day Murad bitterly reproached his grand vizir, Tayar Muhammed Pasha, for the repulse of the troops, and accused him of want of courage. The vizir replied, "Would to God, my padisha, that it were half as easy to insure for thee the winning of Baghdad as it will be for me to lay down my life in the breach to-morrow in thy service." On the third day (Christmas eve, 1638) Tayar Muhammed led the forlorn hope in person, and was shot dead through the throat by a volley from the Persian musketeers.

But the Turks poured on with unremitting impetuosity, and at length the city was carried. Part of the garrison, which had retired to some inner defences, asked for quarter, which was at first granted; but a conflict having accidentally recommenced in the streets between some Persian musketeers and a Turkish detachment, Murad ordered a general slaughter of the Persians, and after a whole day of butchery scarcely three hundred out of the garrison, which had originally consisted of thirty thousand men, were left alive. A few days afterwards Murad was exasperated by the accidental or designed explosion of a powder magazine, by which eight hundred janissaries were killed and wounded; and he commanded a massacre of the inhabitants of the city, in which thirty thousand are computed by the Ottoman historian to have perished. In February Murad commenced his homeward march, after having repaired the city walls, and left one of his best generals with twelve thousand troops to occupy Baghdad, which has never since been wrested from the Turks.

[1639-1640 A. D.]

The sultan reached Constantinople on the 10th of June, 1639, and made a triumphal entry into his capital; which is memorable not only on account of its splendour and of the importance of the conquest which it celebrated, but because it was then that Constantinople beheld for the last time the once familiar spectacle of the return of her monarch victorious from a campaign which he had conducted in person. The Ottoman writer who witnessed and described the scene says that the sultan "repaired to his palace with splendour and magnificence which no tongue can tell and no pen adequately illustrate. The balconies and roofs of the houses were everywhere thronged with people, who exclaimed with enthusiasm, 'The blessing of God be on thee, O conqueror! Welcome, Murad! May thy victories be fortunate!' The sultan was sheathed in resplendent armour of polished steel, with a leopard-skin over his shoulders, and wore in his turban a triple aigrette, placed obliquely, in the Persian mode. He rode a Nogaian charger, and was followed by seven led Arab horses with jewelled caparisons, while trumpets and cymbals resounded before him, and twenty-two Persian khans were led captives at the imperial stirrup. As he passed along, he looked proudly on each side, like a lion who has seized his prey, and saluted the people, who shouted *Barik-Allah!* and threw themselves on the ground. All the vessels of war fired constant salutes, so that the sea seemed in a blaze; and seven days and nights were devoted to constant rejoicings."

A peace with Persia, on the basis of that which Suleiman the Great had granted in 1555, was the speedy result of Murad's victories (September 15th, 1639). Erivan was restored by the Porte; but the possession of Baghdad and the adjacent territory by the Ottomans was solemnly sanctioned and confirmed. Eighty years passed away before Turkey was again obliged to struggle against her old and obstinate enemy on the line of the Euphrates. For this long cessation of exhausting hostilities, and this enduring acknowledgment of superiority by Persia, Turkey owes a deep debt of gratitude to the memory of Murad IV.

Last Years of Murad

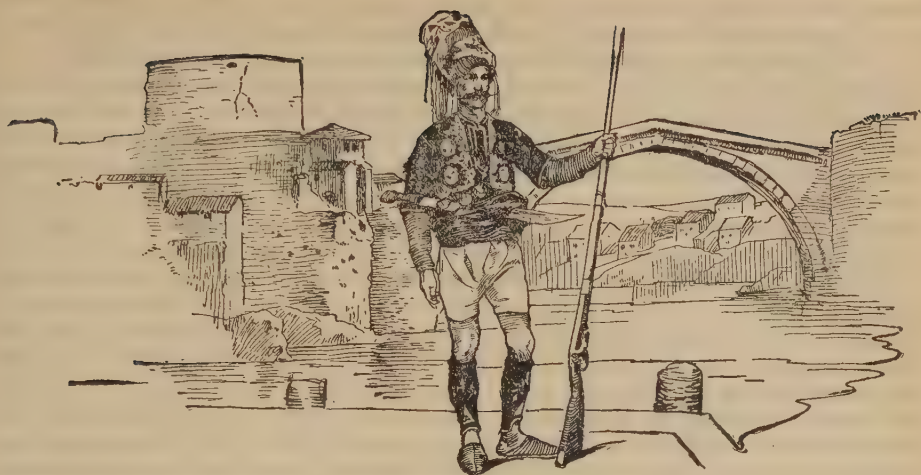
Murad died at the age of twenty-eight, on the 9th of February, 1640. In the interval between his return from Baghdad and his last illness, he had endeavoured to restore the fallen naval power of his empire, he had quelled the spirit of insurrection that had been rife in Albania and the neighbouring districts during his absence in Asia, and he was believed to be preparing for a war with Venice. A fever, aggravated by his habits of intemperance and by his superstitious alarm at an eclipse of the sun, proved fatal to him after an illness of fifteen days.

One of his last acts was to command the execution of his sole surviving brother, Ibrahim. It may be doubted whether this mark of "the ruling spirit strong in death" was caused by the delirium of fever, or from a desire that his favourite the Silihdar Pasha should succeed to the throne on the extinction of the race of Osman, or whether Murad IV wished for the gloomy satisfaction of knowing that his house and dynasty would descend to the grave with him. The sultana validi preserved Ibrahim's life, and used the pious fraud of a false message to the sultan that his command had been fulfilled. Murad, then almost in the pangs of death, "grinned horrible a ghastly smile" in the belief that his brother was slain, and tried to rise from his bed to behold the supposed dead body. His attendants, who trembled for their own lives should the deception be detected, forcibly held him back on the couch. The

imam, who had been waiting in an adjoining room, but had hitherto feared to approach the terrible dying man, was now brought forward by the pages, and whilst the priest commenced his words of prayer, the *effera vis animi* of Murad IV departed from the world.^b

The reign of the dissolute and profligate Ibrahim was insignificant in its results, with the exception of some advantages which he gained in a war with Venice. In 1648 a conspiracy of janissaries and ulemas dethroned and murdered him. Muhammed IV succeeded him, at the age of seven years. Intrigues in the palace and rebellions in the army were of constant occurrence. The government was in the hands of women and eunuchs, who ruled as they pleased. Never was the Ottoman court so corrupt, or in such a state of anarchy and depravity. Almost every month there was a new vizir, who was deprived of his office, and often of his life, after a few days of administration; the sea-coasts were pillaged by the Cossacks, and the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos threw off the Turkish yoke. Such was the condition of affairs when a man appeared as grand vizir whose profound sagacity and rare force of character for a time arrested the menaced ruin of the empire. This was the celebrated Muhammed Köprili.^c With him began a short period of revival, which makes a break in the monotonous history of decline and disaster, and hence may conveniently be regarded as the beginning of a new section.^a





CHAPTER IV

REVIVAL FOLLOWED BY RAPID DECLINE

[1656-1807 A.D.]

MUHAMMED KÖPRILI

THE court astronomer at Constantinople, on September 15th, 1656, determined that the most favourable time for the investiture of Muhammed Köprili with the grand vizirate was the hour of the midday prayer, at the instant when the cry of "God is great" resounds from the heights of the minarets.

According to a prescribed rule of Islam, the noontide prayer is repeated not at the exact moment when the sun is on the meridian, but a few seconds afterwards; because the tradition of the prophets teaches that, at the astronomical noon, the devil is wont to take the sun between his two horns, so that he may wear it as the crown of the world's dominion; and the fiend then rears himself as lord of the earth, but he lets the sun go directly he hears the words "God is great" repeated on high in the summons of the true believers to prayer. "Thus," says the Turkish historian, "the demons of cruelty, debauchery, and sedition, who had reached the meridian in the reigns of Murad and Ibrahim, and during the minority of Muhammed, were obliged to yield up their crown of domination when the voice was heard that proclaimed Köprili grand vizir of the empire."

Muhammed Köprili was the grandson of an Albanian, who had migrated to Asia Minor and settled in the town of Köpri. The ruler of the councils of the Ottoman Empire had been, in early youth, a kitchen-boy, from which situation he rose to that of a cook. After twenty-five years of service he became the steward of the grand vizir Khosru; and under Khosru's successor he was made master of the horse. That successor favoured Köprili, as being

a native of the same province as himself; and by his influence Köprili was made governor of Damascus, Tripoli, and Jerusalem, and one of the vizirs of state. Afterwards he accepted the inferior post of sandjak bey of Köstendil in Albania, where he led an armed force against some of the numerous insurgents of that region, but was defeated and taken prisoner. After he was redeemed from captivity he retired to his native town, but was persuaded by a pasha, called Muhammed with the Wry Neck, to follow him to Constantinople. His new patron became grand vizir, but soon began to regard Köprili as a dangerous rival for court favour. It does not, however, appear that Köprili used any unfair intrigues to obtain the grand vizirate.

Friends who knew the firmness of his character, his activity, and his keen common sense recommended him to the sultana validi as a man who might possibly restore some degree of tranquillity to the suffering empire; and the grand vizirate was offered to Köprili, then in the seventieth year of his age. He refused to accept it save upon certain conditions. He required that all his measures should be ratified without examination or discussion; that he should have a free hand in the distribution of all offices and preferments and in dealing out rewards and punishments, without attending to recommendations from any quarter and without any responsibility; that he should have authority superior to all influence of great men or favourites; that exclusive confidence should be placed in him, and all accusations and insinuations against him should be instantly rejected. The sultana validi, on behalf of her son, swore solemnly that all these conditions should be fulfilled, and Muhammed Köprili became grand vizir of the Ottoman Empire.^b

His investiture with power restored vigour to the government, and revived the drooping confidence of the people. Victory again returned to the Ottoman standards. Lesbos and Tenedos were reconquered, and a successful campaign was waged in Transylvania. The two fortresses on the Dardanelles were rebuilt, and all the important fortifications were placed in an efficient condition. This great minister exercised absolute control over the sultan; and when he terminated his career of vizir, after a service of five years, the treasury, exhausted by the prodigality of preceding reigns, was again replenished. His cruelty caused the death of more than thirty thousand persons. As a dying counsel to the sultan, he warned him to distrust the influence of women; never to choose too rich a minister; to augment, by every means, the revenues of the state; not to suffer the troops to grow effeminate by too long repose, and to lead, himself, an active life. The sultan, upon his advice, intrusted the seals of state to his son, Ahmed Köprili.^c

AHMED KÖPRILI

Sultan Muhammed IV was now advancing towards manhood, but he was of far too weak a character to govern for himself. His great delight was the chase, and to this he devoted all his energies and all his time. Fortunately for his empire, he placed the most implicit confidence in Ahmed Köprili, the new vizir, and maintained his favourite minister in power against all the numerous intrigues that were directed against him. Ahmed Köprili was the real ruler of Turkey from 1661 to his death in 1676; and he is justly eulogised both by Ottoman and Christian historians as the greatest statesman of his country. He was only twenty-six years of age when he was called on to govern the empire; but his naturally high abilities had been improved by the best education that the muderris of Constantinople could supply, and he

[1661-1664 A.D.]

had learned practical statesmanship as a provincial governor and general during the ministry of his father. Ahmed Köprili could be as stern as his sire, when duty to the state required severity, and he was equally tenacious in not permitting the least encroachment on his authority. But he was usually humane and generous; and his most earnest endeavours were directed to mitigate the burdens of imperial taxation, and to protect the people from the feudal exactions of the spalis, and from the arbitrary violence of the pashas and other local functionaries.

Like his father, Ahmed Köprili commenced his administration by securing himself against any cabals of the ulema; and he gave at the same time a noble rebuke to the chief of that order, who spoke in the divan against the memory of the late grand vizir. Ahmed Köprili said to him, "Mufti, if my father sentenced men to death, he did so by the sanction of thy fetva." The mufti answered, "If I gave him my fetva, it was because I feared lest I should myself suffer under his cruelty." "Effendi," rejoined the grand vizir, "is it for thee, who art a teacher of the law of the prophet, to fear God less than his creature?" The mufti was silent. In a few days afterwards he was deposed and banished to Rhodes, and his important station given to Sanizadi, a friend on whom Ahmed Köprili could rely.

It was in the civil administration of the Turkish Empire that the genius of Ahmed Köprili found its best field of exercise; but he was soon called on to fulfil the military duties of the grand vizirate, and to head the Ottoman armies in the war with Austria, which broke out in 1663. This, like most of the other wars between the two empires, originated in the troubles and dissensions which were chronic for a century and a half in Hungary and Transylvania. After several conflicts of minor importance during 1661 and 1662 between the respective partisans of Austria and the Porte in these provinces, who were aided against each other by the neighbouring pashas and commandants, an Ottoman army was collected by the grand vizir on a scale of grandeur worthy of the victorious days of Suleiman Kanuni; and Köprili resolved not only to complete the ascendancy of the Turks in Hungary and Transylvania, but to crush entirely and finally the power of Austria. Muhammed IV marched with his troops from Constantinople to Adrianople; but there he remained behind to resume his favourite hunting while his grand vizir led the army against the enemy. The sultan placed the sacred standard of the prophet in Köprili's hands at parting; and on the 8th of June, 1663, that formidable ensign of Turkish war was displayed at Belgrade. Köprili had under his command a hundred and twenty-one thousand men, a hundred and twenty-three field pieces, twelve heavy battering cannons, sixty thousand camels, and ten thousand mules.^b

THE BATTLE OF ST. GOTTHARD; THE TREATY OF VASVAR (1664 A.D.)

Repelling the peaceful overtures of the Venetians and of the emperor, Köprili Ahmed crossed the Danube at Gran, and laid siege to Neuhausel (August 17th, 1663); six weeks after, this place, the bulwark of Hungary, considered till then impregnable, capitulated. Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia were pitilessly ravaged, and saw eighty thousand of their inhabitants carried off prisoners. Emperor Leopold was reduced to his own forces; the pope Alexander VII, being wholly devoted to the house of Austria, conceived the project of a league of the Christian princes against the Turks; Louis XIV offered thirty thousand men of his German allies. But the emperor took

offence at this show of force, and on his advice the pope declined the offer. In the mean while Köprili Ahmed continued to advance; the pope and the emperor again demanded help of France. Finally, after negotiations that were somewhat thorny, Louis XIV promised to send six thousand French and twenty-four thousand men from the confederation of the Rhine, under the command of the count of Coligny. This army was joined by all the young nobility of France, who disputed with each other the honour of serving as volunteers, and formed a picked corps under the orders of the duke de la Feuillade.

The count of Strozzi had obtained some slight successes, but he was killed in a skirmish on the bank of the Mur and the celebrated Montecuculi took the command-in-chief. Köprili, after having taken Serinwar and Little-Kormorn, tried to pass the Raab by main force, but he was repulsed by Montecuculi and Coligny after a desperate combat; a fresh attempt likewise came to naught. Finally on July 31st, 1664, the grand vizir decided to cross the river in sight of the Austrians and to risk a battle. The Ottoman army, encamped near the abbey of St. Gotthard, made an impetuous attack; the Raab was crossed by a ford, and the Ottomans broke through the centre of the Christian army; Coligny, however, restored the balance, and the valour of his troops decided the victory.

It is said that when Köprili saw the French knights marching out, covered with ribbons and silk, and with blond wigs, he exclaimed, "Who are those girls?" He was soon undeceived; in an instant the janissaries were routed by the *furia francese*. Those who escaped the *mêlée* repeated for a long time afterwards in their military exercises the cries of "*Allons allons! tue! tue!*" uttered by those girls whom the Ottoman historians call men of iron. Ten days after the battle of St. Gotthard, Köprili Ahmed signed with Austria the Treaty of Vasvar (1664). Transylvania was to be evacuated by the two parties; Apaffi was recognised prince of this country under the suzerainty of the Porte. Of the seven Hungarian comitates between Transylvania and the Theiss three were to belong to the emperor, and the other four, taken away from Rakoczy, remained Ottoman, as well as Novigrad and Neuhausel.^d

CANDIA AND CRETE

At the end of the year 1666 the grand vizir took the command of the siege of Candia. The whole naval force of Venice, and numerous bands of French and Italian volunteers, attempted to force the grand vizir to raise the siege; but the skill of the Italian engineers, the valour of the French nobles, and the determined perseverance of Morosini were vain against the strict discipline and steady valour of the Ottoman troops. The works of the besiegers were pushed forward by the labours of a numerous body of Greek pioneers, and the fire of the powerful batteries at last rendered the place untenable. At this crisis Morosini proved himself a daring statesman and a sincere patriot. When he found that he must surrender the city, he resolved to make his capitulation the means of purchasing peace for the republic.

The step was a bold one, for, though the senate was convinced of the necessity of concluding a treaty as soon as possible, the extreme jealousy of the Venetian government made it dangerous for Morosini to venture on concluding a treaty without express authority. Morosini, however, seeing the peril to which his country would be exposed, if the favourable moment which

[1669-1672 A.D.]

now presented itself for concluding a peace was lost, assumed all the responsibility of the act and signed the treaty. Its conditions were ratified by the senate, but the patriotic general was accused of high treason on his return to Venice. He was honourably acquitted, but remained for many years unemployed. On the 27th of September, 1669, Ahmed Köprili received the keys of Candia, and the republic of Venice resigned all right to the island of Crete, but retained possession of the three insular fortresses of Karabusa, Suda, and Spinalonga, with their valuable ports. No fortress is said to have cost so much blood and treasure, both to the besiegers and the defenders, as Candia; yet the Greeks, in whose territory it was situated, and who could have furnished an army from the inhabitants of Crete sufficiently numerous to have decided the issue of the contest, were the people on the shores of the Mediterranean who took least part in this memorable war: so utterly destitute of all national feeling was the Hellenic race at this period.^e

THE COSSACKS; THE POLISH CAMPAIGN OF 1672 A.D.

The next scene of warlike operations on which Ahmed Köprili entered deserves especial attention, because it brings us to the rival claims of Poland, Russia, and Turkey to dominion over the Cossacks, and is intimately connected with the long and still enduring chain of hostilities between the Russian and Turkish empires. The Cossacks of the Don had become subjects of Ivan the Terrible, czar of Muscovy, in 1549; but the Cossacks of the Dnieper and the Ukraine were long independent, and their first connection was with Poland. The Poles affected to consider them as vassals, but the wisest Polish rulers were cautious in the amount of authority which they attempted to exercise over these bold and hardy tribes. The imperious tyranny of other less prudent sovereigns of Poland was met by fierce opposition on the part of the Cossacks, who called in their former constant enemies, the Tatars, to aid them against their new Polish oppressors. Deserted, after some years of warfare, by the Tatars, the Cossacks of the Ukraine appealed to the Russian czar Alexis. Many years of chequered and sanguinary hostilities followed, and at last the Cossack territory was nominally divided between Russia and Poland in 1667.

But the Cossacks who dwelt near the mouths of the rivers Bug and Dnieper, and who were called the Zaporogian Cossacks, refused to be included in the Polish dominions by virtue of that arrangement, and placed themselves under the protection of the czar. In 1670 the Cossacks of that part of the Ukraine which had been left under Poland petitioned the Polish diet for certain privileges, which were refused; and a Polish army under Sobieski was sent into the Ukraine to coerce the Cossack malcontents. The Cossacks, under their hetman Doroscensko, resisted bravely; but at last they determined to seek the protection of the Sublime Porte; and Doroscensko, in 1672, presented himself at Constantinople, and received a banner with two horsetails, as sandjak bey of the Ukraine, which was immediately enrolled among the Ottoman provinces. At the same time the khan of the Crimea was ordered to support the Cossacks, and six thousand Turkish troops were marched to the Ukraine. The Poles protested loudly against these measures. The czar added his remonstrances, and threatened to join Poland in a war against Turkey. The grand vizir haughtily replied that such threats were empty words and out of place, and that the Porte would preserve its determination with regard to Poland.

When the Polish ambassador reproached the Turks with injustice in aiding the revolted subjects of Poland, Köprili replied in a remarkable letter, written with his own hand, in which he states that "the Cossacks, a free people, placed themselves under the Poles, but being unable to endure Polish oppression any longer, they have sought protection elsewhere, and they are now under the Turkish banner and the horsetails. If the inhabitants of an oppressed country, in order to obtain deliverance, implore the aid of a mighty emperor, is it prudent to pursue them in such an asylum? When the most mighty and most glorious of all emperors is seen to deliver from their enemies and to succour those who are oppressed, and who ask him for protection, a wise man will know on which side the blame of breaking peace ought to rest. If, in order to quench the fire of discord, negotiation is wished for, so let it be. But if the solution of differences is referred to that keen and decisive judge called the Sword, the issue of the strife must be pronounced by the God who hath poised upon nothing heaven and earth, and by whose aid Islam has for a thousand years triumphed over its foes."

This avowal of the principle of intervention in behalf of an oppressed people was a bold measure for the prime minister of a nation like the Turkish, which kept so many other nations in severe bondage; it was especially bold in Köprili, who at that very time was directing the construction of fortresses in the Morea to curb the reviving spirit of independence of the Greeks.

In the Polish campaign of 1672, Sultan Muhammed IV was persuaded to accompany the powerful army which Köprili led to the siege of the important city of Kamenets-Podolski, in Podolia. Kamenets-Podolski fell after nine days' siege (August 26th, 1672), and Lemberg shared its fate on the 9th of September. The imbecile king of Poland, Michael, then made the Peace of Buczacz with the Turks, by which Poland was to cede Podolia and the Ukraine, and pay an annual tribute to the Porte of 220,000 ducats. The sultan returned in triumph to Adrianople; but the congratulations which were lavished on him as conqueror of the Poles were premature. Sobieski and the other chiefs of the Polish nobility determined to break the treaty which their king had made. They refused to pay the stipulated tribute; and in 1673 the grand vizir made preparations for renewing the war upon the Poles, and also for attacking the czar of Russia, from whom they had received assistance.

The Turks marched again into Podolia; but on the 11th of November, 1673, Sobieski, who now led the Poles, surprised the Turkish camp near Khoczim, and routed Köprili with immense slaughter. The princes of Wallachia and Moldavia had deserted from the Turkish to the Polish side with all their contingents—a transfer of strength which aided materially in obtaining Sobieski's victory. But Köprili's administrative skill had so reinvigorated the resources of Turkey that she readily sent fresh forces into the Ukraine in the following year. Sobieski with his Poles and the Russians (who now took an active part in the war) had the advantage in the campaign of 1674; and in 1675 Sobieski gained one of the most brilliant victories of the age over the Turks at Lemberg. But the superior strength and steadiness of the Porte and Köprili in maintaining the war against the discordant government of Poland were felt year after year; and in 1676 the Turkish commander in Podolia, Ibrahim the Devil, made himself completely master of Podolia, and attacked Galicia. Sobieski (who was now king of Poland) fought gallantly with far inferior forces against Ibrahim at Zurawno, but was glad to conclude a peace (October 27th, 1676) by which the Turks were to retain Kamenets-Podolski and Podolia, and by which the Ukraine, with the exception of a few specified places, was to be under the sovereignty of the sultan.

[1676-1683 A.D.]

DEATH OF AHMED KÖPRILI

Three days after the Peace of Zurawno Ahmed Köprili died. Though his defeats at St. Gotthard and Khoczim had fairly given rise to an opinion among the Ottoman ranks that their vizir was not born to be a general, his military services to the empire, for which he won Candia, Neuhausel, and Kamenets-Podolski, were considerable; and no minister ever did more than he accomplished in repressing insurrection and disorder, in maintaining justice and good government, and in restoring the financial and military strength of his country. He did all this without oppression or cruelty. He protected all ranks of the sultan's subjects; he was a liberal patron of literature and art; he was a warm friend, and a not implacable enemy; he was honourably true to his plighted word towards friend or foe, towards small or great; and there is far less than the usual amount of oriental exaggeration in the praises which the Turkish historians bestow upon him, as "the light and splendour of the nation; the conservator and governor of good laws; the vicar of the shadow of God; the thrice-learned and all-accomplished grand vizir."

THE SECOND SIEGE OF VIENNA (1683 A.D.)

The value of such a minister as Ahmed Köprili to Turkey was soon proved by the rapid deterioration in her fortunes under his successor in the vizirate, Kara Mustapha, or Black Mustapha—a man whose character was in every respect the opposite of Köprili's, and who to slender abilities united the wildest ambition and almost boundless presumption. He was son-in-law to the sultan, and by the influence which that marriage gave him he obtained the high office which he abused to the ruin of his master and the deep disaster of his country. Kara Mustapha's favourite project was a new war against Austria, in which he hoped to capture Vienna, and to make himself the nominal viceroy but real sovereign of ample provinces between the Danube and the Rhine.^b

Since 1665 the Austrian domination had been odious to the Hungarians. The religious fanaticism of Leopold, who had put to death a number of people of high birth because they were suspected of leaning towards Protestantism; the violence and depredations of the German generals and administrators, who treated Hungary like a conquered country, brought on a general revolt. The son of one of the emperor's victims, the count Emeric Tekeli, escaped from prison and gave the signal for revolt (1676). His device, *Pro Deo et patria*, became that of the Hungarians, who defeated the Austrians everywhere. The emperor then perceived the necessity for reform, and the diet of Oldenburg gave satisfaction to the complaints of Hungary (1681). This adroit policy detached most of the magnates from the party of Tekeli, who then implored the aid of the sultan, offering in exchange to recognise the suzerainty of the Porte. The armistice concluded between Austria and Turkey had not yet expired, but without stopping for this consideration the divan ordered the pasha of Buda to march to the aid of Tekeli, and Kara Mustapha invaded Hungary at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men (1683).

Intoxicated by rapid and easy successes, the grand vizir, in spite of the advice of Tekeli, of the pasha of Buda, and of his principal officers, resolved to lay siege to Vienna. Stahremberg, intrusted with the defence of the city,

had only ten thousand men in the garrison. To complete the defence five corps of bourgeois were formed, who shared in the military service of the place. At the signal of alarm given by the great bell of St. Stephen's, the bourgeois were to assemble near the Hofburg (emperor's palace); the students were to gather on the Freyung place and the merchants and employees on the new market-place. During sixty days forty mines and ten counter-mines exploded; the Turks delivered eighteen assaults and the besieged made twenty-four sorties.

Most of the outworks had fallen into the hands of the besiegers; the ramparts were giving way on all sides. Stahremberg wrote to the duke of Lorraine: "There is not a moment to lose, monseigneur, not a moment." If Kara Mustapha had ordered a general attack it is probable that he would have succeeded, but avarice prevented him from profiting by the ardour of his troops. Convinced that Vienna contained immense treasures, he could not make up his mind to abandon them to pillage, and hence he obstinately refused to give the signal for attack. The inaction of the grand vizir gave Sobieski time to arrive.

Leopold, in his extremity, had solicited help from Europe; the pope made an appeal to the piety of the king of France. It was in vain that Louis XIV intrigued throughout Europe to compel the isolation of the emperor. He tried to prevent Sobieski from helping the Austrians, showing him that his real enemies were Austria, Brandenburg, and his Russian majesty. All was useless; he was carried away by hatred of the infidels.

After having effected a junction with the duke of Lorraine, the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Sobieski marched against the Ottomans. On September 12th, 1683, the Polish squadrons mounted the slopes of Calenberg, where the Osmanlis were intrenched. The impetuous valour of the Polish king decided the victory; at seven o'clock in the evening Vienna was completely delivered. The booty was immense; three hundred pieces of artillery, five thousand tents, the military chests, and all the flags except the sandjak sherif fell into the hands of the victors. Ten thousand Turks remained on the battle-field. Kara Mustapha, whose ambition had aspired to the empire of Germany and to the title Sultan—Kara Mustapha, aroused from his proud dream of power, rallied the fragments of his army on the Raab and fell back upon Buda. He crossed the Danube at Parkany after a sanguinary combat in which the Poles killed eight thousand of his men and took twelve hundred prisoners. Gran opened its gates to Sobieski at the first summons. Exasperated at these reverses, the grand vizir took revenge upon his officers for his own incapacity, thinking that he could drown in blood the accusing voices of that army which he had led to butchery and defeat. He could not escape his fate; his enemies at Constantinople obtained the fatal arrest, and Muhammed IV sent the grand chamberlain to Belgrade with the command to bring back the head of the incapable general.^d

THE DEPOSITION OF MUHAMMED IV; HIS CHARACTER

The great destruction of the Turks before Vienna was rapturously hailed throughout Christendom as the announcement of the approaching downfall of the Mohammedan Empire in Europe. The Russians and the Venetians declared war against the Porte, and Turkey was now assailed on almost every point of her European frontiers. The new grand vizir Ibrahim strove hard to recruit the armies and supply the deficiency in the magazines which

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the fatal campaign of his predecessor had occasioned. But city after city was now rent rapidly away from Islam by the exulting and advancing Christians. The imperialist armies, led by the duke of Lorraine, captured Gran, Neuhausel, Buda, Szegedin, and nearly all the strong places, except Belgrade, which the Turks had held in Hungary. The Venetians were almost equally successful on the Dalmatian frontier; and the republic of St. Mark now landed its troops in Greece, under Morosini, who rapidly made himself master of Coron, Navarino, Nauplia, Corinth, Athens, and other chief cities of that important part of the Turkish Empire. In Poland the war was waged less vigorously; nor did the Turks yet relinquish their hold on Kamenets-Podolski. But a great defeat which the main Ottoman army sustained on the 12th of August, 1687, at Mohacs (on the very scene of Suleiman's ancient glory), excited the discontents of the soldiery into insurrection against the sultan, and on the 8th day of November in that year Muhammed IV was deposed, in the forty-sixth year of his age and thirty-eighth of his reign.

It had been the good fortune of this prince to have able grand vizirs during a considerable part of his reign; but he chose his ministers from female influence or personal favouritism, not from discernment of merit, as was proved when he intrusted power to Kara Mustapha, who did more to ruin the Ottoman Empire than any other individual that is mentioned in its history. Muhammed IV reigned without ruling. His mind was entirely absorbed by his infatuation for the chase; and the common people believed that he was under a curse, laid on him by his father, Sultan Ibrahim, who had been put to death when Muhammed was placed on the throne, and who was said to have prayed in his last moments that his son might lead the wandering life of a beast of prey. Though not personally cruel, Muhammed IV as soon as heirs were born to him sought anxiously to secure himself on the throne by the customary murder of his brothers. They were saved from him by the exertions of the sultana validi and his ministers; but he often resumed the unnatural design. His mother, the sultana validi Tarkhan, was determined at even the risk of her own life to shelter her two younger sons from being slaughtered for the further security of the elder; and she took at last the precaution of placing the two young princes in an inner room of the palace, which could only be reached by passing through her own apartments.

Even there one night the sultan himself entered with a dagger in his hand, and was gliding through to the chamber where his brothers lay. Two pages watched near the sultana validi; they dared not speak in the presence of the imperial man-slayer, but one of them touched her and awakened her. The mother sprang from sleep, and clinging round the sultan implored him to strike her dead before he raised his hand to shed his brothers' blood. Muhammed, accustomed to yield to the superior spirit of the validi, renounced for the time his scheme of fratricide, and retired to his apartment; but on the morrow he put to death the two slaves who had hindered him from effecting the murderous project which he wished to have accomplished, but which he wanted nerve to renew. Timidly vindictive, and selfishly rather than constitutionally cruel, Muhammed continued to long for the death of his brothers, though he hesitated to strike. And when he was at last deposed, to make room for his brother Suleiman on the throne, he may have regretted that his infirmity of purpose had spared the fatal rival whom an adherence to the old fratricidal canon of the house of Osman would have removed forever from his path.

In the reign of Muhammed IV another innovation on the ancient stern institutions of the empire was completed, which also was probably caused

as much by weakness as by humanity. It was in 1675, in the last year of the vizirate of Ahmed Köprili, that the final levy of three thousand boys for the recruiting of the Turkish army was made on the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. The old system of filling the ranks of the janissaries exclusively with compulsory conscripts and converts from among the children of the rayahs had been less and less rigidly enforced since the time of Murad IV. Admission into the corps of janissaries now conferred many civil as well as military advantages, so that it was eagerly sought by men who were of Turkish origin and born to the Mohammedan faith.

The first measure of relaxation of the old rule was to treat those who were the children of janissaries as eligible candidates for enrolment. Other Musulman volunteers were soon received, and the levies of the tribute of children from the Christians grew less frequent and less severe, though they were still occasionally resorted to in order to supply the thousands of pages who were required to people the vast chambers of the serai, and who were in case of emergency drafted into the army of the state. But ever since the year 1675 the rayahs of the empire have been entirely free from the terrible tax of flesh and blood by which the Ottoman military force was sustained during its early centuries of conquest. With this change in the constitution of the corps of janissaries, the numbers of that force were greatly increased; large bodies of them were now settled with their families in the chief cities of the empire, where they engaged in different trades and occupations. The exclusively monastic and martial character of the "new soldiery" of Hadji Bektash had long ago disappeared.

TWO RELIGIOUS IMPOSTORS

The contests between the Greeks and the Christians of the Latin Church in Jerusalem raged furiously during Muhammed IV's reign. But the Ottomans of that age watched with far stronger interest the agitation caused among the Jewish nation by the celebrated Sabbatai-zevi, who in 1666 came forward at Jerusalem and asserted that he was the Messiah. Under that title he sent circular letters to all the Jewish synagogues of the Ottoman Empire; and such was his dexterous audacity in imposition, so eagerly were the legends respecting his miraculous powers received, that thousands of his countrymen flocked together at his bidding not only from Constantinople, Smyrna, and other Turkish cities, but from Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam. Some of the rabbis opposed him; and the most violent tumults were raised at Jerusalem, Cairo, Smyrna, and other cities of the East, where Sabbatai proclaimed his pretended mission.

The Ottomans observed his progress with religious anxiety; not from any belief in his alleged character, but, on the contrary, from the fear that he was the *dedjal*, or antichrist, who, according to the Mohammedan creed, is to appear among mankind in the last days of the world. They believe also that the speedy advent of the day of judgment is to be announced by the reappearance on earth of the prophet Mahdi. And as at the same time at which Sabbatai came forward in Palestine another religious impostor arose in Kurdistan, who called himself the prophet Mahdi, and excited thousands of Kurds to follow him, the alarm of many orthodox Moslems at these combined signs of the end of the world was extreme. The vizir Ahmed Köprili, in order to check the troubles caused by Sabbatai, seized and imprisoned him; but his fanatic followers only saw in this the certain prelude to their

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Messiah's triumph. They said that according to an ancient prophecy Messiah was to disappear for nine months, and was then to return mounted on a lioness, which he was to guide with a bridle made of seven-headed serpents, and then he was to be lord of the world. But one of Sabbatai's countrymen, who was jealous of his influence, denounced him before the sultan's ministers as endeavouring to raise a revolt among the people.

Sabbatai was brought before the sultan for examination, and Muhammed then made him the characteristic offer of an opportunity of proving by a miracle his right to be acknowledged the Messiah. One of the sultan's best archers was called forward, and Sabbatai was invited to stand steady as a mark for the arrows, which of course could do no harm to a personage gifted with miraculous powers; only the sultan wished to see them bound back from off his body. At these words, and the sight of the bended bow, Sabbatai's courage failed him. He fell prostrate, and owned that he was nothing but a poor rabbi, and no whit different from other men. The sultan then offered to allow him to embrace the Mohammedan faith, and so make some amends for the scandal which he had caused, and for the crime of high treason which he had committed by assuming the title of Messiah of Palestine, which was one of the sandjaks of the Sublime Porte. Sabbatai eagerly accepted the proposal. He became a Moslem, and instead of being worshipped as Messiah or dreaded as antichrist, he filled for ten years the respectable but prosaic station of a door-keeper in the sultan's palace. He, however, still made himself conspicuous by his religious zeal; but that zeal was now directed to winning converts from Judaism to Mohammedanism, in which he was singularly successful. He was ultimately banished to the Morea, where he died.

The Kurdish spiritual pretender, the self-styled Mahdi, was captured and sent before the sultan a few months after Sabbatai had owned his imposture in the royal presence. The young Kurd abandoned the character of "precursor of the last judgment" as soon as he was led before his sovereign. He answered his interrogators with sense and spirit, and his life also was spared. The Jewish antichrist was serving the sultan as a door-keeper, and the Kurdish Madhi was made his fellow-servant, in the capacity of one of the pages of the treasure-chamber of the palace.

Although his immoderate fondness for hunting made Muhammed IV habitually neglect the duties of government, he was never indifferent to literary pursuits, and he showed a hereditary fondness for the society of learned men. His patronage of the chase and his patronage of letters were sometimes strangely blended. He was liberal in his encouragement of historical writers, especially of such as professed to record the current history of his own reign. He loved to see them at his court; he corrected their works with his own pen; but he expected that each royal hunting should be chronicled by them with sportsmanlike minuteness, and that the death of each wild beast which was slain by the sultan's hand should be portrayed with poetic fervour. A despotic patron is dangerous to the life of an author, as well as to the vitality of his works. The Turkish historian Abdi was one whom Sultan Muhammed IV delighted to honour. The sultan kept him always near his person, and charged him with the special duty of writing the annals of his reign. One evening Muhammed asked of him, "What hast thou written to-day?" Abdi incautiously answered that nothing remarkable to write about had happened that day. The sultan darted a hunting-spear at the unobservant companion of royalty, wounded him sharply, and exclaimed, "Now thou hast something to write about."

THE REIGN OF SULEIMAN II

Suléiman II, when raised to the throne of the Ottoman Empire in 1687, had lived for forty-five years in compulsory seclusion, and in almost daily peril of death. Yet, as sovereign, he showed more capacity and courage than the brother whom he succeeded; and perhaps if he had been made sultan at an earlier period Turkey might have escaped that shipwreck of her state which came on her after the death of her great minister Ahmed Köprili, through the weakness of Sultan Muhammed IV and the misconduct of his favourite vizir Kara Mustapha, the originator of the fatal march upon Vienna.

Suleiman despised the idle sports and debasing sensuality of his predecessors, and earnestly devoted himself to the task of reorganising the military power of his empire, and of stemming, if possible, the progress of defeat and disaster. But he was unable to control the excesses of the mutinous janissaries, who, throughout the winter which followed Suleiman's accession, filled Constantinople with riot and slaughter, and compelled the appointment and displacement of ministers according to their lawless will. At length this savage soldiery resolved to pillage the palaces of the grand vizir and the other chief dignitaries. The vizir, Siavush Pasha, defended his house bravely against the brigands, who were joined by the worst rabble of the capital, Jewish and Christian, as well as Mohammedan. On the second day of the insurrection they forced the gate of the house, and rushed in, slaying and spoiling all that they met with. Siavush Pasha, with a few of his surviving servants round him, made a last attempt to defend the entrance to the harem, that sanctuary of Moslems, which the rebels now assailed, regardless alike of every restraint of law, of creed, of national and of private honour. More than a hundred of the wretches were slain before the resistance of the brave man of the house was overcome, and Siavush fell dead on the threshold of his harem, fighting bravely to the last gasp.

The worst outrages and abominations were now practised by the rebels; and the sister of the slain vizir, and his wife (the daughter of Muhammed Köprili), were cruelly mutilated and dragged naked through the streets of Constantinople. The horror and indignation which these atrocities inspired, and the instinct of self-preservation, roused the mass of the inhabitants to resist the brigands, who were proceeding to the sack of other mansions, and to the plunder of the shops and bazaars. The chief preacher of the mosque of the Great Suleiman, and other members of the ulema, exerted themselves with energy and success to animate the well-affected citizens, and to raise a feeling of shame among the ranks of the janissaries, many of whom had been led away by temporary excitement and the evil example of the ruffians who had joined them from out of the very dregs of the populace. The sacred standard of the prophet was displayed over the centre gate of the sultan's palace, and the true believers hastened to rally round the holy symbol of loyalty to their prophet's vicar on earth. The chief pillagers and assassins in the late riot were seized and executed. The mufti and three other principal ulemas, who had shown a disposition to obey the mutinous janissaries, were deposed, and men of more integrity and spirit were appointed in their places. Some degree of order was thus restored to the capital; but the spirit of insubordination and violence was ever ready to break out, and the provinces were convulsed with revolt and tumult. It was not until the end of June, 1688, that the sultan was able to complete the equipment of an army, which then marched towards the Hungarian frontier.

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The Austrians and their allies had profited vigorously by the disorders of the Turkish state, and had continued to deal blow after blow with fatal effect. Three generals of the highest military renown, Charles of Lorraine, Louis of Baden, and Prince Eugene, now directed the imperialist armies against the discouraged and discordant Ottomans. The important city of Erlau in Hungary surrendered on the 14th of December, 1687, and came again into the dominion of its ancient rulers, after having been for a century under Mohammedan sway. Gradiska, on the Bosnian frontier, was captured by Prince Louis of Baden. Stuhlweissenburg was invested; and, as the Turks had abandoned Illock and Peterwardein, the route to Belgrade lay open to the Austrian armies. A Turkish general named Yegen Osman was ordered to protect Belgrade; but he was cowardly or treacherous, and, as the imperialists advanced, he retreated from Belgrade, after setting fire to the city. The Austrian troops, following close upon the retiring Turks, extinguished the flames, and laid siege to the citadel, which surrendered after a bombardment of twenty-one days, on the 20th of August, 1688. Stuhlweissenburg was stormed on the 6th of September; and Yegen Osman fired Semendria, and abandoned it to the advancing Christians. Prince Louis destroyed a Turkish army in Bosnia, and city after city yielded to the various Austrian generals who commanded in that province and in Transylvania, and to the Venetian leaders in Dalmatia.

The campaign of the next year in these regions was almost equally disastrous to Turkey. The sultan announced his intention of leading the Ottoman armies in person, and proceeded as far as the city of Sofia. Part of the Turkish forces were posted in advance at the city of Nish, and were attacked there and utterly defeated by the imperialists under Prince Louis of Baden. Nish, evacuated by the Turks, was occupied by the conquerors. On the tidings of this defeat reaching the Turkish headquarters at Sofia, the sultan, in alarm, retreated within the mountain range of the Balkan to the city of Philippopolis. Before the close of the year 1689 Peterwardein and Temesvar were all that the Ottomans retained of their late extensive provinces north of the Danube; while even to the south of that river the best portions of Bosnia and Servia were occupied by the victorious Austrians.

In the southern parts of European Turkey the fortune of the war was equally unfavourable to Sultan Suleiman. Morosini, one of the greatest generals that the republic of St. Mark ever produced, completed the conquest of the Morea, which he divided into four Venetian provinces. It was only against the Poles and the Russians that the Turks and their Tatar allies obtained any advantages. A large Tatar force from the Crimea, led by Ahmed Girai, overran part of Poland in 1688, reinforced the Tatar garrison in Kamenets-Podolski,



COSTUME OF THE WIFE OF SULEIMAN II

and defeated the Poles on the Sereth. The Russian general Galitzin attempted to invade the Crimea. He obtained some advantages over part of the Tatar forces, but when he advanced towards the isthmus of Perekop, in the autumn of 1688, he found that the retreating Tatars had set fire to the dry grass of the steppes, and reduced the country to a desert, from which he was obliged to retire. And in 1689, when the Russians again advanced to the isthmus, they were completely defeated by the Ottoman troops that had taken post there to guard the Crimea.

But these gleams of success could not dissipate the terror which the disasters in Hungary and Greece had spread among the Turkish nation. Only seven years had passed away since their magnificent host, under the fatal guidance of Kara Mustapha, had marched forth across the then far-extended north-western frontier, with the proud boast that it would sack Vienna and blot out Austria from among the kingdoms of the earth. Now the Austrians, and their confederates, the lately despised Venetians, the conquerors of Candia, held victorious possession of half the European empire of the house of Osman. For the first time since the days of Hunyady, the Balkan was menaced by Christian invaders; and at sea the Turkish flag, the flag of Khair-ad-din, Piali, and Kilidj Ali, was now swept from the Mediterranean. Seldom had there been a war in which the effect that can be produced on the destinies of nations by the appearance or the absence of individual great men was more signally proved. On the Christian side, Sobieski, Eugene, Louis of Baden, the prince of Lorraine, and Morosini had commanded fortune; while among the Turks no single man of mark had either headed armies or directed councils. Yet the Ottoman nation was not exhausted of brave and able spirits, and at length adversity cleared the path of dignity for merit.

In November of 1689 the sultan convened an extraordinary divan at Adrianople, and besought his councillors to advise him as to what hands he should intrust with the management of the state. In the hour of extreme peril the jealous spirit of intrigue and self-advancement was silent; and all around Suleiman II advised him to send for Köprili Zade Mustapha, brother of the great Ahmed Köprili, and to give the seals of office to him as grand vizir of the empire.

KÖPRILI ZADE MUSTAPHA

Köprili Zade Mustapha at the time when he assumed this high dignity was fifty-two years of age. He had been trained in statesmanship during the vizirates of his father and brother, Muhammed and Ahmed Köprili; and it was expected and hoped, on the death of Ahmed in 1676, that Sultan Muhammed IV would place the seals in the hands of Köprili Zade. Unhappily for the Ottoman nation, that sultan's partiality for his own son-in-law prevailed; nor was it until after thirteen years of misgovernment and calamity had nearly destroyed the empire that the third Köprili succeeded his father and brother as director of the councils and leader of the armies of Turkey.

His authority was greatly increased by the deserved reputation which he enjoyed of being a strict observer of the Mohammedan law, and an uncompromising enemy to profligacy and corruption. After having paid homage to the sultan on his appointment, he summoned to the divan all the great dignitaries of the empire, and addressed them on the state of the country. He reminded them in severe terms of their duties as Moslems, of their sins, and he told them that they were now undergoing the deserved chastisement of God.

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But the highest merit of Köprili Zade Mustapha is that he had the wisdom to recognise the necessity of the Sublime Porte's strengthening itself by winning the loyal affections of its Christian subjects. Although he was so earnest a believer in Islam and so exemplary in his obedience to its precepts that he was venerated by his contemporaries as a saint, he did not suffer bigotry to blind him to the fact that cruelty to the rayahs must hasten the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. He saw that the Christian invaders of Turkey found everywhere sympathy and recruits among the populations of the land. The Christian Albanians were enrolling themselves under the banner of Venice; the Servians were rising to aid the emperor of Austria; and in Greece the victorious progress of Morosini had been aided by the readiness with which the village municipalities and the mountain tribes placed themselves under his authority, and by the strenuous support which bands of Christian volunteers gave him in beleaguering the fortresses held by the Turks.

Köprili Zade was not content with judging correctly; he took prompt practical measures to check the evils which he was swift to discern. One of the first acts of his vizirate was to despatch the most explicit and imperative orders to all the pashas that no Turkish officer should exercise or permit any kind of oppression towards the rayahs, and that no payment should be required of them except the capitation tax. For the purposes of this tax Köprili divided the rayahs into three classes, according to their incomes. The first or wealthiest paid four ducats, the middle class two ducats, and the lowest one ducat a head. This institution was called the *nizami djidid* (the "new order"), a denomination which we shall see applied to more recent reforms. Köprili also took the bold and sagacious step of making a Mainote Greek bey of Maina. This was Liberius Geratschari, who had passed seven years as a Turkish galley-slave. He was now set at liberty, and sent to the Morea to support the Turkish interest among his countrymen against that of the Venetians, who had begun to alienate the Greek rayahs from their side by impolitic government.

Von Hammer remarks that Köprili Zade showed himself in this measure to be superior as a politician both to his brother Ahmed, who had sought in the former Venetian war to curb the rising disaffection in the Morea by fortified posts and garrisons, and also to the subsequent grand vizirs, who, when it was proposed to make the Morea a principality like Moldavia and Wallachia, and govern it by native Christians, rejected the scheme as derogatory to the dignity of the Sublime Porte. Köprili had even the enlightened spirit to despise the old dogmas of Turkish muftis and judges, according to which the rayahs were allowed only to repair such churches as they already possessed, but were strictly forbidden to enlarge them or to build new places of worship. Köprili sanctioned the foundation of a Greek church wherever it was desired, and thereby became the founder of thriving villages, which sprang up in districts where there had been previously only scanty bands of suffering and disaffected outcasts.

Once, in passing through part of Servia, Köprili halted for the night in a wretched hamlet of rayahs, who had neither edifice nor minister of religion. Köprili ordered that a church should be built there, and that a Christian priest should be sent for to serve it. In return for this boon, which filled the poor peasants with rapturous gratitude, Köprili required of them that each head of a family should bring him a fowl whenever he passed through the village. Fifty-three fowls were immediately brought to him, that being the number of families. In the next (and, unhappily for the rayahs, the last) year of his vizirate Köprili passed through the same place. He received

a hundred and twenty-five fowls from the heads of the happy population, which flocked together with their Greek priest at their head to welcome the benevolent vizir. "Look," said Köprili to the staff of Turkish officers round him, "look at the fruits of toleration. I have increased the sultan's power, and I have brought blessings on his government from those who were wont to curse it." The Greeks of the empire used to say that Köprili founded more churches than Justinian. Had subsequent Turkish ministers imitated Köprili Zade Mustapha in their policy towards the Christian population of Turkey, the Ottoman Empire would now command far ampler resources than it can derive from the unaided valour and loyalty of its Moslem inhabitants, and the most serious sources of its internal weakness would long ago have been removed.

Besides the glory of having, while sincerely religious, practised religious toleration, the third Köprili deserves honourable mention for his recognition of the great principle of political economy, that (with very few and very peculiar exceptions) trade between man and man ought to be free from all state interference. When pressed by one of his advisers to frame regulations for purchases and sales, Köprili Zade replied, "The *Koran* prescribes nothing on the subject. Purchase and sale ought to be left to the free will of the contracting parties."

Köprili Zade Mustapha is termed by Ottoman historians Köprili Fazyl, which means Köprili the Virtuous. They say of him, as his highest praise, that he never committed a crime, and that he never used an unnecessary word. They record as an instance of his eminence in taciturnity that once, while grand vizir, he received a ceremonial visit from three ulemas who had formerly held the offices of army judges. Köprili let them depart without having addressed a syllable to them. His old master of requests, Nigahi Effendi, said to him, "My gracious lord, you should have spoken something to them." "I am not a hypocrite," answered Köprili. He was austere simple in all his habits. In his campaigns he generally marched on foot, like the rank and file of the infantry. He disliked military music. He seldom moved his quarters before sunset. Amid the pomp and splendour of the Turkish court and camp the grand vizir was distinguishable by the plainness of his dress. He was an indefatigable student, and read diligently in his tent when on active service, as well as in his palace when at Constantinople.

Such are some of the praises by which his country's historians signalise Köprili Zade Mustapha. The renown for statesmanship acquired by him, which Christian writers have concurred with Mohammedan in bestowing, is the more remarkable, by reason of the shortness of the period permitted to him for the display of his administrative genius. He was killed in battle within two years from the time when the seals of office were placed in his hands. His contemporaries judged of him, as of his brother Ahmed, that he shone more in the council than in the field. But the military career of Köprili Zade was highly honourable to his abilities as well as to his courage; and, though ultimately defeated, he gained a respite of infinite importance for the Ottoman Empire by the successes which he at first obtained.

When he was made grand vizir, one of the invading armies of the enemy had advanced as far as Uskup, in northern Macedonia, where it was actively aided by the Christian Albanians and their patriarch. A chieftain of those regions, named Karpos, had accepted a diploma of investiture from the Austrian emperor, and, assuming the old title Kral, had fortified himself in Egri Palanka. It was indispensable to relieve Turkey at once from the foes who thus struck at the very heart of her power in Europe. Köprili held a

[1690-1691 A.D.]

council of war at Adrianople, at which Selim Girai, the khan of the Crimea, and Tekeli, the Hungarian refugee, were present. Khoja Khalid Pasha, the serasker of the Morea, a native of Uskup, was sent with all the regular Turkish troops that could be collected against that place. The Crimean khan, at the head of a large Tatar force, co-operated with him. They gained two victories over the combined bodies of Germans, Hungarians, and Albanians, who had assumed the old mediæval badge of the cross. The chieftain Karpos was seized by the Tatars and executed on the bridge of Uskup. Nearly all the important posts which the invaders and their insurgent confederates had occupied in those districts were recovered by the sultan's troops, and the pressure on this vital part of the empire was almost entirely removed. Encouraged by these successes, Köprili pushed forward with the greatest vigour his armaments for the next campaign.

Louis XIV, who was at war with the German Empire, sent in the winter of 1680 a new ambassador, the marquis de Châteauneuf, to Constantinople, to encourage the Turks to persevere in hostilities against Austria. Châteauneuf was also ordered to negotiate, if possible, a peace between Turkey and Poland, to prevent the recognition by the Sublime Porte of William of Orange as king of England, and to regain for the Catholics in Palestine the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Greek patriarch had lately won from them. Châteauneuf obtained the last object, and he found in the new vizir a zealous ally against Austria. But the Turks refused to suspend hostilities with Poland; and with regard to the prince of Orange and the English crown, Köprili answered that he should recognise the king whom the English people had proclaimed. He added that it would ill become the Turks, who had so often dethroned their own sovereigns, to dispute the rights of other nations to change their masters.

In August, 1690, Köprili Zade Mustapha took, in person, the command of the Ottoman armies that advanced from Bulgaria and upper Albania through Servia against the imperialists. After a murderous fight of two days, Köprili drove the Austrian general, Schenkendorf, from his lines at Dragoman, between the cities of Sofia and Nish. The vizir then formed the siege of Nish, which capitulated in three weeks. The Austrian generals were prevented from concentrating their forces for its relief by a well-planned irruption into Transylvania by the Hungarian refugee Tekeli at the head of a Turkish army. Tekeli defeated the imperialists in that province, and proclaimed the sultan as sovereign lord, and himself as prince of Transylvania.

After the capture of Nish the grand vizir marched upon Semendria, which was stormed after resisting desperately for four days. Widdin was also regained, and Köprili then undertook the recovery of Belgrade. On the twelfth day of the siege a shell from the Turkish batteries pierced the roof of the principal powder magazine of the city, and a destructive explosion ensued, which gave the Turks an easy conquest. Having placed a strong garrison in this important city, and completed the expulsion of the Austrians from Servia. Köprili returned to Constantinople. He was received there with deserved honours after his short but brilliant campaign, in which he had compelled the invading gïaours to recede from the banks of the Morava and the Nish to those of the Danube and the Save.

On the 10th of May, 1691, Köprili the Virtuous received a second time the sacred standard from the hands of his sovereign, Sultan Suleiman, who died before the campaign was opened. Suleiman II was succeeded by his brother Ahmed II, who was girt with the sabre of Osman on July 13th, 1691. The new sultan confirmed Köprili in his dignity, and the vizir proceeded to

concentrate his forces at Belgrade and to throw a bridge over the Save. He then marched up the right bank of the Danube to encounter the imperialists, who, under the command of Louis of Baden, descended from Peterwardein. The two hosts approached each other on the 19th of August, near Slankamen. At the same time the Christian and Mussulman flotillas, which accompanied their respective armies along the Danube, encountered on the river. The Turkish flotilla was victorious; but on the land the day proved a disastrous one for the house of Köprili and for the house of Osman.

Contrary to the advice of the oldest pashas in the army, the vizir refused to await behind the lines the attack of the imperialists. The veteran warrior



A TURKISH OFFICER
(Seventeenth Century)

Khoja Khalid censured this impetuosity. Köprili said to him, "I invited thee to follow me that thou mightest show thyself like a man, and not like a phantom." Khalid, touching the thin hairs of his grey beard, replied, "I have but a few days to live. It matters little whether I die to-day or to-morrow; but I would fain not have been present at a scene in which the empire can meet with nought but calamity and shame." "Advance the cannon!" cried Köprili, and himself formed the spahis for the fight. Kemankesh Pasha began the battle by rushing, with six thousand Kurdish and Turkoman irregular cavalry, upon the Christian lines. "Courage, my heroes!" cried Kemankesh, "the houris are waiting for you!" They galloped forward with shouts of "*Allah!*" but were received by the Christians with a steady fire, which drove them back in discomfited and diminished masses. Again they charged impetuously; again they broke, fell, or fled. The Austrians now pressed forward to where the sacred standard was reared in the Mohammedan ranks. Ismail, the pasha of Karamania, dashed against them with the troops of Asia. His squadrons were entangled in an abattis of felled trees, by which the prince of Baden had protected his right wing. The Asiatics wavered and were repulsed. Köprili saw

his best men shot down round him by the superior musketry of the imperialists. "What is to be done?" he cried to the officers of his guards. They answered, "Let us close, and fight sword in hand." Köprili, arrayed in a black vest, invoked the name of God, and threw himself, with drawn sabre, against the enemy. His guards rushed onward with him.

An obstinate and sanguinary struggle followed, which was decided against Turkey by the bullet that struck Köprili, while cleaving his way desperately through the Austrian ranks. His guards lost courage when they saw him fall, and the fatal tidings that their great vizir was slain soon spread disorder and panic throughout the Ottoman army. The prince of Baden's triumph was complete, and the Turkish camp with a hundred and fifty cannon fell

[1691-1695 A.D.]

into the conqueror's power. But the victory was dearly purchased, and the Austrian loss in men and officers was almost equal to that of the Turks. The battle of Slankamen drove the Ottomans again from Hungary; Tekeli was defeated by the imperialists and expelled from Transylvania; and throughout the four years of the disastrous reign of Ahmed II the current of defeat was unabated. Besides the curse of the victorious sword of the foreigners, and the usual miseries of domestic insurrection, the fearful visitations of pestilence and famine came upon the devoted empire. A great earthquake threw down part of Smyrna, and a still more destructive conflagration ravaged Constantinople in September, 1693. Heartbroken at the sufferings and shame of the state, and worn by disease, Ahmed II expired February 6th, 1695.

ACCESSION OF MUSTAPHA II

Mustapha II, the son of the deposed Muhammed IV, now came to the throne, and showed himself worthy of having reigned in happier times. On the third day after his accession he issued a hattî-sherîf, in which he threw the blame of the recent misfortunes upon the sultans, and announced his intention of restoring the ancient usages, and of heading his armies in person. As von Hammer *i* observes, this document is too remarkable not to deserve citation. Sultan Mustapha II thus announced his royal will:

"God, the supreme distributor of all good, has granted unto us, miserable sinner, the caliphate of the entire world. Under monarchs who are the slaves of pleasure, or who resign themselves to indolent slumber, never do the servants of God enjoy peace or repose. Henceforth, voluptuousness, idle pastime, and sloth are banished from this court. While the padishas, who have ruled since the death of our sublime father Muhammed, have heeded naught but their fondness for pleasure and for ease, the unbelievers, the unclean beings, have invaded with their armies the four frontiers of Islam. They have subdued our provinces. They have pillaged the goods of the people of Mohammed. They have dragged away into slavery the faithful, with their wives and little ones. This is known to all, as it is known to us.

"I therefore have resolved, with the help of the Lord, to take a signal revenge upon the unbelievers, that brood of hell, and I will myself begin the holy war against them. Our noble ancestor the sultan Suleiman (may his tomb exhale unceasingly the odour of incense!), during the forty-eight years of his reign, not only sent his vizirs against the unclean Christians, but placed himself at the head of the champions of the holy war, and so took upon the infidels the vengeance which God commands. I also, I, have resolved to combat them in person. Do thou, my grand vizir, and ye others, my vizirs, my ulemas, my lieutenants and agas of my armies, do ye all of you assemble round my person, and meditate well on this my imperial hattî-sherîf. Take counsel, and inform me if I ought to open hostilities in person against the emperor, or to remain at Adrianople. Of these two measures choose that which will be most profitable to the faith, to the empire, and to the servants of God. Let your answer be the truth, and let it be submitted to me before the imperial stirrup. I wish you health."

The deliberation of the divan on this summons lasted for three days. Many thought that the presence of the sultan in the camp was undesirable. Others feared that he had only addressed them with a view of learning their thoughts. Finally, they all resolved that the departure of the padisha to assume the command-in-chief of the army would not only expose the sacred

person to too much risk and fatigue, but would involve excessive expense. Consequently, the divan represented to the sultan that his majesty ought not to commit his imperial person to the chances of a campaign, but ought to leave the care of war to the grand vizir. To this address the sultan returned a laconic hatti-sherif, "I persist in marching." The most active measures then were taken to hasten the preparations for the campaign; and the gallantry of the young sultan was at first rewarded by important success.^b

Mezzomorto, the old pirate of Tunis, twice defeated the Venetian fleet in the straits of Chios and reconquered the island of that name. The khan of the Tatars invaded Poland and was stopped only by the firm resistance of Lemberg; the Russians had to raise the siege of Azov after having lost thirty thousand men (October, 1695); finally the sultan penetrated into Hungary and took Lippha by assault. General Veterani with six thousand men tried to stop the Osmanlis at Lugos. Surrounded by superior forces, he was defeated, but not until he had inflicted severe losses on the enemy, who left fifteen thousand dead on the field. Veterani, being wounded and made prisoner, was decapitated (September 22nd, 1695). At these successes, to which they had become unaccustomed, the ardour of the Osmanlis reawoke; voluntary gifts provided for the pay of the army. Wealthy private persons equipped corps of volunteers. The victory of Olasch, which the sultan gained over the elector of Saxony, increased the enthusiasm (1696) and caused the taking of Azov by the czar Peter I to pass unnoticed by the masses. But fortune was soon to abandon the arms of the Osmanlis; the celebrated Prince Eugene of Savoy had just taken command of the imperial army. After well-planned marches and counter-marches he surprised the Ottomans at the passage of the Theiss near Zenta; ten thousand were drowned in the river; the grand vizir was killed, the sultan fled, and Bosnia was invaded (1697).

The empire was again in peril. For the fourth time a Köprili was called to restore it. Köprili Hussein, a nephew of the old Köprili, received the seal and the standard. The treasury was empty; Köprili remedied this penury by skilful expedients; he improvised an army which, being confided to Daltaban Pasha, arrested the triumphant progress of the imperial troops, and forced them to recross the Save. Louis XIV had just signed the Treaty of Ryswick; he had offered to include the Porte in the negotiations. The divan refused, but accepted the mediation of the English ambassador. The French ambassador, Marquis de Fériel, tried in vain to fight against the gold of William of Orange and to show the Turks the error they were committing in signing the peace. He promised in the name of his sovereign, who was preparing to recommence the war, that France would not lay down her arms until Turkey had recovered Hungary and all the lost provinces. All was useless. "The divan ended," says Cantemir,^g "by asking France not to give herself useless trouble; peace was desired and peace would be made." It was soon signed at Karlowitz (January 26th, 1699).

THE PEACE OF KARLOWITZ (1699 A.D.)

Austria and the Porte agreed to a truce of twenty-five years. Turkey ceded Hungary and Transylvania to Leopold; it preserved only the territory between the Theiss and the Maros. The boundary line between the two empires in Symria was a conventional line, drawn from the confluence of the Theiss and Danube to the emptying of the Bosna into the Save and from that point along the course of the Save and that of the Unna. Poland recovered

[1699-1701 A.D.]

Kamenets-Podolski, Podolia, and Ukraine; Russia kept Azov, etc. All the tributes hitherto paid by Christian powers were abolished.^d

Regarded from a higher standpoint than that of territorial gain, the Peace of Karlowitz is the most noteworthy of all treaties hitherto concluded between Turkey and the European powers, because it ends the humiliation involved in levies of money, in the tribute of Transylvania, in the pension of Zante, and in the tribute to the Tatar khan; for the first time the intervention of European powers for the common interest, in the form of mediation, was recognised by the Porte as an international right. When the tide of power of the Ottoman Empire was at its height the topmost wave reached the gates of Vienna, then, rolling back, it kept Hungary and Transylvania a hundred and seventy years under the waters of tyranny. The waters now receded a second time from the walls of Vienna, and not from there alone but also from Hungary and Transylvania, from Podolia and the Ukraine, from Dalmatia and the Morea; and the Peace of Karlowitz made of Poland and Hungary a great dam behind the boundary of the Dniester, the Save, and the Unna. The Peace of Karlowitz proclaimed loudly the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, which, although the vigorous policy of Murad IV in the preceding period and that of the old Köprili in the next had kept it stationary for a while, could neither be held in check by the statesmanship of the later Köprilis nor concealed from the world by the clouds of plundering armies.

The cruel oppression of the Hungarian as a *rayah* under the yoke of Turkish tyranny continued for a century until the wise and virtuous Köprili, in a document called the "New Order" (*nizami jedid*), advocated the alleviation of the oppression of the *rayah*; and yet another century passed before this new legislation, which had been suggested in order to secure a better treatment of the Christians, attained a sphere of influence, and, under Selim III, ushered in a new order of things. Had Köprili's humane treatment of Christian subjects been observed by the grand vizirs, his successors, and had the new order he planned, which aimed at greater organisation and at an improvement of the state administration, been carried out, the Greek rebellion might easily have been prevented. The following period of Ottoman history—for which the way was prepared by revolutionary ideas and by European mediation in the Peace of Karlowitz, which sounded the trumpet of the decadence of the Ottoman Empire—initiates an epoch of European intervention. This intervention has been growing more continual and more audacious up to the present day.^f

THE REFORMS OF KÖPRILI HUSSEIN

Disorganisation affected all branches of the administration; rebellion broke out on all the frontiers of Persia, in the Crimea, in Africa, in Egypt, and in Arabia. The rebels, being vigorously pursued, were forced to submission, and Köprili Hussein could devote himself to the reforms which he was meditating. Walking in the footsteps of Köprili the Virtuous, he granted to the inhabitants of Bosnia and of the Banat exemption from capitation for the current year; he exempted the *rayahs* of Rumelia from a million and a half of taxes in arrear; in Syria he granted free pasturage. Through the mufti he addressed to the magistrates of the empire detailed instructions prescribing a thorough acquaintance with the *Koran*, with dogma and the formulæ of prayer, and enjoining a strict discipline on the directors of schools. At the same time that he was relieving the situation of the Christians and trying to recall the Moslems to study and to the observance of their religion, the grand vizir re-established

order in the administration, discipline in the army, economy in the finances; he codified the maritime legislation, and gave a great impulse to works of public utility. Mosques, schools, markets, barracks arose on all sides; Belgrade, Temesvar, Nish saw their fortifications repaired and enlarged and provided with ammunition.

The death of the kapudan pasha Mezzomorto deprived Köprili Hussein of one of his most faithful auxiliaries and left the field open to the hostile designs of the mufti. The latter grouped about him those who had won their livelihood by means of crimes and who could not pardon the grand vizir for his virtues and talents. Under the intrigues of this coterie the most devoted adherents of Köprili, the kaimakam, and the tchaush bashi Mustapha aga fell successively. Finally the execution of Zibbeli Zade Ali Bey, a nephew of the minister accused of loving a sultana, warned the vizir of the lot which awaited him. Loaded down with grief and affected by an incurable malady, he returned to the sultan the seal of the empire (September 5th, 1702) and died seventeen days afterwards.

The death of Köprili revived disorder. His successor, Daltaban Pasha, a soldier whose only passion was war, sought to break the Treaty of Karlowitz; he fell a victim to the intrigues of the mufti and was strangled. Turning to his assassins, he exclaimed, "Infidel Moslems, kill him whom the *giaours* could not kill!" The reis effendi Nami Muhammed succeeded him; a partisan of peace, he tried to complete the work of Köprili. But by his efforts to do away with abuses he roused against himself the ulemas and the janissaries; the troops sent against the rebels made peace with them, and Mustapha, being deposed, ceded the throne without resistance to his brother Ahmed III (August 22nd, 1703).^d

THE INFLUENCES OF EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE

The close of the seventeenth century, rendered memorable by the Treaty of Karlowitz, constitutes an epoch in the Ottoman annals. Its history commences to grow humane, and no longer breathes that spirit of cruelty which had hitherto animated it. It is true the throne was, on two occasions, subverted by insurrections; but its occupants were neither deposed nor put to death. Several bloody wars crimsoned the annals of this epoch; but the sombre night of barbarism gradually broke, and such acts of unnatural cruelty as those of the tyrant Murad IV, the military anarchy under Muhammed IV, and the political assassinations of Köprili the elder were not again renewed. The rude severity of the Turkish character was mitigated by contact with Europeans, and more civilised principles of action were adopted; the art of printing opened also to the Ottomans a new era. The fundamental columns of the edifice of Ottoman law, the military organisation of Orkhan, and the kanun-name of Muhammed II yet existed; but from this epoch important innovations and changes in the domestic and foreign policy of the empire were introduced, which the exigencies of its condition and the spirit of the age required, novel and radical as they were.

The ambassadors of Austria, Poland, Venice, and Russia were received at Constantinople with great pomp when they visited that capital, six months after the negotiation of the treaty, for its formal signature and ratification. Before sunrise, on the day of their entrance into the city, the emirs, vizirs, and other high functionaries, with the sultan on horseback, assembled at the gate of the seraglio. The mufti, the two supreme judges of the nation, the chief of the relatives of the prophet, and the ulemas also united to do honour to the

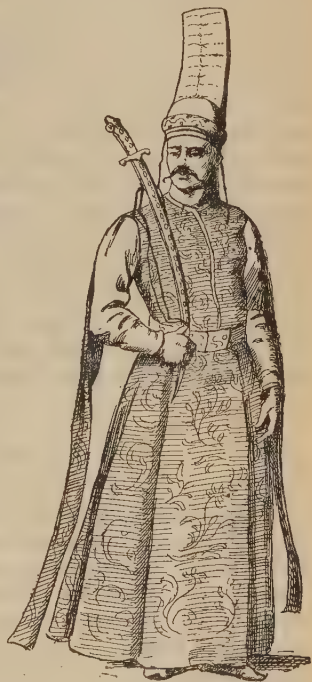
[1703-1710 A.D.]

representatives of the foreign powers. The spahis and janissaries met them on their landing, and conducted them to the august presence of the sovereign of the empire, with an imposing military parade.

In order to cement the peace, and to impress Europe with an idea of his riches and magnificence as a prince, the sultan despatched Ibrahim pasha to Vienna, with a numerous suite. He was charged with the honour of presenting the emperor with a number of costly gifts; among others, a rich tent, the exterior of which was decorated with golden apples, and lined with parti-coloured satin, embroidered with flowers of the liveliest hues; an aigrette garnished with fifty-two diamonds; a complete set of horse trappings, enriched with five hundred and twenty-one diamonds and thirty-eight rubies, the bridle being composed of a double chain of gold; a pair of gold stirrups ornamented with one hundred and twenty-eight brilliants and two hundred and four rubies; a saddle-cloth worked with gold and pearls; together with a glittering mace of rubies and emeralds, and a large number of other precious objects. The imperial ambassador was soon after sent to Constantinople, to convey the thanks of his sovereign to the sultan, and to proffer to him, in return, some magnificent presents.

In the first half of the reign of Ahmed III the grand vizirs succeeded each other so rapidly that history has little else to do than to register their names, for the administration of but few of them was marked by any memorable act. In 1709 Charles XII, king of Sweden, after his defeat at Pultowa by the czar Peter the Great, sought an asylum in Turkey. The favourable manner in which he had been received encouraged him in his efforts to persuade the sultan to form an alliance with him against their common enemy, Peter the Great. Yielding to his arguments and entreaties, the sultan declared war against Poland and the czar. Upon hearing of the advance of the Ottoman army, under the command of the grand vizir Bultadji Muhammed, the czar crossed the Pruth, and intrenched himself between that river and a marshy plain dominated by heights occupied by the Turks.

In this disadvantageous position the Russians, surrounded on all sides, valiantly resisted the attacks of the enemy; but they were soon reduced to a close blockade. Peter I would have inevitably been lost but for the admirable devotion and sagacity of his wife, the celebrated Catherine. While the czar, oppressed with grief, had retired to his tent, Catherine, far from abandoning herself to despair, took counsel with the general officers and the chancellor Schavirov. It was decided to ask peace of the sultan; the czarina collected all her diamonds and precious jewels, and sent them as a present to Osman Aga, kiahia of the vizir, by means of Schavirov, who was charged with the delivery of a letter to the first minister. The vizir took into consideration the propositions of peace, and notwithstanding the protestations of Poniatowski and the khan of Crimea, peace was concluded with Russia upon most advantageous terms for the Porte. The czar was obliged, among other clauses, to



TURKISH SWORD-BEARER

restore Azov, to demolish the fortresses of the sea of that name, and to deliver to the Ottomans all the artillery they contained. A special article secured permission for Charles XII to return to his kingdom. The sultan, at the instigation of Charles, declared the treaty null and void, exiled the vizir, and executed the instigators of the peace, who were convicted of having received the bribe of the czarina. In 1712 peace, however, was again renewed with Russia for twenty-five years. This, in its turn, was violated by the sultan, and the ambassadors of the czar were imprisoned in the seven towers.

The sultan, annoyed at the intrigues of his troublesome guest, sent King Charles a large amount of money, and ordered him to leave the country. This monarch, upon the receipt of this command, adopted the strangest proceeding known in history. With three hundred Swedes, some officers, and his domestics, he sustained the attack of twenty thousand Tatars and six thousand Ottomans; when he saw his brave countrymen enveloped by the enemy, he barricaded himself in his house, with sixty persons in all, defended himself with an insane, desperate fury, and killed two hundred of his assailants; he was finally taken, on making a sortie to escape from his burning house. Some months subsequently, on account of a letter from his sister pressing his return to Sweden, he left Turkey under an escort of honour, after a residence of two years within its hospitable limits. Peace was then definitely signed with Russia, at Adrianople, for twenty-five years. The sultan, determined upon the reconquest of the Morea, intrusted the invasion of that peninsula to his son-in-law, the grand vizir [Ali Kumurji], who in a few months wrested it, as well as all their possessions in the Archipelago, from the Venetians.

THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ (1718 A.D.)

This striking sign of a reviving martial spirit alarmed the emperor Charles VI into a declaration of war against Turkey. Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperial forces, met the vizir at Peterwardein, and cut his army to pieces. Temesvar and the whole Banat fell into his hands. He then advanced on the fortress of Belgrade; but the grand vizir, with 150,000 men, hastened to the succour of the town. After a battle of extraordinary ferocity the Turks were obliged to retire, and Belgrade surrendered. An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperials, including, among other articles, 131 bronze cannon, six hundred barrels of powder, thirty-five mortars, and fifty thousand projectiles.

The Porte, recognising its weakness, accepted the offers of mediation which were made to it some weeks subsequently, and concluded a peace at Passarowitz, by which it ceded to the emperor Belgrade, Temesvar, Wallachia to the Aluta, and a portion of Servia; the Morea was restored to the sultan. This treaty established more intimate relations between the Sublime Porte and the Christian states of Europe. A Turkish ambassador was sent to Paris, and a Prussian *chargé d'affaires* to Constantinople.

THE REBELLION OF THE JANISSARIES

The passion for war was not extinguished; for, taking advantage of civil war in Persia, the sultan marched into that country, a portion of which he dismembered, and divided with the czar, his colleague in this spoliating invasion. In 1730 the Persian conquests were in a great part recovered by the valour of

[1718-1731 A.D.]

Nadir Efchar [Kouli Khan], who replaced the legitimate sovereign on the throne.

These disasters provoked a rebellion of the janissaries, who obliged Sultan Ahmed III to descend from the throne. The reign of this monarch was one of the happiest in the Ottoman annals. He added the Morea, a part of Persia, and the fortress of Azov to the empire, and by the aid of his illustrious vizir, Ibrahim Pasha, endowed the country with many useful institutions. He repressed, by sumptuary laws, the immoderate luxury in female dress and ornaments, introduced the art of printing, and established four libraries.^c

THE ORIGIN OF THE CIRCASSIANS

The abilities of Sultan Ahmed's grand vizir Ibrahim, who directed the government from 1718 to 1730, preserved an unusual degree of internal peace in the empire, though the frontier provinces were often the scenes of disorder and revolt. This was repeatedly the case in Egypt and Arabia, and still more frequently in the districts northward and eastward of the Euxine, especially among the fierce Nogai tribes of the Kuban. The state of the countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian was rendered still more unsettled by the rival claims of Russia and the Porte; for it was difficult to define a boundary between the two empires in pursuance of the partition treaty of 1723; and a serious dispute arose early in the reign of Ahmed's successor, in 1731, as to the right of dominion over the Circassians of the Kabarda, a region about half-way between the Euxine and the Caspian, near the course of the river Terek.

The Russians claimed the Kabarda as lands of Russian subjects. They asserted that the Circassians were originally Cossacks of the Ukraine, who migrated thence to the neighbourhood of a city of Russia called Terki, from which they took their name of Tcherkesses, or Circassians. Thence (according to the memorial drawn up by the czar's ministers) the Circassians removed to the neighbourhood of Kuban, still, however, retaining their Christian creed and their allegiance to the czar. The continuation of the story told that the tyranny of the Crim Tatars forced the Circassians to become Mohammedans, and to migrate further eastward to the Kabarda; but it was insisted on that the Circassians were still to be regarded as genuine subjects of their original earthly sovereign, and that the land which they occupied became the czar's territory. This strange political ethnology had but little influence upon the Turks, especially as the czar had in a letter, written nine years previously, acknowledged the sovereignty of the sultan over the Circassians.^b

The chief of the janissary rebellion, Patrona Khalil, was master of the capital; when he appeared before the prince whom he had placed on the throne, he said to him: "I know the lot which is reserved for me, since none of those who have dared to depose padishas has ever escaped death; but I am none the less content to see thee seated on the throne of Osman and to have delivered the empire from its oppressors." The sultan in surprise replied: "I swear by the manes of my ancestors never to make an attempt on thy life; much more, ask what thou wilt, thou shalt have it." Patrona contented himself with asking for the abolition of a tax which was vexatious to the people. But popularity had awakened ambition in the simple janissary; he wanted to dominate. He wished the populace to have a share in the presents distributed at the sultan's accession, and he stabbed the *seghan bashi* for daring to oppose his wishes; he obtained from the sultan the order to demolish the houses built

by the pashas and beys on the banks of the Sweet Waters; and finally he gave the principality of Moldavia to a butcher to whom he was in debt.

The grand vizir tried to save the empire from humiliation by screening himself behind the orders of the sultan: "Go to find his highness," one of the chiefs of the rebels said to him, "but think above all of obeying Patrona Khalil." The tyranny of this man, who was supported by the populace, grew unbearable; the kishlar aga, Beshir, the kapudan pasha, Jamun Hodja, and the khan of the Crimea, Kaplan Girai, resolved to relieve their ruler from such a despicable and odious bondage. The superior officers of the janissaries, irritated at the audacity of the parvenu who dared to aspire to the supreme command of their select corps, entered into the conspiracy. Patrona having gone to the serai to force Mahmud to declare war upon Russia, the conspirators seized that moment for getting rid of him. Scarcely was the padisha seated when the grand vizir clapped his hands together; at this signal, Khalil Pehlevan, colonel of the seventh regiment of janissaries, entered at the head of thirty-two devoted soldiers. "Who is the wretch sufficiently bold," he said, addressing Patrona, "to aspire to the office of aga of the janissaries?" Patrona Khalil made no other answer to this unforeseen attack than to throw himself with naked poniard on the person who opposed him. But he was at once surrounded and murdered; his escort shared his fate. His partisans arose, but the revolt, deprived of its leader, was easily repressed, and seven thousand corpses were security for the re-establishment of order.

THE DISASTROUS WAR WITH PERSIA

When the capital was pacified, the Porte took up the war against Persia. Shah Tamasp was defeated and sued for peace. By a treaty concluded on January 10th, 1723, Persia recovered Tabriz, Ardahan, Hamadan, and all of Luristan; she ceded to Turkey Daghestan, Georgia, Kakhti, Nakhitchewan, Erivan, and Tiflis; the Aras became the frontier of the two empires on the side of Azerbaijan.

The peace was not of long duration. Nadir, after having re-established Shah Tamasp upon the throne, had received in recompense the title of sultan and the government of Seistan, Azerbaijan, Mazanderan, and of Khorasan. In order to rouse no envy, he contented himself with the title Tahmas Kouli Khan (khan slave of Tahmas) and worked in secret for his own elevation. He protested loudly against the treaty of peace, marched upon Ispahan, dethroned Shah Tamasp, and declared himself regent of the realm during the minority of the deposed monarch's son, Shah Abbas III. The first act of the regent was to denounce the treaty; he invaded the Ottoman territory, defeated the Osmanlis near the bridge of Adana, and laid siege to Baghdad. Topal Osman Pasha hastened with eighty thousand men to relieve the city; a terrible battle took place on the banks of the Tigris at Djouldjeilik; Tahmas Kouli Khan was seriously wounded, and was carried away by the rout of his troops (July 19th, 1733).

The Persians, defeated a second time at Leithan, did not wait long before taking a brilliant revenge; the Turkish army was crushed and the serasker perished in the struggle. The death of Topal Osman was a public misfortune for the empire. The Turks lost in him not only a virtuous and honourable minister and an enlightened and capable administrator, but also an able general and an energetic chief. Reverses then succeeded one another without interruption; finally, after the serasker Köprili Abdallah, the son of Köprili

[1732-1736 A.D.]

Mustapha, was defeated and killed, the divan decided to sue for peace. The plenipotentiaries which he sent to Tiflis were present at the coronation of Nadir Shah and signed a treaty which took away from the Ottomans their last conquests; the frontiers were re-established in accordance with the treaty concluded in 1639 with Murad IV.

WAR WITH RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

The Porte had to hasten to make peace with Persia because war had just broken out with Russia. Poland, which had been rent with anarchy for a century, was a prey marked in advance for the ambition of its neighbours; France alone took a friendly interest in its fate. In order to paralyse its action, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in 1732, had concluded a secret compact, which may be regarded as a prologue to the dismemberment of Poland. At the death of August the national party elected Stanislaus Leczinski (1733); immediately Russian and Austrian armies invaded Polish territory. France declared war on Austria, and her ambassador at Constantinople begged the Porte to take up arms to avenge the injury committed by Russia in intervening in the country after the treaties of Falksen and Constantinople had placed its independence under the guarantee of the sultan. The Ottoman ministers remained deaf to the exhortations of the marquis of Villeneuve. The khan of the Tatars, at the instigation of Baron de Toth, prepared to invade the Ukraine; the Porte forbade him to move; the gold of August II ran like water in the serai.

In the mean time Stanislaus had succumbed, crushed under the weight of superior numbers; the Russians were masters of Poland; France, engaged against Austria, again tried to open the eyes of Turkey to its real interests, and in order to succeed turned to the famous count of Bonneval. Bonneval was born in 1675; he first served in the marine; but an affair of honour obliged him to leave, and he entered the French guards. In 1701 he bought a regiment and distinguished himself at the battle of Luzzara. In 1706 the count left the army, went over to the enemy, and became one of Eugene's best lieutenants.

In 1716 he covered himself with glory in the war against the Turks. Returning to France, he married, and left his wife on the very day of the wedding. He then returned to Germany, and took a very large part in the victory of Belgrade. Before long he quarrelled with Prince Eugene, and in consequence of his disagreement with the marquis of Prié, governor of Belgium, he provoked Prince Eugene to a duel (1724). He was thrown into prison, but escaped, and fled to Turkey, where he adopted the turban in order to escape extradition. He was now become a Moslem, a general of bombardiers, a pasha with two horses' tails, and he was the friend and counsellor of the grand vizir. An implacable enemy of the house of Austria, he thought the moment had come to give to the Franco-Ottoman alliance the same character it had had under Francis I, and he presented to the court of Versailles a proposition for an offensive and defensive alliance by which the two powers should engage not to make peace separately but to act in concert.

The timid Cardinal Fleury rejected the alliance, at the same time demanding a diversion of the Turks in Hungary. Emperor Charles II, to whom an alliance between France and Turkey would have been detrimental, hastened to sign the Treaty of Vienna (1735). Scarcely was it signed when Russia attacked the Porte, which was still at war with Nadir Shah. A violation of the Russian frontiers by the Tatars of Crimea served as a pretext (March, 1736); the Russians immediately invaded the Crimea. Austria, England,

and Holland offered their mediation to the divan, where the peace party was still in control. In vain did Bonneval warn the minister, saying: "The emperor has no other design than to amuse the people until he has had time to reorganise the armies which are returning from Italy in a disordered condition."

The intrigues of the Fanariots in Russian pay disturbed his judgment, and the mediation of Austria was accepted. While interminable conferences kept the Turks' attention occupied, an Austrian army was massed on the frontiers and prepared to give aid to the Russians. The marquis of Villeneuve advised the Porte to buy peace at the price of ceding Azov, for it was too late now to make war successfully; the campaign should have opened three years before, at the time when Austria was fighting the armies of France, Spain, and Sardinia, and when Russia's attention was still directed to Poland.

During this time the imperials, raising the mask, invaded Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. Disagreements between the Austrian generals caused the defeat of their army. Beaten at Banyaluka and at Valievo, the Austrians had to evacuate Bosnia precipitately. The prince of Hildburghausen was no more fortunate in Servia and was obliged to recross the Danube (1737). The emperor sued for peace; England and Holland again offered their mediation. The Porte refused, declaring that it would accept proposals of peace only through France. Immediately Villeneuve went to the grand vizir's camp and opened negotiations. The talents of the negotiants were powerfully seconded by the Ottoman successes. In spite of a defeat near Konieh, the Ottomans retook Semendria, Mehadia, and Orsova; Willis was put to flight at Krotzka, after a desperate struggle lasting fifteen hours (July 23rd, 1739), and if the grand vizir Al-Haji Muhammed had known how to profit by his victory it would have been the end of the whole Austrian army. Belgrade was invested three days later.

THE TREATY OF BELGRADE (1739 A.D.)

Fortune had not been so favourable to the Osmanlis in their struggle against the Russians. Münnich, it is true, had been defeated on the banks of the Dniester and the Muscovite fleet burned by the kapudan pasha, Sulciman; but the Russians had soon taken revenge. Münnich had seized Chotin and Jassy and had conquered all of Moldavia. Through the efforts of Villeneuve a separate peace was finally signed with Austria and Russia under the guarantee of France (September, 1739). Austria gave back Belgrade and Shabatza minus artillery and munitions, also Servia, Austrian Wallachia, and the island and fortress of Orsova. The treaty was to last twenty-seven years. The convention with the czarina stipulated the demolition of Azov, and the prohibition of Russian vessels in the Black Sea or the sea of Azov. Finally Russia restored all her conquests.

The Treaty of Belgrade, concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France, annihilated the Treaty of Karlowitz and effaced its shame. "The influence of France on Ottoman affairs was never so decisive either before or after, and the mission of Villeneuve is assuredly the most memorable in the diplomatic relations between France and Turkey. Villeneuve, clothed with the title of ambassador extraordinary, was at once the soul, the counsel, and the guide of all the negotiations carried on at this time at the Porte with the different European cabinets."

[1739-1740 A.D.]

THE TREATY OF 1740 A.D.

The marquis of Villeneuve at once made use of the influence he had won, to induce the Porte to conclude a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Sweden; the two powers were to lend each other mutual support against Russia (1740). The capitulations of 1673 received all the modification demanded by France, and the treaty of 1740 has controlled the relations of France with the Ottoman Empire to this day.

Muhammed Said, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, went to Versailles to present the capitulations to Louis XV, where he was received with the highest honours. He returned to Constantinople with two ships of war and a small corps of French gunners, who were to serve as a nucleus to the count of Bonneval in remodelling the Ottoman artillery.^d

THE RISE OF THE WAHHABEES

The latter part of the reign of Sultan Mahmud I is made not only memorable in Turkish history but in the general history of Mohammedanism, by the rise and rapid increase of the sect of the Wahhabees in Arabia. These Puritans of Islam (of which they claimed to be the predestined reformers and sole true disciples) were so named after their founder, Abdul-Wahhab, which means "the servant of the All-Disposer." Abdul-Wahhab was born in Arabia, near the end of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and about the beginning of the twelfth century after the Hejira. His father was sheikh of his village, and young Abdul-Wahhab was educated in the divinity schools at Basra, where he made rapid progress in Mohammedan learning, and at the same time grew convinced that the creed of the prophet had been overlaid by a foul heap of superstition, and that he himself was called on to become its reformer. He returned to Arabia, where, fearless of danger, and undeterred by temporary failure, he proclaimed his stern denunciations of the prevalent tenets and practices of the mosque and state. He inveighed particularly against the worship of saints which had grown up among the Mohammedans, against their pilgrimages to supposed holy places, and against their indulgence in several pleasures which the *Koran* prohibited, especially that foul form of profligacy which had become almost nationalised among the Turks and other chief peoples of the East.

He at first met with ridicule and persecution from those to whom he preached; but he gradually made converts, and at length his doctrines were adopted by Muhammed Ben Su'ud, the sheikh of the powerful tribe of the Messalikhs, who at the same time married Abdul-Wahhab's daughter. The new sect now became a formidable political and military body, Abdul-Wahhab continuing to be its spiritual chief, but the active duties of military command being committed to Ben Su'ud, who enforced the new faith by the sword, as had been done previously by the prophet and the early caliphs. Aziz, the son, and Su'ud, the grandson of Muhammed Ben Su'ud, continued the same career of armed proselytism with increased fervour, and the Wahhabite sect spread through every region of Arabia. The attempts of successive sultans and pashas to quell this heresy and rebellion were vain, until the late pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, undertook the task. He overthrew the temporal empire of the Wahhabees, and sent their last emir in chains to Constantinople, where he was beheaded in 1818. But the Wahhabite doctrines are said still to prevail among many of the Bedouin tribes.

RELATIONS WITH EUROPE (1740-1757 A.D.)

The pacific policy maintained by Turkey towards Austria upon the death of the emperor Charles VI in 1740 is the more honourable to the Ottoman nation by reason of the contrast between it and the lawless rapacity which was shown by nearly all the Christian neighbours of the dominions of the young Austrian sovereign, Maria Theresa. The king of Prussia, the elector of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony, and the kings of France, Spain, and Sardinia, agreed to dismember the Austrian Empire, and began the war of spoliation (called the War of the Austrian Succession) which was terminated by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. Sultan Mahmud not only scrupulously abstained from taking any part against Austria, the old enemy of his house, but he offered his mediation to terminate the hostilities which raged between the powers of Christendom. With equal justice and prudence the Turks took care not to become entangled in the other great European contest which followed that of the Austrian Succession after no very long interval; and which, from the period of its duration (1756-1763) is known in history as the Seven Years' War.

Sultan Mahmud I had died (1754) before the outbreak of this last-mentioned conflict; but his brother and successor, Osman III, adhered to the same system of moderation and non-interference which his predecessor had established, and he thus preserved peace for the Ottoman Empire during his three years' reign, from 1754 to 1757. He was succeeded by Sultan Mustapha III, the son of Sultan Ahmed III. The name of Mustapha has always been accompanied in Turkish history by calamity and defeat; and we now approach the time when, under the third sultan of that inauspicious designation, the struggle between the Porte and Russia was resumed, with even heavier disasters to Turkey than those which she endured when she strove against Austria and Prince Eugene in the reign of Sultan Mustapha II.

THE REIGN OF MUSTAPHA III (1757-1773 A.D.)

The first years, however, of Mustapha III were not unpromising or unprosperous. The administration of the affairs of the empire was directed by the grand vizir Raghib Pasha, a minister not perhaps equal to the great Ottoman statesmen Sokolli and the second and third Köprilis, but a man of sterling integrity and of high diplomatic abilities. He turned the attention of the sultan (who showed a perilous restlessness of spirit) to the construction of public works of utility and splendour. The most important of these undertakings was the project, so often formed and so often abandoned, of making a canal which should give a communication between the Black Sea and the gulf of Nicomedia (Ismid) in the sea of Marmora, without passing through the Bosphorus.

For this purpose it was proposed to dig a channel from the eastern extremity of the gulf of Nicomedia to the lake of Sabandja, and to form another from the lake of Sabandja to the river Sakaria, which flows into the Black Sea. The commercial advantages of such a canal would be great; and the Turks would be enabled to use the lake of Sabandja as a naval depot of complete security, and of ample capacity for fleets of the greatest magnitude, which could rapidly issue thence as emergencies required either into the Euxine or the Propontis. This mode of uniting the two seas had been attempted before the commencement of the Ottoman Empire, twice

[1759-1763 A.D.]

by the kings of Bithynia and once by the emperor Trajan. Three sultans, Suleiman the Great, Murad III, and Muhammed IV, had commenced the same enterprise before Mustapha III. But it had never been completed, though the distances to be trenched through are inconsiderable, and the engineering difficulties presented by the character and elevations of the soil are said to be few and trivial. Sultan Mustapha abandoned the project in 1759, after having caused great interest and excitement among the French and English residents at Constantinople, who were anxious for the accomplishment of the design, and who in vain urged the Turks to persevere.

The chief efforts of Raghib Pasha himself were directed to the strengthening of Turkey against the inveterate hostility of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, by alliances with other states of Christendom. The results of the War of Succession and of the Seven Years' War had been to bring Prussia forward as a new power of the first magnitude in Europe. Prussia, from her geographical position, had nothing to gain by any losses which might befall Turkey; and both Austria and Russia had been bitter and almost deadly foes to the great sovereign of the house of Brandenburg, Frederick II. A treaty, therefore, between Prussia and Turkey seemed desirable for the interests of both states, and many attempts had been made to effect one, before Raghib Pasha held the seals as grand vizir. At length, in 1761, the envoy of Frederick II to Constantinople signed a treaty of amity between Prussia and the Porte, similar to treaties which the Turkish court had already concluded with Sweden, Naples, and Denmark. But Raghib Pasha's design was to convert these preliminary articles into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. The English ambassador strove earnestly to forward this scheme, while the ministers of Austria and Russia endeavoured to retard and baffle it. Considerable progress had been made in the negotiations, when the death of Raghib Pasha in 1763 put an end to a project which, if successful, would certainly have been followed by a new war with Austria. In that war the Prussians would have co-operated with the Turks, and it might have materially varied the whole current of subsequent Ottoman history.

After the death of Raghib Pasha in 1763, Sultan Mustapha III governed for himself. He was a prince of considerable industry and talent, and honestly desirous of promoting the interests of the Ottoman Empire; but he was hasty and headstrong, and he often proved unfortunate during the latter part of his reign in his selection of councillors and of commanders. And the sceptre of the power most inimical and most formidable to Turkey was now grasped by one of the most ambitious, the most unscrupulous, and also the ablest sovereigns that ever swayed the vast resources of the Russian Empire. Catherine II (who has been termed with such terrible accuracy, both as to her public and private character, the Semiramis of the North) reigned at St. Petersburg.



COSTUME WORN BY A TURKISH
PRI CE

The Porte watched with anxiety and alarm the aggressive but insidious policy which was pursued towards every weak state that was within the sphere of Russian influence. Frederick II no longer sought the alliance of Turkey against his old enemies at Vienna and St. Petersburg, but concluded, in 1764, a treaty with Catherine, by which the two parties pledged themselves to maintain each other in possession of their respective territories, and agreed that, if either power were attacked, the other should supply an auxiliary force of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. But it was expressly provided that if Russia were assailed by the Turks, or Prussia by the French, the aid should be sent in money. There was also a secret article to this treaty, which was directed against Polish independence, and which has earned for this confederacy between Russia and Prussia the name of "the Unholy Alliance of 1764, whence, as from a Pandora's box, have sprung all the evils that have afflicted and desolated Europe from that time until the present day."

The Ottoman court protested continually but vainly against the occupation of Poland by Russian and Prussian troops, against the disgraceful circumstances of fraud and oppression under which the election of Catherine's favourite, Stanislaus Poniatowski, as king, was forced upon the Poles, and against the dictatorship which the Russian general Repnin exercised at Warsaw. The Turkish remonstrances were eluded with excuses so shallow as to show the contempt with which the Russians must now have learned to regard their Ottoman neighbours, both in diplomatic and warlike capacities.

WAR BETWEEN TURKEY AND RUSSIA

Sultan Mustapha and his vizirs at last felt that they were treated as dupes and fools, and the indignation raised at Constantinople against Russia was violent. This was augmented by the attacks made by the Russian troops on the fugitive Poles of the independent party, who had taken refuge within the Turkish frontier, and who, sallying thence, carried on a desultory warfare against their enemies, which the Russians retaliated at every opportunity, without heeding whether they overtook the Polish bands beyond or within the Ottoman dominions. At last the Russian general Weissmann followed a body of the confederated Poles into the town of Balta, on the confines of Bessarabia, which belonged to the sultan's vassal, the Tatar khan of the Crimea. The Russians besieged the town, took it by storm, plundered, and laid it in ashes. Turkey had received proofs of Russian hostility in other regions. There had been revolts in Montenegro and in Georgia, and there had been troubles in the Crimea, all of which were aggravated, if not created, by Russian agency. The divan resolved, on the 4th of October, 1768, that Russia had broken the peace between the two empires, and that a war against her would be just and holy.

The general feeling of Europe was favourable to the empress. England in particular, though she offered her mediation to prevent the Turkish war, was, at this period and for many years afterwards, desirous of seeing the power of Russia augmented, and of uniting her with Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England herself, in a great northern alliance in opposition to the combination of France and Spain under the house of Bourbon. This design had been formed by Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) during the Seven Years' War, and it continued to be a favourite project of English statesmen. The French minister Choiseul naturally regarded Russia with very different feelings. But that great statesman also discerned how necessary it was to watch jealously

[1768-1769 A.D.]

the growth of the Muscovite power, not only for the sake of French interests but for the sake of the general commonweal of Europe. Choiseul now, at the outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey in 1763, laboured anxiously to make the English ministry understand the true character of Russian power and ambition.

However just their cause, the Turks began the war too soon. When Sultan Mustapha issued his declaration of hostilities against Russia in the autumn of 1768, his anger had got the mastery over his judgment. He should have endured the affronts offered to him a little longer, and not taken up arms before the summer of the following year; he might then have had the full force of his empire in readiness to make good his threats. But it was impossible to bring his Asiatic troops together during the winter, and the opening of the campaign on the Dniester and Danube was thus delayed till the spring of 1769—a delay which enabled the Russians to make ample preparations for assailing Turkey on almost every part of her northern frontier, both in Europe and Asia. Neither were the Turkish fortresses in a proper state of repair, or sufficiently stored, when the war was proclaimed at Constantinople. The Ottoman government endeavoured to make good these defects during the winter; but the spring found the Turkish equipments still far from a due state of efficiency.

One bold leader, on the side of the Moslems, and almost the only one who displayed any warlike abilities in support of the Crescent during the first years of this disastrous war, made a vigorous onslaught on the southern provinces of the czarina's empire long before the other generals on either side thought it possible to bring troops into the field. This was the Tatar khan of the Crimea, Krim Girai. Before the end of January, 1769, the Tatar chief collected at the ruins of Balta, which the Russians had destroyed in the preceding summer, a hundred thousand cavalry. With this vast force of hardy marauders Krim Girai crossed the river Bug, and then sent one detachment towards the Doneck and another towards Orel, while the main body under his own command swept over the Russian province of New Servia.

Khan Girai was accompanied in this expedition by Baron de Tott, one of the ablest (though not the least vaunting) of the numerous officers and agents whom the French minister, Choiseul, had sent into Turkey to encourage and assist the Ottomans. De Tott has minutely described the predatory activity and adroitness of the wild host which he marched with, and the stern discipline under which they were kept, amid all the seeming license of the campaign, by the military genius of their chief. For fourteen days Krim Girai rode at his will through southern Russia, with drums beating and colours flying, while his wild horsemen swept the land with an ever-widening torrent of devastation. The khan and his guest, the baron, fared like the rest of the Tatars. Their food was meat, sodden and bruised between the saddle and the horses' backs, a mess of fermented mares' milk, smoked horse-hams, caviare, boutargue, and other Tatar aliments; but wine of Tokay was served to the guest in vessels of gold. The khan camped and marched in the middle of his army, which was arranged in twenty columns. Before him waved, together with the Turkish and Tatar standards, the colours of the Ynad Cossacks, who had abandoned the Russian Empire in the time of Peter the Great, under the guidance of the Cossack Ignatius, and who had since been called Ygnad, or Ynad, which means "the mutineers." By their influence Krim Girai prevailed on the Zaporogian Cossacks to revolt against the authority of the commandant of the fortress of Elizabethgrad. A prince of the Lezghis also joined the Crimean khan, and offered a reinforcement of thirty thousand men to the sultan's armies, on condition that certain honours should be paid him by the sultan and the grand

vizir, and that he should retain at the peace all the territories out of which he could drive the Russians. Had Krim Girai lived a few years, or even months, longer, it is probable that his ascendancy over the wild warriors of these regions and his marvellous skill in handling irregular troops would have changed materially the course of the war. De Tott admired the severe discipline which he maintained, while he permitted and encouraged his followers to develop against the enemy to the utmost their astonishing talent both for acquiring booty and for preserving it when taken. But woe to the Tatar who pillaged without the khan's permission, or who offered any outrage against the khan's command! Some Nogai Tatars in the army, having insulted a crucifix, received each a hundred blows of the stick in front of the church where they committed this offence; and de Tott saw others, who had plundered a Polish village without orders, tied to the tails of their own horses and dragged along till they expired.

Krim Girai died within a month after his return from this expedition against Russia. It was believed that he was poisoned by a Greek physician named Siropulo, an agent of the prince of Wallachia, against whom he had been vainly cautioned by de Tott. The Porté appointed, as the khan's successor, Dewlet Girai, a prince without spirit or capacity. These were deficiencies in which he too closely resembled the grand vizir and the other leaders of the sultan's forces. Meanwhile the empress Catherine and her generals had been preparing for the war with their characteristic energy. One Russian army, sixty-five thousand strong, was collected in Podolia, under the command of Prince Alexander Mikhailovitch Galitzin, who was directed to besiege and capture the city of Chotin, and then to occupy Moldavia. The second, under General Count Peter Alexandrevitch Romanzov, was to protect the frontiers of Russia between the Dnieper and the sea of Azov, and to reconstruct the fortresses of Azov and Taganrog, which had been razed in pursuance of the Treaty of Belgrade. A third army of from ten thousand to eleven thousand men was to occupy Poland, and prevent the Poles from giving any assistance to Turkey. A fourth army, under Major-General Medem, advanced from Tsaritsin into the Kabarda and the Kuban; and a fifth, under General Todleben, was directed upon Tiflis, in order to attack Erzerum and Trebizond in concert with the Georgian princes of Karthli, Mingrelia, Guriel, and Imeritia, who had submitted themselves to the sovereignty of Russia. At the same time money, arms, ammunition, and officers were sent to the Montenegrins, and those warlike mountaineers were set in action against the Turkish forces in Bosnia.

While the grand vizir was slowly moving with the sultan's main army from Constantinople to the Danube, Galitzin passed the Dniester, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Chotin, after which he retreated across the Dniester. Indeed, so far as Galitzin was concerned, the sarcasm of Frederick II of Prussia, on the conduct of this war, was well deserved. He called it a triumph of the one-eyed over the blind. But among the other Russian commanders and generals of division were Romanzov, Weissmann, Bauer, Kamenski, and, above all, Suvarov, in whom Frederick himself would have found formidable antagonists.^b

Emin Pasha took the offensive and was completely defeated. The Russians again invested Chotin, where Potocki, one of the leaders in the confederation of the Bar, had intrenched himself with a few thousand men. His energetic resistance gave Emin Pasha time to come to his assistance.^d The sultan, the only one who took a real interest in the success of his armies, had just sent to his vizir an order for a new manœuvre. Emin Pasha dared to incur the responsibility of disobedience; his policy failed, his army was defeated and

[1769-1770 A.D.]

dispersed. Consequently, an order, more punctiliously obeyed, soon placed his head at the gate of the serai.^h

He was succeeded by Moldowandji. The new vizir showed himself more active but not more fortunate. Crossing the Dniester by two bridges, he attacked the intrenched camp of the Russians. A sudden rising of the river shook the bridges; the soldiers, afraid of having their retreat cut off, rushed immediately to regain the other bank; the bridges gave way under the weight of this disordered multitude and all were swallowed up in the stream. Six thousand men, placed at the end of the bridge to guard the retreat, remained isolated on the right bank and were destroyed by the fire of the Russians. The Ottoman army fell back upon the Danube, evacuating Chotin, while Galitzin invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (1769). At the same time a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean and attempted to arouse the Morea to revolt.

The French ambassador had warned the divan of the Russian designs upon Greece, but his warnings had been received with the most marked incredulity. Depending on the absence of communication between the Baltic Sea and the Archipelago, the ministers obstinately refused to believe the reports of the capture of Coron, of the rising in the Morea, and of the appearance of twelve of the enemy's ships. The insurrection in the Morea came to nothing, and the Russian fleet joined battle with the Ottomans in the narrow channel which separates the isle of Chios from the Asiatic coast. The combat lasted four hours; then the ships of the two admirals were blown up. The Turks, frightened at the explosion, retired in the greatest disorder to the port of Tchesme, although the loss of the Russians was greater than theirs.

Admiral Elphinstone, taking advantage of this retreat, appeared before the port and sent in two fire-ships. The sight of these two little ships advancing towards the port rekindled in the Turks the idea of conquest. Taking them for renegades, far from trying to sink them, they made vows for their safe arrival. They determined to put the crews in irons, as they enjoyed the prospect of leading them in triumph to Constantinople. However, the pretended deserters, having entered without difficulty, threw out their grappling-hooks and soon vomited forth whirlwinds of flame which burned up the whole fleet. The port of Tchesme, filled with vessels, powder, and cannon, presented the appearance of a volcano, which engulfed all the Turkish marine (July 7th, 1770).

The Dardanelles were not defended. The Russians could reach Constantinople without hindrance. Elphinstone wished to force the straits at once, but Orlov, who was the commander-in-chief, refused and laid siege to Lemnos. During this time Baron de Tott was charged with the fortification of the Dardanelles and with preserving the capital. In a few days he had improvised



COSTUME OF A TURKISH SAILOR

a complete system of defence; batteries were constructed and mounted with cannon, and trading vessels were transformed into fire-ships; thirty thousand men manned the works, and soon the passage was impracticable.

On land also the Ottomans met only with disaster. However, the cabinet of Versailles, on the appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, had proposed a maritime co-operation to the Porte; it offered her fifteen vessels of the line on condition that she would ask for this support directly and would provide for the support of the ships. In addition it promised her the assistance of Spain in return for a treaty of commerce with that power. But the sultan was alone in his wish to have recourse to France. All the divan was sold to England; the ministers desired peace at any price; they asked the mediation of Austria. The French ambassador, the count of Saint-Priest, aided by Baron de Tott, who had the sultan's confidence, neglected nothing in the attempt to open the eyes of the ministers and to remedy the vices of the Ottoman organisation.

The Death of Mustapha

The campaign of 1771 opened more favourably for the Osmanlis. Hassan Bey, "the crocodile of the sea of battles," had conceived the project of lifting the siege of Lemnos with four thousand volunteers in boats, and without any artillery. The enterprise succeeded by the very excess of its daring; the besieged had neglected the most elementary precautions for protecting themselves; being attacked unexpectedly, they thought only of fleeing upon their ships. The title Kapudan Pasha rewarded the hero of this exploit. The Russians were equally unsuccessful in their attempts on Trebizond and in Georgia, but in the Crimea the Ottoman domination was destroyed. In three weeks the prince Dolgoruki conquered the whole peninsula, proclaimed its independence under Muscovite sovereignty, and installed Sherim Bey as khan.

Austria, while deceiving the Porte with feigned negotiations, had concluded a secret treaty with Prussia and Russia, assuring the dismemberment of Poland. Acting in concert with Prussia, she caused an armistice to be concluded at Giurgevo, and a congress opened at Focsani in Moldavia. Russia's extreme demands broke off negotiations and the war recommenced. The sultan Mustapha, who desired peace only on honourable conditions, pushed hostilities vigorously, and the chief effort of the struggle was concentrated upon the Danube. The Russians, beaten at Rustchuk, were again defeated before Silistria; they took a base revenge for their defeat at Bazardjik, an open city, by massacring women, old men, and children, whom they dashed against the walls. The kapudan pasha, no longer having a fleet to command, at the head of a corps of spahis chased the Russians beyond the Danube and took their artillery and ammunition (1773).

In Syria and in Egypt likewise the Ottomans had the advantage. Ali Bey, defeated under the walls of Cairo by Abu Shel, had taken refuge with the pasha of Acre, Tahir, to whom the Russian fleet furnished armies and ammunition. Osman Pasha was defeated by the rebels, who took possession of Jaffa, and Ali Bey returned to Cairo; but, betrayed by his adopted son, Muhammed Bey, he fell into the power of Abu Shel, who sent his head to Constantinople in token of fidelity.

Death surprised the sultan in the midst of these unexpected triumphs just as he was starting to join his army on the Danube (September 21st, 1774). By his activity, his constancy, his enlightened spirit of reform, his desire to instruct, and his zeal to supplement the incapacity or the laziness of his min-

[1774 A.D.]

isters, Mustapha III deserved the regrets of his people. That he could not repair the faults of his predecessors must be attributed to circumstances, to the venality and corruption of his entourage. One fact alone testifies to his enterprising spirit—he had resolved to cut through the isthmus of Suez, and had charged Baron de Tott to prepare a treatise on that important subject. Lastly, the honour and glory of Mustapha is to have understood the necessity of reforms, to have inaugurated them, and to have pointed out the road of salvation to Selim II and to Mahmud II.^d

THE TREATY OF KUTCHUK-KAINARDJI HASTENS THE FALL OF TURKEY

He was followed by his brother Abdul-Hamid (1774–1789), who was at this time forty-eight years of age; forty-three years of his life he had passed in prison. It may naturally be supposed that he had no great experience in war, and although he did not reject the proposals of peace offered by the Russians, the ulema violently opposed them, as the delivery of Turkish fortresses to the enemy was in contradiction to the fundamental principles of Islam. However, after the Turkish troops had suffered several defeats, and the army was even surrounded by the Russians at Shumla, the objections of the ulema were neglected, and the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji was signed with the Russians on the 17th of July, 1774. By this treaty the Porte gave up to Russia the fortresses of Kinburn (on the mouths of the Dnieper), Kertch and Yenikale (on the peninsula of the Crimea), yielded its sway over the Tatars in the Crimea, Budjak (or Bessarabia), and Kuban (now the country of the Tchernomori Cossacks), permitted the Russians to navigate all the Turkish seas, and conceded to the czar the protectorate over all the Turkish subjects who belonged to the Greek confession.

Although these concessions may appear unimportant, they contained the germ of future immense advantages; the independence of the Crimea more especially guaranteed to the Russians an influence over this beautiful and well-cultivated country, which at length entailed its subjection.ⁱ

The whole treaty was drawn up and concluded without the insertion of a syllable relating to Poland, although the treatment of Poland by Russia had been one of the primary causes of the war. It was considered that this implied negation of all right in Turkey to interfere in Polish affairs, and also the circumstance that the treaty was concluded without any third power being allowed to be party to it as mediator between the Russian empress and her defeated enemy, was not the least of the triumphs which were achieved for Catherine in the close of this contest.

Such in substance was the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji; in which one of the ablest diplomatists of the age saw not only the preparation of the destruction of the Mohammedan Empire of the East, but also the source of evil and troubles without end for all the other states of Europe. The German historian of the house of Osman considers that treaty to have delivered up the Ottoman Empire to the mercy of Russia, and to have marked the commencement of the dissolution of that empire, at least in Europe.

The literary men of western Europe and the ulemas of Turkey alike regarded the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji as consummating the glory of Russia and the degradation of the house of Osman. The Encyclopædists of Paris wrote felicitations to the empress Catherine, and to her generalissimo Count Romanzov, which were echoed by all pretenders to enlightened opinions in other parts of Europe which recognised the centralisation of literary authority amid the circles of the French metropolis.

In Constantinople devout followers of Islam looked wistfully to Asia as their refuge from the great infidels, as they termed the Russians, and sorrowfully recalled the old tradition that the City abounding in faith is destined to be taken by the Sons of Yellowness. But still many among the Ottomans were superior to the torpor of despairing fatalism. They understood better both their duty to their empire and the precepts of their prophet, who bade his followers not to lose heart at reverses in warfare, but to view them as visitations of Allah, designed to prove true believers, and who gave them the great maxims: "Fortitude in adversity and self-control in prosperity"; "Despond not, neither exult; so shall ye prevail"; "God loveth those who persevere patiently"; "He turned you to flight before them that he might make trial of you"; "God giveth life and causeth to die; and God seeth that which ye do"; "O, true believers, be patient and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded and fear God, that ye may be happy."

PASHA HASSAN

Foremost among these better spirits was the kapudan pasha Hassan of Algiers, now commonly styled Gazi Hassan, for his glorious conflicts against the Giaours. Sultan Abdul Hamid placed almost unlimited authority in his hands; and Hassan strove to reorganise the military and naval forces of Turkey, and to prepare her for the recurrence of the struggle against Russia, which all knew to be inevitable. He endeavoured to discipline the troops; but finding that all attempts to introduce improved weapons and drill or to restore subordination among the janissaries and spahis were fruitless, he gave up these schemes, but proposed a new order of battle, by which more effect was to be given to the Turkish onset. "He would have divided," says Eton, "an army of one hundred thousand men into ten different corps, which were to attack separately, and so arranged that the retreat of the repulsed corps should not overwhelm and put in disorder those which had not attacked. He affirmed that though the artillery of a European army would make great slaughter, yet no army could withstand ten Turkish attacks, which are furious but short if they do not succeed, and the attack of ten thousand is as dangerous as of one hundred thousand in one body, for, the first repulsed, the rest on whom they fall back immediately take to flight."

This system of attacking in detail was never found practicable; and probably the kapudan pasha, in proposing it, was judging more from his experience of the capacities of squadrons of ships than from any sound knowledge of the possible evolutions of troops in face of an enemy. The navy was a force which Hassan understood far better, and his efforts to improve the Turkish marine were spirited and judicious, though some of his practical measures showed the true ruthless severity of the old Algerine sea-rover. Hassan possessed little science himself, but he respected it in others; and his great natural abilities and strong common sense taught him how to make use of European skill, and of the most serviceable qualities which the various seafaring populations of the sultan's dominions were known to possess.

The repairs and improvements which he sought to effect in the Turkish navy extended to the construction of the vessels, the education of the officers, and the supply of seamen. Aided by an English shipbuilder, Hassan entirely altered the cumbrous rigging of the Turkish ships, and equipped them after the English system. He lowered their high and unwieldy sterns, and he gave them regular tiers of guns. He collected all the good sailors that he could engage from Algiers and the other Barbaresque states, and also from seaports

[1777-1787 A.D.]

on the eastern coasts of the Adriatic; though he was still obliged to depend chiefly on Greek crews for the navigation of his fleets, as the Turks refused to do any duty on shipboard beyond working the guns. He compelled the commanders of vessels to attend personally to the good order and efficiency of their ships and crews; and, by a still more important measure, he endeavoured to keep a sufficient body of able seamen always ready at Constantinople to man the fleet in case of emergency.

In 1778 he recovered the Morea, and destroyed or expelled the rebellious Albanians, who had been led into that peninsula in 1770 to fight against Orlov and the Greek insurgents, and who had after the departure of the Russians established themselves there in lawless independence, oppressing, plundering, and slaughtering both the Greek and Turkish residents with ferocious impartiality.

After relieving the Peloponnesus from this worst of all scourges, the tyranny of a wild soldiery, which had killed or deposed its officers, which had never known the restraint of civil law, and had shaken off all bonds of military discipline, Hassan was made governor of the liberated province, and exerted himself vigorously and wisely in the restoration of social order, and the revival of agriculture and commerce. Subsequently to this he led a large force to Egypt against the rebellious mamelukes. He had made himself master of Cairo, and had effected much towards the re-establishment of the sultan's authority in that important province, when he was recalled to oppose the Russians in the fatal war of 1787-1792; a contest still more disastrous than that which had terminated in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.

CATHERINE'S "ORIENTAL PROJECT"

The interval of fourteen years between the two wars had been marked by measures on the part of Russia as ambitious and as inimical towards the Turks as any of her acts during open hostilities. Even the writers who are the most unscrupulous in their eulogies of the empress Catherine and the most bitter against the Ottoman nation avow that the empress from the very beginning of her reign had constantly in view the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and that the vast design which she sought to accomplish was the same which Peter the Great first entertained, and which the cabinet of St. Petersburg has never lost sight of during the succeeding reigns to this day. A temporary peace was necessary for Russia in 1774; but after Pugatchev's rebellion was quelled, and the Russian grasp on the provinces which she had rent from Poland was firmly planted, Catherine scarcely sought to disguise how fully she was bent on the realisation of the "oriental project."^b

After throwing the Crimea into confusion by her intrigues, she put herself at the head of an army of two hundred thousand, and invaded it. Upon a triumphal arch thrown over the road leading to the west she inscribed the prophetic words, "Route to Constantinople." Austria, with her characteristic policy, took advantage of the embarrassments of the Porte, and conquered the Bukowina. In her sanguine ambition, Catherine already believed in the destruction of the Turkish Empire. When, in the spring of 1787, she concluded a secret alliance with the emperor Joseph, in his visit to her camp on the shores of the Black Sea, she seriously proposed to him the partition of the Ottoman dominions, or the restoration of the Greek Empire. The emperor, in his astonishment, exclaimed, "But what shall we do with Constantinople?"—a question which has since been repeated by more than one crowned head.

THE PORTE DECLARES WAR; SELIM III

In 1787 the sultan deemed himself sufficiently strong to take the field. He declared war against Russia, and sent an army of eighty thousand men to the Danube. The fleet entered the Black Sea. Austria allied herself with Russia, and sent an army to Moldavia, which, after having victoriously traversed Transylvania, repulsed a part of the Turkish forces. The Ottoman expedition in the Black Sea was unsuccessful. The campaign closed in 1788. Abdul-Hamid died in 1789. Under his reign Russia succeeded in opening her way to the Bosphorus.

This triumph was due not only to the address and intrigues of Catherine II, but also to the great progress of the Muscovite nation in the art of war, while



RUINS OF KHADIFA CASTLE, TURKEY

the Ottomans remained stationary in the midst of the general movement. For, notwithstanding the efforts of Sultan Abdul-Hamid and the assistance afforded to him by the French officers called to Constantinople, the Mussulman soldiers could not adapt themselves to European discipline and tactics. The repugnance of the janissaries to these innovations was so strong that they enforced their abandonment by an armed rebellion. To this blind adherence of the followers of Mohammed to the customs and maxims of their ancestors must be attributed the numerous and grave disasters under the last sultans, and the loss of that superiority which they had obtained over the Christian nations by their religious fanaticism, brilliant courage, and surpassing skill and prowess in arms.

Selim III succeeded to the throne, and immediately raised a new army for the resumption of hostilities. The Austrians were already on the point of occupying Belgrade, when the Turks arrived before that place; the two imperial armies, Austrian and Russian, effecting a junction, after a protracted conflict defeated the Ottoman forces. In 1791 a general peace was agreed upon

[1786-1791 A.D.]

rather from the force of circumstances than from any disposition on the part of the Turks to yield.^c

Although Selim had been confined in the seraglio by his uncle, he had been in other respects well treated. His love of information and his natural talents had induced him to carry on an active correspondence with several servants of his father and his uncle. Their information had, however, in no way satisfied him, and he had commenced a correspondence with Choiseul, the French envoy at Constantinople in 1786, and had also sent his intimate friend Isaac Bey to France, to inquire into the state measures and administrative organisation of that country. Selim had also entered into correspondence with Louis XVI, and this lasted till 1789, when the French revolution broke out simultaneously with Selim's ascension of the throne.

All this throws a clear light upon Selim's eventual exertions to cause reforms, which at last cost him both his throne and his life. His thirst for knowledge leads us to presume that he was not deficient in natural and sound talent. The old Turkish statesmen, to whom his position directed him to apply, could not satisfy his curiosity, from the simple fact that they knew nothing themselves; but it was a mistake that, in his pursuit of knowledge and desire to improve the institutions of Turkey and the habits and character of its inhabitants, Selim should have applied to France and to Frenchmen. That country was then on the eve of her great revolution. Theories of all kinds were afloat. The ancient system of her government was passing away, and neither Louis XVI nor his friends and ministers possessed the talent or energy requisite to control the enthusiasm of the advocates of the new system—who, instead of repairing, thought only of destroying.

Louis was incapable of guiding the storm which was rapidly enveloping him. Unable to improve his own institutions, he was utterly unfit to assist Selim in improving those of Turkey.

Selim would certainly have acted more wisely had he sought help from his own sensible mind; he would have easily perceived the palpable fact that things which were suited for Christian nations were utterly inapplicable to the rude, uncivilised Turks, at any rate until they laid aside their hatred for everything new or that pertained to Christianity. Had he in the first instance tried to ameliorate the condition of the schools, to introduce impartiality in the system of administration and to restore discipline among the troops, and to keep continually before the nation the blessings of civilisation, the latter would have gradually felt the necessity of comprehensive reform, and all the peculiarities attaching to the Turks would have been eventually modified.

Unfortunately, he set about the task with very different ideas, and listened to the suggestions of the sciolists who surrounded him. The first thing to which they drew his attention was the formation of a council of state, which not only restricted the power of the grand vizir but that of the sultan very materially. The *reis effendi*, Rashid, was the soul of the council and the boldest of these sciolists, and he had perfect liberty to carry on the work of reform. He set again in activity the printing-presses which had been introduced in a preceding reign, sent for French officers, who founded an engineer academy, built arsenals and foundries, and openly stated that he took science under his protection.

But his chief care was to form an army after the European fashion, in order by their assistance to gain the mastery over the janissaries, in whom old customs and traditions found their most zealous guardians. He took several steps, therefore, to call into life the new military organisation, called the *nizami djedid*; and as money was required for the purpose, he laid a tax

on articles of consumption. This was quite sufficient to cause the popular discontent to burst into a flame. The ulema declared themselves hostile to the *nizami djedid*, and Pashwan Oglu, pasha of Widdin, who placed himself at the head of the janissaries, openly rebelled against the Porte, which could not effect anything to check him, but acquiesced in all that was demanded.

The extraordinary conquests of Napoleon diverted attention from Turkey, and instead of seeking to divide the dominions of a weak neighbour, the great powers of the continent were trembling for their own safety. Egypt became the battle-field between England and France, and its invasion by Napoleon obliged the Turks to unite with the allied powers against France. When the French were expelled from Egypt, that province was restored to Turkey, and peace concluded between the two powers. Selim, under the influence of General Sebastiani, who was then French ambassador at Constantinople, seized what was considered by him a favourable opportunity for renewing the war with Russia, in which, however, the Turks were defeated both by land and sea. These misfortunes the janissaries attributed to the new troops or *seymens*, and their hostility to them increased.

At the end of May, 1807, the chiefs of the janissaries and the ulema had already formed their plans for the overthrow of the sultan, when Selim accelerated the outbreak by going to the mosque on Friday, accompanied by a body of *seymens* and the French ambassador, Sebastiani. The janissaries, aroused by this, broke out in open revolt, which soon grew of such a menacing nature by the co-operation of the mufti that Selim was compelled to promise the abolition of the *nizam*, and the heads of those of his advisers who had promoted the measure. But the insurgents were not satisfied with this; they demanded the abdication of the sultan, and marched to the seraglio to carry their designs into effect. But when the mufti and the ulema entered it they found a new sultan. Selim had retired to the harem, where his nephew, Mustapha, was confined, and led him to the throne; he had then attempted to destroy his own life by a cup of poisoned sherbet, but had been prevented by Mustapha.

On the same afternoon Sultan Mustapha IV (who reigned from May 31st, 1807, to July 28th, 1808) rode in solemn procession for the first time to the great mosque, was invested in the traditional manner with the sabre of Mohammed, then immediately did away with the *nizami djedid*, and restored the old customs. But among the pashas in the provinces there were several devoted partisans of reform. The most influential of these was Mustapha Bairaktar, pasha of Rustchuk, who set out in July, 1808, at the head of eighteen thousand men, to restore Selim to the throne. He succeeded in taking possession of the capital, and keeping the sultan so long in ignorance of his designs, until he sent him orders to resign the throne in favour of Selim.

As the sultan had only one hour allowed him for consideration, he was so helpless that he followed the advice of the mufti and had Selim cruelly murdered. As the gates of the seraglio were not opened at the appointed time, and Bairaktar hurried up to enforce his authority, Selim's lifeless body was thrown over the wall. Upon this the pasha ordered the seraglio to be stormed, seized the sultan, destroyed all those who had advised the abolition of the plans of reform, and placed Mustapha's younger brother [to be known in future as Mahmud II] on the throne.ⁱ



TURKEY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

By A. VAMBÉRY

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IN the course of a residence of several years in the house of Aifaat Pasha, formerly Turkish minister for foreign affairs, I happened in 1858 to make the acquaintance of a Turk of high rank who had long been in the household of the sultan Mahmud II, the famous reformer of the Ottoman Empire. From the conversation of this effendi, who had been intimately acquainted with the court intrigues and the political occurrences of that troubled period, I gathered many interesting details concerning the mind, character, and aims of Mahmud II. It is from such side-lights on the individuality of the Turkish reformer that the early history of the innovations inaugurated at the beginning of the nineteenth century can best be judged.

The sultan Mahmud II, who succeeded to the throne of his ancestors in the twenty-third year of his age, was endowed by nature with many of the brilliant qualities requisite for the difficult task of infusing fresh life into the Ottoman body politic, which was at that time convulsed in every quarter and diseased in every joint and limb. His spirit and personal courage had proved equal to every occasion, and long before he assumed the supreme power he had arrived at the conviction that the annihilation of the janissaries, the unruly Prætorians of Turkey, was a necessary step towards restoring order and placing the empire on a sound basis. "Not unless the field of the future is watered with the blood of these rebels," he was wont to say, "and not until then, can the shoot of reform be planted with good hope of prosperous increase." How he kept his word is known to all men. In the massacre of the 15th of June, 1826, the fire of the rebellious janissaries was quenched in blood; and from that time forward the *nizami djedid* (regular army), which took their place, gave practical support to the innovations

introduced by Mahmud II, however unpopular they might be, and brought about an extraordinary revolution in the political no less than in the social life of Turkey.

But brave and resolute as he was, the sultan reformer lacked, in the first place, the culture necessary for the work of reconstruction. His knowledge of the civilisation of the West, which served as his model, was deficient in the extreme; it extended to externals only, and was far less thorough than that of Peter the Great, who was hampered by similar difficulties at the outset, but who had previously acquired a profound insight into the essential character of modern civilisation, and could therefore advance with greater assurance towards the goal he had set before himself.

Secondly, the sultan was aided by none of the forces which proved of service to the great Romanov; for whilst the latter found capable assistants abroad, *i.e.* in Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, Mahmud II was obliged to rely on his own Mohammedan subjects, and they, as Moslems *pur sang*, were at that time incapable of enthusiasm for the civilisation and political institutions of the West. They applied themselves to the work of reform with secret ill-will and repugnance, moved only by blind obedience to the caliph and padisha.

Thirdly, the motley ethnological elements which go to make up the Ottoman Empire offered enormous—I had almost said insuperable—obstacles to the introduction of reforms. The Mohammedans of that day, brought up in the rigidly exclusive spirit of Islam, regarding every innovation with abhorrence, and believing that in the *Koran* they had the quintessence of all knowledge, the source of all earthly wisdom, and an infallible rule for human thought and action, could not bring themselves, by any stretch of self-control or self-denial, to take the Giaours, the offscouring of abomination in their eyes, for their teachers, and seek for intellectual nourishment in the books of the unbelievers. Nor did the Christian subjects of the Porte display any particular enthusiasm in the cause of reform. Independence of the yoke of Turkish sovereignty was and is their ideal; any gift from the hands of the oppressor, no matter how good in itself, was tabooed in their eyes; and there were instances in which Christians attached themselves to the anti-reform party and, grossly mistaking their own interests, withstood the instrument of their deliverance.

Fourthly, the unbroken succession of political disorders and wars placed the most serious hindrances in the way of Mahmud II's aspirations after reform and paralysed his vigour and energy, in spite of the persistence with which he perpetually took up the struggle afresh. Not Russia alone, which took up an attitude of open hostility and regarded the destruction of the Ottoman Empire as the great object of her existence, but the other and more amicably disposed nations of Europe too often acted the part of a suspicious and malevolent physician towards the sick man who sought to be healed, and administered medicines which tended to aggravate rather than remove the evil, as I shall proceed to show.

Under these circumstances we may well ask why the sultan Mahmud II, receiving no tokens of peculiar good-will from the powers of Christendom, and weakened in every quarter of his empire by the ascendancy of the West, nevertheless perseveringly persisted in the task of Europeanising his dominions, and even went so far as to attack certain oriental institutions in a manner prejudicial to the essential character of the hierarchical Asiatic empire. The answer to this question was supplied by the authority previously referred to. According to him, the sultan was profoundly convinced of the superiority of

[1829-1839 A.D.]

European civilisation. A modern form of government appeared to him to be the best guarantee for the future of the Ottoman Empire, and, above all, he saw in a regular army the best expedient for consolidating his power and carrying out his projected reforms for the modernisation of the state. Like Peter the Great, he began with the army—a course which almost all Asiatic potentates have likewise adopted. Had the reform of other departments of social and political life proceeded, or been able to proceed, at the same pace as the reform of the army, as has been done in Japan, for example, and as is now being done in Siam, his first experiments would have been attended with far greater success than was actually the case.

But in the East everything is calculated with a view to appearances. The first thing the sultan aimed at was the possession of a military establishment adequate for defensive purposes, in the hope that Turkey might then be able to enter the lists on equal terms with any opponent; and he also hoped, by the open display of his good intentions, to satisfy the insistence of the western powers which were perpetually urging him along the path of modern civilisation, and thus, it might be, deprive them of an ever-ready pretext for hostile action. Only, as it happened, his attempts at the reformation of the Turkish government and Turkish society were ill-conceived and ill-directed from the very outset, and so came into the world as an abortion—nay, brought with them the germs of that disintegration, anarchy, and economic and political decay which run, like a black thread of misfortune, through the whole history of this unhappy country in the nineteenth century. After the loss of her old defensive force, Turkey—sorely tried by the miseries incident to a period of transition—found the strength of her newly created regular army insufficient to repel the Russian attack of 1829 or prevent the establishment of Greek independence. The sultan Mahmud's power sufficed to subdue the refractory derebeys of the provinces, but the proud Osmanid was forced to acquiesce in the independent position taken by Muhammed Ali in Egypt; and when he died, in July, 1839, this sovereign, animated as he was by genuine zeal for his country's welfare, left the empire enfeebled and in no less disorder and peril than he had found it on his accession.

In the person of his son, Abdul-Mejid, his throne passed to a successor whose feeble constitution and mild temper formed a strong contrast to his own spirit and energy, and one who was of all men the least fitted to make head against the ever-increasing difficulties of the situation and continue the work his father had begun. The diffident and timorous disposition of Abdul-Mejid was of advantage in one way only—he had no desire both to reign and rule, as his father had done, but left the management of public affairs to his ministers, himself content merely to occupy the throne. He preferred the pursuit of his personal gratifications; and in the magnificent palace of Dolma Baghtche, which he had built at enormous expense, the worthy man spent his days as in a dream, watching the delightful play of the waters of the Bosphorus, while his empire was struggling desperately for bare existence, winking to new life as it seemed, but in reality tending step by step towards dissolution.

The present ruler of Turkey, the sultan Abdul-Hamid, once said to me in conversation, "The stars are less propitious to me than to my father." And he was right, for the lot of Abdul-Mejid was a happy one. The most notable feature of his reign was the rise of some capable Turkish statesmen, who had grown up under the shelter of the western civilisation then gradually permeating the effendi class, and so were qualified to serve as a link between East and West, and worthy in many respects, particularly in the matter of external polish, to rank with the first statesmen in Europe. The dreamy temperament

of the sovereign, who cared for nothing so much as the *dolce far niente* of life, gave these modernised Turkish ministers the further advantage of a wide field for activity, in which they could act as they pleased without let or hindrance, as long as they did not intermeddle in the affairs of the palace. Amongst them the following names are specially worthy of note:

Reshid Pasha, unquestionably the ablest and most upright statesman whom Turkey has produced in modern days, a man of attainments and force of character fully sufficient to cope with the task he had undertaken; one who, under happier circumstances, might have played the part of regenerator of the Ottoman Empire, and who can fitly be compared only with such men as the emir-i-nizam of Persia [Mirza Taki], Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, and the late emir Abdurrahman of Afghanistan.

Next in order of merit come Ali and Fuhad Pasha. Both were pupils and disciples of Reshid, both—though Ali more particularly—were thoroughly conversant with European culture; but the effective action of both was greatly hampered by intrigue and party quarrels, with the result that their reputation fell far short of their master's.

Muterjim Rushid and Muhammed Kibristi Pasha were no less able to grapple with the situation; they had the ability and patriotism requisite for the conduct of public affairs, while their integrity was beyond reproach. Unfortunately, amid the machinations of intrigue at home and abroad, they too often lost heart, and failed to display that resolution in dealing with the supreme power which the absolutist and autocratic temper of oriental sovereigns renders imperatively necessary.

Safvet, Serwar, and Arifi, who to some extent belonged to the school of Reshid, were likewise imbued with the modern spirit, but none of them had energy or credit enough to work any lasting good, and few traces of their influence survived them.

As grand vizirs and as ministers for foreign affairs, these pashas controlled the fortunes of Turkey for more than forty years; the contemplative life in vogue at court prevented their sphere of action from being frequently invaded; and yet, if we examine the result of their labours to-day, we are forced to the melancholy conclusion that they one and all failed to grasp the fundamental idea of the reform movement and had no adequate conception of what was required. It must be owned that these high personages were not alone to blame. They were confronted with a twofold problem. In the first place, they had to apply the necessary remedies to a body politic diseased in every joint; in the second, to satisfy the friendly powers of Europe which were pressing for reform. Had the West shown a fuller comprehension of the means whereby Turkey could be regenerated, had the cloak of friendly advice not been so often used to cover the unfriendly purpose of adding to the weakness of Turkey, many things would have fallen out quite otherwise than they actually did. But political ambition and territorial greed were the main-springs of European policy, and the first duty of Turkish statesmen was to take these latent purposes into account. It was imperatively necessary to give the insistent West manifest proof of their honest desire and intention to introduce reforms, and to treat the advice of each one of the friendly powers with respect.

The reform movement was thereby condemned to proceed by way of externals and specious appearances. The course of historic development and the need of a gradual advance beyond ancient Asiatic—and not merely Asiatic, but Moslem—theories of life and society were left quite out of account, and Turkey adopted institutions, manners, and customs which were wholly foreign

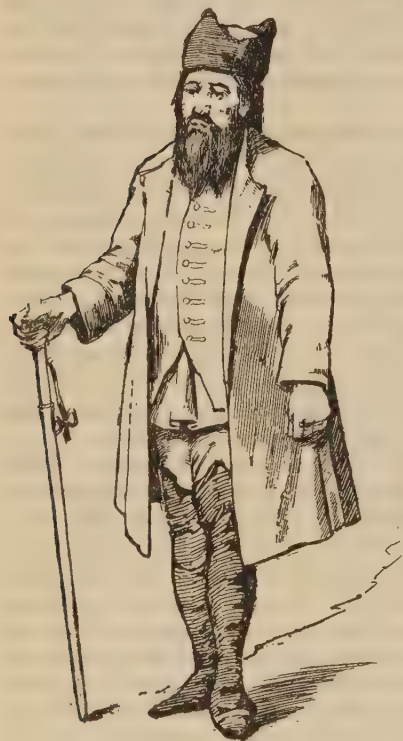
to the motley mosaic of races in the empire, and which, in view of the rigidly conservative temper of the population, could not fail to arouse disgust and abhorrence.

The Turks bowed to the will of the higher powers; they did violence to their own feelings and mechanically aped the Europe they at heart abhorred, but under the mask Turkey remained as oriental as before. The administration was divided into ministerial departments, communications with Europe were modelled after the pattern of western diplomacy, governors and prefects were appointed; but the spirit of the government remained Asiatic. As reasonably might one expect the donning of European garb to transform the turbaned Turk into a European. I myself had the opportunity of observing this process of metamorphosis at first hand; and from the outset I was fully aware that the whole thing was a farce, that the parties concerned were perforce either deceivers or deceived, and that this first act of the reform movement could breed nothing but mischief and disappointment.

So, unhappily, the event proved. The consequences of the cheat were disastrous to both parties. Europe, ignorantly or wilfully blind, went into raptures over the mock reforms, admired the sultan Abdul-Mejid in the faultless elegance of European clothes made by Desetoy, his Parisian tailor, and clapped hands in applause when the caliph honoured French literature by presenting Lamartine, the poet, with a Tusculum near Brusa. To such lengths was faith in the reforming zeal of the Osmanli carried, that Christian powers thought it worth while to wage the Crimean War and sacrifice many millions of money and hundreds of thousands of Christian lives in order to insure the stability of the Moslem world. To laud and magnify the Turks, to glorify Islam, was the fashion of the hour, and men indulged in the hope that the ancient spectre of the Eastern Question would presently be laid forever.

The Turks themselves were deceived by these demonstrations. With minds set wholly at ease by their admission into the European concert and the recognition of the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the government and society in general abandoned themselves without misgivings to the enjoyment of the financial help obtained from Europe. The way in which the various loans were squandered on luxuries and lawsuits is almost without parallel. The imperial palace took the lead in this wild extravagance, and the money received from Europe for the purpose of carrying through the projected reforms was dissipated in the most reckless fashion. All that history has to tell of the luxury of ancient Rome, and of the court of France before the Revolution, pales before the refinements of luxury in the harems of Abdul-Mejid and some of the great officers of state. It was commonly said that the old oriental mode of life must be discarded out of consideration for foreign powers, if for no other reason. Everyone tried to live *à la franca*; clothes, carriages, furniture, and so forth, were ordered from Paris and London, and the jewels for the ladies of the imperial harem alone swallowed millions. In order to throw dust in the eyes of Europe a fictitious budget was drawn up and inserted into an annual account of the public revenue and expenditure, which, of course, was kept by nobody. No minister kept any record of his receipts and disbursements, and the sultan helped himself to as much as he pleased from the public treasury. Nay, when Hassib Pasha, the minister of finance, was brought to book by his colleagues on one occasion on account of the enormous sums with which he had supplied the palace, he actually replied, "The bank-note press was at work, and I supposed that a few millions more or less would make no difference, since the sultan had just asked for the sums in question." This senseless prodigality naturally soon upset the financial balance of the em-

pire; and when the friendly powers, becoming aware of the confusion, counselled economy and proposed to remedy the evil by the appointment of a board of finance, consisting of delegates from the various nations, the minister above referred to remarked to one of the said delegates, "Sir, you have brought us much good advice, but it could only be of service if you had brought us some money at the same time." In fact, the steady growth of financial embarrassment was the poison which hastened the dissolution of that "sick man" of long standing, the Turkish body politic. Europe lent the money at exorbitant interest, but the reckless Porte took it readily, forgetful of the Turkish proverb which says, "He who drinks wine on credit is twice drunken: once when he drinks, and the second time when he has to pay his debts."



A MERCHANT OF KALUGA, TURKEY

Had Turkey spent the very considerable sums borrowed from Europe in the development of commerce and industry, the construction of roads and railways, and the establishment of schools—in a word, had the government not mistakenly devoted its attention merely to specious appearances, the gallant Osmanli nation, the best, most docile, and finest of Asiatic races, might very well have been saved. As it was, however, the evils of mismanagement and confusion increased apace. The old home administration, which, with all its faults, corresponded in a measure to the genius of the people, was abandoned; the new government which was to take its place existed only on paper. The administration of justice became much worse than before; the pressure of taxation more grievous, especially upon the classes engaged in agriculture and cattle-rearing, which were reduced to beggary. Under such circumstances we cannot be astonished that the kindly but inexperienced Turk should have attributed his ruin to the introduction of godless innovations, or at the generally received opinion that this misery was a retribution for sinful imitation of the ways of unbelievers. By the

opening of the second half of the nineteenth century the country was in a ferment of discontent, but there was as yet no talk of an outbreak. The Osmanli displays a lamb-like patience in all matters that concern his padisha, whose divine character he holds in the utmost reverence; and in Turkey all projects subversive of the government have proceeded not from the people, but from the highest ranks of society.

When the sultan Abdul-Mejid died, in 1861, after a reign of twenty-two years, the country was in a far worse plight than at his accession. Apart from the gigantic increase of the national debt, the prestige of Turkey was weakened at home and abroad, the authority of the Porte was visibly on the decline, and the Christian subjects of the empire, whose perpetual yearning after deliverance from Moslem dominion had been held in check by awe of the

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imperial power, drew freer breath and began gradually to lift up their heads. For was it not an open secret that Turkey was living on the pittance granted by the Christian West, and that a large proportion of the *rayahs* had now become independent and were ruled by their native Christian princes? It was with a view to checking these longings after autonomy, and removing the grounds of perpetual complaints and grievances, that shortly after his accession Abdul-Mejid had issued the imperial irade of Gulhane, which, besides promising great administrative reforms, proclaimed the principle of the equality of all subjects of the empire, without distinction of creed or nationality, and according to which Christians in Turkey were thenceforth to fare as well as under Christian rule.

Needless to say, this edict of toleration, which was designed to show Europe the liberal and enlightened spirit of the Ottoman government, remained a dead letter, as all the other edicts had done, and consequently deceived none but those who chose to be deceived or whose ignorance of the real state of the case rendered them easy victims of the cheat. Among national elements separated by the furious animosity bred of religious fanaticism and race hatred, and where for centuries the ruling class has made its vanquished adversaries taste all the pains and tribulations of oppression, there can hardly be any question of conciliation or cordial unity. The Mussulman feels that he would be false to his religion if he offered the right hand of fellowship to the Giaour as to an equal; while the Christian, for his part no less fanatical, curses the ancient foe of his faith and race from the depths of his heart, and strains every nerve to cast off his yoke. The sultan and his enlightened compatriots were probably sincere in their good intentions, but it is a far cry from the letter of the law to its practical application, and experience has shown that no amount of edicts and charters suffice to bridge over the deep gulf between the Christians and Mohammedans of Turkey, to establish the wished-for concord between the followers of Christ and or the prophet, or to weld the mixed ethnological elements of the empire into a homogeneous whole. The failure of the attempt was not due solely to the incapacity of the Turkish bureaucracy; European interference must bear a large share of the blame. On the other hand, whenever the smallest reform was mooted with a view to the amelioration of the situation the representatives of the European cabinets on the Golden Horn set in motion the whole machinery of personal rivalry and particular interests; each one had different advice to offer, and the pressure perpetually brought to bear from this quarter and



A DRAGOMAN GUIDE

that ended by completely disconcerting the vague and vacillating Porte. On the other hand, many of her neighbours and *soi-disant* friends had no desire whatever to see a strong Turkey, and the lower the empire sank the more hopeful was the prospect of a speedy division of the spoil.

Unhappily for Turkey, Abdul-Mejid was succeeded by his brother, Abdul-Aziz, a harsh, uncultivated, and fanatical prince, infatuated with the notion of his own greatness; one who cared for nothing but his personal importance, and took a keen interest in public affairs only so far as they could be made to subserve the security of the throne and the gratification of his own passions. He was even more prodigal than his successor, and moreover piqued himself so greatly upon his sagacity that he wished to have the government entirely in his own hands. The highest officers of the state were obnoxious to him, and fear was the only motive which induced him to tolerate for a while—that is, as long as Fuhad and Ali were still living—the interference of these old public servants.

The whims of this half-insane being, and the insatiable mania for building which drove him to erect palaces and barracks for no reason or object, cost the country millions of precious money. No one dared to offer any remonstrance, and the sultan, who gave himself the airs of a demigod, would have proceeded to the most monstrous schemes, had not the nation, awakened to self-consciousness under the stress of the impending catastrophe, manifested its opposition to the crazy tyrant, timidly indeed, but by unmistakable tokens. In Turkey, as has already been observed, revolutionary movements take their rise in the upper strata of society, not in the lower—a fact which we can explain the more readily in this particular instance if we consider that the rising sun of western civilisation first illumined the topmost peaks, and from thence alone was able to penetrate to lower levels. The spirit of modern civilisation had knocked so loudly at the gates of Asiatic life that it had roused some of the younger generation of Turks from sleep, and even in the reign of Abdul-Mejid faint signs of the revolutionary movement had come to the surface. The study of European languages, and of French and English in particular, became more and more popular among young men of the effendi class, the productions of European literature found eager readers, and, whilst the court adhered to the old aristocratic and absolutist régime, what is commonly called good society began to talk of liberty and constitutional government. Nay, the more hot-headed patriots had already found it necessary to seek refuge in foreign lands, there to publish revolutionary newspapers and pamphlets under the ægis of a free press.

The first publications of this character, the journals *Muchbir* (*The Reporter*) and *Hurriet* (*Liberty*), exercised little influence. But even in Turkey itself literature presently adopted a freer tone, and when certain poets, such as Kemal Effendi, aroused the spirit of patriotism and began to censure the despotic government the consequences of the agitation were not slow in making themselves felt. The tyrannical sultan took fright, and, instead of yielding, had recourse to expedients which only fanned the flame of rebellion. On the grand vizir Mahmud Medim Pasha, an old-fashioned Turk of the purest water, devolved the unenviable task of hastening the ruin of his country. Acting in concert with the sultan, who had been drawn into the current of Russian politics, and on the advice of Ignatiev, the Russian ambassador, he declared the government bankrupt, and thus drove the whole of Europe into the hostile camp. The world does not understand jesting in money matters. Many thousands of people lost their small savings through the insolvency of Turkey, and the Turkish nation forfeited the little sympathy still felt for it

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in Europe. The astute and watchful policy of Russia promptly took advantage of the indignation of Christendom against the Crescent; for the year 1876 witnessed the outbreak of the last Russo-Turkish war, which inflicted on the Ottoman Empire the severest wounds it had ever suffered; for that war rendered Turkish dominion in Europe an impossibility, and made it a matter of far greater difficulty than before even on Asiatic soil.

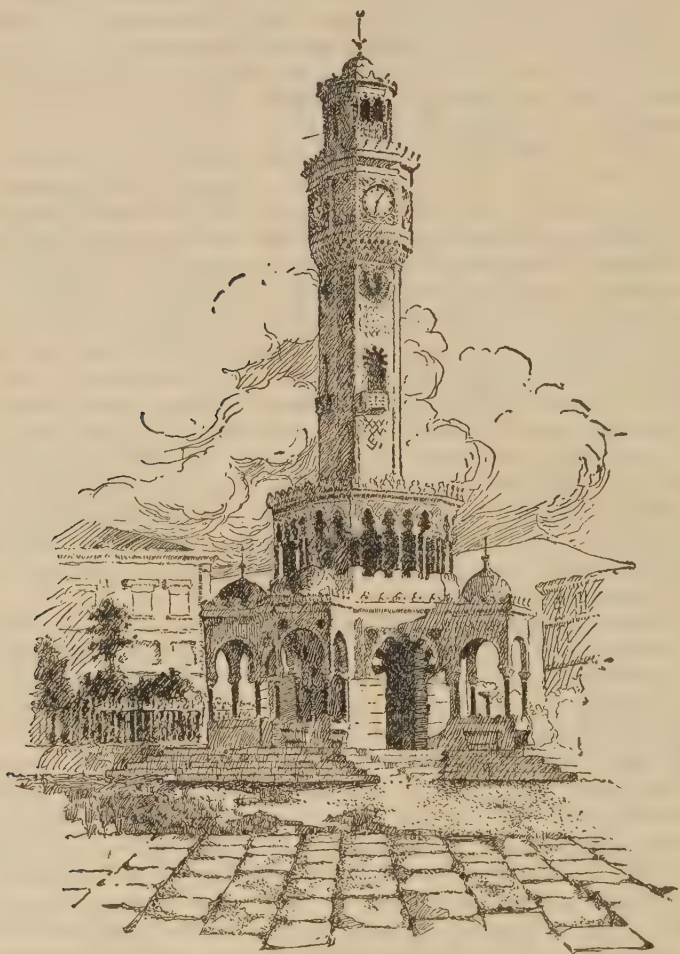
Before the war broke out the sultan Abdul-Aziz had paid for his many follies by the forfeit of his throne and life. He perished by his own hand, and his successor, Murad, an enlightened and liberal-minded prince, proving incapable of holding the reins of government by reason of physical infirmities, was deposed in favour of the eldest member of the Osman family, Prince Abdul-Hamid, who has piloted Turkey through the transition from the nineteenth century to the twentieth.

In the sultan Abdul-Hamid Turkey unquestionably possesses one of the ablest rulers who have ever occupied the throne of the Ottoman Empire. His intellectual capacity, his enormous power of work, and his restless energy might have done good service to his country under any circumstances whatever, had they not been neutralised to a great extent by his personal qualities. What the present sultan of Turkey chiefly lacks is personal courage, and, as a result of this defect, he reposes no confidence in the persons who surround him nor in his officers of state. This is the cause of the vacillation patent in his actions and of his constant terror of secret attacks upon his life and throne. In the hope of obviating these dangers his rule has assumed the character of most rigid autocracy and absolutism; he desires to be the sole authority in all affairs of political and social life, to settle single-handed the most trivial matters and the weightiest political questions of the hour; and by attempting to control and despatch the details of the administration of his still extensive dominions and of Turkish foreign policy, he has naturally deprived the chief organs of government of all initiative and executive authority and the Sublime Porte of any prestige it possessed.

It is obvious that the melancholy consequences of such centralisation and rigid autocracy must soon make themselves felt in every branch of the administration and of public life. Such a herculean task is too heavy a burden for the shoulders of any man. Confusion and disorder have assumed gigantic proportions, and financial embarrassment, that old source of evil in Turkey, has greatly increased. Thus we can easily understand how the civil magistrates and the army have been left unpaid for months together, how the fleet has gone utterly to wrack and ruin, how trade and commerce have stagnated, whilst poverty, misery, and despair gained ground among all classes of the population. Never has the outlook in Turkey been so gloomy and deplorable as to-day. In the capital a garrison of some few thousand men is kept in good condition to serve as a show-piece, but in the provinces the army is miserably neglected, and betrays its disaffection by insubordination, whilst the civil officials can only eke out a scanty livelihood by corruption and speculation. Of all these evils the sultan, who never leaves his palace, is either wholly ignorant or imperfectly informed, and the rivalry of the great powers of Europe is solely responsible for the fact that, amidst these frightful symptoms of anarchy, the catastrophe predicted centuries ago has not yet overtaken the Ottoman Empire.

This melancholy state of things has come to pass, as all the world knows, by successive degrees in the course of the nineteenth century, and as the disorder of the home government increased the various outlying provinces, which had been held within the empire only by the prestige of its past, have grad-

ually broken away from it. Some of them have become autonomous states under the protection of the western powers, others have passed under the ostensible suzerainty or into the occupation of neighbouring states. Greece took the lead, and was followed by Moldavia and Wallachia, now united under the name of Rumania, and the kingdom of Servia. Then came the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the creation of the principality of Bulgaria, the occupation of Egypt by the English, and finally the



MONUMENT TO THE SULTAN AT SMYRNA

cession of large tracts of territory to Russia, Greece, and Montenegro. In the course of the nineteenth century Turkey lost more than half of her possessions, and the process of attrition has not yet come to an end. The Armenians, encouraged by the success of their co-religionists, are now bent on securing the independence of their country, and whilst internecine quarrels in Macedonia and among the Albanians bid fair to put an end to Ottoman rule in European Turkey, the Arabs are disposed to make an attempt to rid themselves of the obnoxious Turk. Thus danger looms large from all quar-

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ters, everywhere the sword of Damocles hangs over Ottoman rule, and if, at the opening of the twentieth century, we endeavour to draw inferences as to the future continuance of the Ottoman Empire from a consideration of the causes of this deplorable decline, we shall find ourselves forced, as impartial observers, to the following conclusions.

Religious and racial animosity—from which the Christian West is no more exempt than Moslem or Buddhist Asia—have ascribed the decay of Turkey partly to the Mohammedan religion and partly to the characteristics of the Ural-Altaic race. This assumption is radically false, and anyone who seriously studies the reform movement in Turkey will presently arrive at the conclusion that the fault lies elsewhere altogether. The history of the Middle Ages sufficiently proves that Islam does not take up a hostile attitude towards intellectual aspirations, learning, or enlightenment, and Gibbon, Draper, and others have borne witness to the fact. Islam says, "Seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave," and "Seek learning, though it were far hence in China," and there are many other pithy sayings which show that the teaching of Mohammed is far more favourable than Christianity to scientific inquiry. No less erroneous is the statement that Islam promotes absolutism, autocracy, and the arbitrary exercise of the sovereign power; there is no other religion so democratic in character, nor has the sovereign power ever been circumscribed to the same extent as by the maxims of the teaching of Mohammed. Again, with regard to the capacity of the Turkish race, western criticism is grossly mistaken. I have known Turkey from personal observation for half a century, and the pamphlet, *La Turquie d'aujourd'hui et d'avant quarante ans*, which I published at Paris in 1898, can leave the reader in no doubt as to the aptitude and desire of the Turkish nation for reform. In the matter of general education the Turks have made extraordinary progress of late. The number of illiterate persons has vastly decreased, the Turkish language has laid aside the clumsiness which used to constitute a barrier to the appreciation of literary productions by the general public, and both *belles-lettres* and scientific literature have adapted themselves, in form and substance, to the occidental spirit in a fashion without parallel in Moslem countries. At the present day the press is influential in Turkey, though unhappily too often gagged by the censorship, and not novels alone, but scientific works are translated from European languages. The system of education, in particular, has been greatly improved, the number of primary and secondary schools grows larger every year, and the public service draws its supply of officials, engineers, and medical men from native sources. The government would fain check the rapid advance of the country on the lines of European manners and customs, but brisk and constant intercourse with the West is a force stronger than all the irades and firmans of a court that looks back regretfully to the good old times.

It is not the religion nor the character of the people, but wholly and solely the absolutist and rigidly autocratic form of government, which is to blame for the backward state of the nation up to this time and for its present decline. What profit is there in the culture of the few, when the vast majority, fast bound in the fetters of Asiatic conservatism, are incapable of challenging the prerogatives of a sovereign they reverence as divine? If the Turks were allowed time and leisure to emancipate themselves, under the protection of the growing enlightenment, from the bonds of despotic government, the wholesome rays of the sun of liberty could more readily and rapidly bring about the change from the old world to the new. But such a metamorphosis by no means suits the greed and lust of gain of the western powers, and

therefore the cabinets of Europe have never extended to the sorely tried people of Turkey the help demanded by the dictates of humanity. We espouse the cause of the Christians, forgetting that the Moslems have to suffer even more from the yoke of tyranny.

Nothing would be simpler than to force the sultan to introduce reforms by a joint fiat from the powers. Unfortunately nothing of the sort has yet been done. The worse confusion grows confounded in Turkey, the keener are the hopes of her greedy neighbours. The regeneration of Turkey is not yet utterly beyond hope, if Europe were seriously disposed to prevent the outbreak of the great war which would be likely to follow on the heels of a collapse of the Ottoman Empire. All that Turkey would have to do would be to concentrate her forces, by casting off the foreign elements in Europe and establishing a new centre in Asia Minor, where she commands more than twelve millions of Turks. The twentieth century would then witness the rise of a power in the near East which could act as the fittest agent of European civilisation in Mohammedan countries, in virtue of its inherent aptitude for government and the prestige of its spiritual headship of the greater part of the Islamite world. In this way, and in this way alone, can the spectre of the "Eastern Question," which has kept Europe busy for centuries, be successfully laid.



THE TURKISH EMPIRE

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter] .

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CHAPTER II. PERIOD OF AGGREGATION (1200-1520 A.D.)

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CHAPTER III. MERIDIAN AND BEGINNING OF DECLINE (1520-1656 A.D.)

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CHAPTER IV. REVIVAL FOLLOWED BY RAPID DECLINE (1656-1807 A.D.)

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF TURKEY

PERIOD OF AGGRANDISEMENT

Early in the thirteenth century A.D. a little Turkish tribe, being driven from its home in central Asia, enters Armenia under Suleiman Shah. His son Ertoghrul helps Seljuk against Mongols, and in return is given land on the Byzantine frontier.

A.D.

- 1258 Osman, the son of Ertoghrul and the prince who gave his name to the Ottoman dynasty, is born. Whilst young he wins territory from the Greeks, of which Seljuk Sultan gives him the title of bey or prince.
- 1288 Ertoghrul dies, and is succeeded by **Osman**.
- 1300 Seljuk Empire falls before Mongols. The Turkish dynasties arise on its ruins, which principalities eventually become merged in that of Osman.
- 1301 Osman coins money and causes public prayer to be read in his name. This marks birth of Ottoman Empire. Osman establishes his capital at Yenisher and proceeds to extend his dominions.
- 1326 Brusa capitulates to Orkhan, son of Osman, after a siege of eight years.
- 1328 Osman dies, and is succeeded by **Orkhan**, who conquers many towns from the Greeks.
- 1330 Nicæa surrenders.
- 1336 Pergamum, capital of Mysia, is added to Ottoman dominions. For twenty years there is peace, in which military and civil organisation is completed. Janissary corps is instituted at this time.
- 1358 Suleiman, son of Orkhan, occupies first Ottoman stronghold in Europe (Tzympe). He dies in the same year.
- 1359 Orkhan dies, and is succeeded by **Murad I**. He extends his dominions in Europe.
- 1364 Murad defeats king of Hungary and Poland and princes of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia on banks of Maritza.
- 1389 Battle of Kosovo. Murad defeats united forces of Servia, Bosnia, Hungary, Albania, and Wallachia. After the battle, Murad is assassinated by a Servian. His son, **Bayazid I**, succeeds and immediately kills his brother.
- 1392 Mircea of Wallachia submits to Turks.
- 1396 Battle of Nikopoli. Christian forces under Sigismund of Hungary, with French and German knights, are again completely defeated by Sultan Bayazid.
- 1400 Bayazid is called away from an attack upon Constantinople by advance of Timur the Tatar.
- 1402 Battle of Angora. Bayazid is defeated and taken captive by Tatars.
- 1403 Bayazid dies in captivity. His four sons fight for what is left of his kingdom; after ten years **Muhammed I** is finally successful. He makes peace with his northern neighbors and restores internal organisation of country.
- 1421 Muhammed I dies, and is succeeded by his son **Murad II**.
- 1442 Hunyady defeats a Turkish army at Hermannstadt.

- 1443 Battle of Nish. Turks are completely routed by Christian allies under Hunyady, who crosses Balkans in pursuit. Murad signs treaty for ten years, and abdicates in favour of his son **Muhammed II**.
- 1444 Christians break treaty. Murad returns and defeats them at Varna. Murad again resigns, but returns on account of revolt of janissaries and spahis.
- 1451 Murad dies, and **Muhammed II** ascends throne for third time.
- 1453 Muhammed captures Constantinople. He also overthrows Wallachian ruler, Vlad the Impaler, and reduces Servia and Bosnia.
- 1454 Knights of Rhodes refuse to pay tribute, and expedition against them is unsuccessful.
- 1456 Siege of Belgrade. Muhammed is repulsed by Hunyady and Giovanni di Capistrano.
- 1460 Muhammed conquers Morea and annexes Athens.
- 1461 After repeated battles, Muhammed is obliged to recognise Scanderbeg as prince of Epirus and Albania.
- 1463 War breaks out with Venice.
- 1475 Crimea is taken by Ottomans.
- 1479 Venice concludes treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey. Greece and islands of Ægean are mainly in power of Turks.
- 1480 Ottomans storm Otranto and are defeated at Rhodes.
- 1481 Muhammed II dies, and is succeeded by his son **Bayazid II**. His younger brother Jem revolts, is defeated, and escapes to knights of Rhodes. He furnishes material for various intrigues, and finally dies in captivity after thirteen years, probably poisoned by Alexander Borgia.
- 1492 Bayazid is repulsed at Belgrade. Jews are expelled from Spain. Many seek refuge in Turkey.
- 1499 Turks fight with Venetians. Ottoman fleet first begins to be formidable.
- 1500 Turks take Lepanto, Modon, Coron, and Durazzo from Venetians.
- 1502 Venice makes peace with Turkey.
- 1512 Bayazid is forced by janissaries to abdicate in favour of his third son **Selim I**, who kills his brother and nephews. Moldavia becomes tributary to him.
- 1514 Selim marches against Persians and defeats them.
- 1516 Selim subjugates Syria and Palestine. Wallachia pays tribute of children.
- 1517 Egyptian campaign. Selim conquers mameluke sultans, occupies Cairo, and assumes title of Caliph.

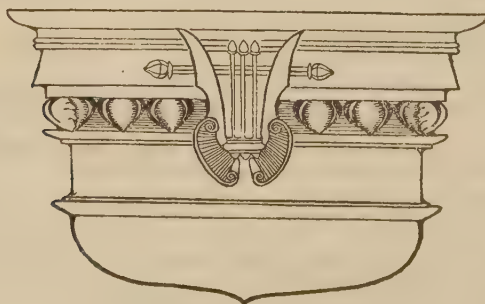
TURKEY AT ZENITH OF POWER

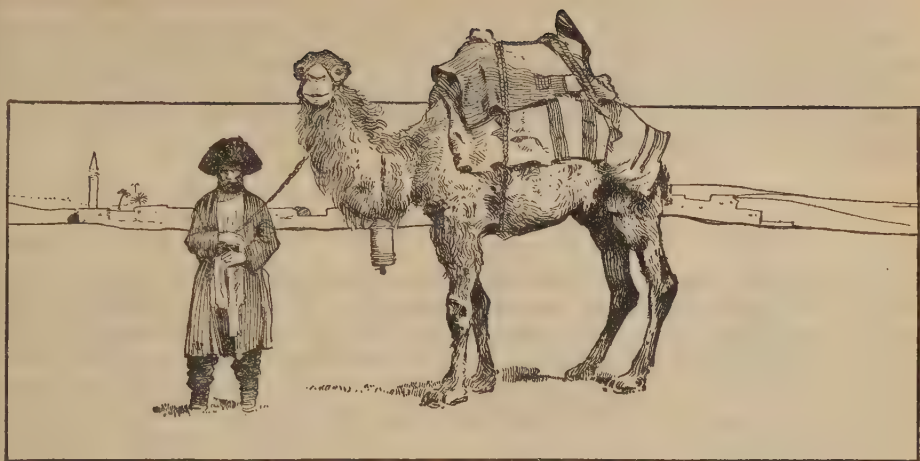
- 1520 Selim dies, and is succeeded by his son **Suleiman I**, called the Magnificent, under whom the Ottoman Empire reaches summit of its grandeur.
- 1521 Belgrade conquered by Turks.
- 1522 Rhodes is besieged and taken by Suleiman.
- 1526 Battle of Mohacs, in which king of Hungary is defeated. Hungary becomes Ottoman province.
- 1529 Suleiman appears before Vienna, but is repulsed after protracted siege.
- 1532 Suleiman returns to Vienna, but does not care to risk a battle with Charles V.
- 1533 Peace is made at Constantinople.
- 1535 Treaty is made between Franks and Turkey. Turkish navy is supreme in Mediterranean.
- 1540 Suleiman concludes treaty of peace with Vienna.
- 1541 Suleiman leads ninth campaign into Hungary.
- 1547 Truce is declared for five years.
- 1565 Suleiman repulsed at Malta.
- 1566 Suleiman dies while aiding his vassal in Hungary. He is succeeded by his son **Selim II**. In his reign occurs first conflict between Turks and Russians.
- 1569 Turks are repulsed before Astrakhan.
- 1570 Arabia is reduced by Sinan Pasha. Sultan is prayed for in Mecca.
- 1571 Turks capture Cyprus; battle of Lepanto, in which Turks are beaten by Christians.
- 1573 Don John of Austria takes Tunis.
- 1574 Tunis is won for Turks by Sinan Pasha. In the same year Selim dies, and is succeeded by his son **Murad III**. His reign is marked by internal corruption, the conquest of Azerbaijan and Georgia, and revolt in the Balkans.
- 1593 War breaks out between Turkey and Austria. First commercial treaty between Turkey and England.
- 1594 War resumed with Persia. Murad dies, and is succeeded by his son **Muhammed III**.
- 1596 Battle of Keresztes. Turks defeat allied forces of Austria and Transylvania.
- 1603 Muhammed dies, and is succeeded by his son **Ahmed I**.
- 1606 Peace of Sitavorok between Turkey and Austria.

- 1617 Ahmed dies, and is succeeded by his brother **Mustapha I**, who is an imbecile, and who is deposed after three months. He is succeeded by **Osman II**, son of Ahmed.
- 1619 Peace is concluded with shah of Persia. Janissaries revolt.
- 1622 Osman is murdered, and Mustapha is again raised to the throne, but only for fifteen months.
- 1623 **Murad IV**, son of Osman II, succeeds to throne. He introduces reforms and marches against Persians.
- 1635 Murad conquers Erivan.
- 1638 Murad recaptures Baghdad. Peace is made with Persia, in which Erivan is restored to the latter; Turkey retains Baghdad.
- 1640 Murad dies, aged only twenty-eight, and is succeeded by **Ibrahim I**. In his reign Azov is captured and Crete occupied.
- 1648 Ibrahim is forcibly deposed, and succeeded by his son **Muhammed IV**.
- 1656 Köprili Muhammed is made grand vizir.
- 1661 Muhammed dies, and is succeeded as vizir by his son Köprili Ahmed, who is virtually sultan.
- 1664 Turks are defeated by Austrians; truce of twenty years follows.
- 1669 Candia (Crete) surrenders to Turkish arms. Treaty of peace between Turkey and Vienna. Foundation of official power of Fanariots.
- 1670 Maina is subjugated.
- 1672 Michael of Poland surrenders Podolia and Ukraine to Turkey.
- 1673 Poles under Sobieski defeat Turks.
- 1676 Treaty of Zurawno with Poland. Sultan retains his possessions.
- 1683 Siege of Vienna by Kara Mustapha. After two months city is relieved by Sobieski.
- 1684 War breaks out with Venice.
- 1686 Buda is retaken by Austrians.
- 1687 Athens is taken by Venetians. Parthenon is destroyed by explosion. Turks are defeated at Mohacs and Muhammed IV is deposed. He is succeeded by his brother **Suleiman II**.
- 1689 Austrians take Belgrade. Nearly all Turkish possessions north of Danube have been lost. Venetians are defeated at Negropont. Köprili Mustapha is made grand vizir. He drives Austrians out of Servia and retakes Belgrade.
- 1691 Suleiman dies, and is succeeded by his brother, **Ahmed II**.
- 1695 Ahmed dies, and is succeeded by **Mustapha II**, son of Muhammed IV. He at first defeats Austrians.
- 1697 Battle of Zenta. Prince Eugene at head of Austrians defeats Ottomans.
- 1699 Peace of Karlowitz. Turkey makes peace with Russia, Austria, Venice, and Poland.
- 1703 Mustapha abdicates in favour of his brother **Ahmed III**.
- 1711 War breaks out with Russia, in which Turks are successful. Treaty of the Pruth.
- 1715 Vizir Ali Pasha wins back Morea from Venice.
- 1716 Fanariot rule in Wallachia is begun.
- 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz, after Prince Eugene has captured Belgrade. Austria acquires the rest of Hungary and large portions of Servia and Wallachia.
- 1720 Treaty of perpetual peace with Russia.
- 1730 Ahmed abdicates in consequence of an insurrection, and is succeeded by his nephew, **Mahmud I**.
- 1736 War with Persia comes to an end, in a peace disadvantageous to Turkey. War with Russia begins. Austria joins Russia. Marshal Munich's campaigns.
- 1739 Treaty of Belgrade restores to Turkey territory in Servia and Wallachia lost in 1718. Russia also makes peace on moderate terms.
- 1754 Mahmud dies, and is followed by his brother, **Osman III**.
- 1757 Mahmud's son **Mustapha III** comes to the throne.
- 1761 First treaty between Turkey and Prussia.
- 1767 War is declared upon Russia.
- 1770 Russians conquer Moldavia and Wallachia and land troops in the Morea. Greeks revolt. Turkish fleet is burned at Tchesme by Russians.
- 1771 Russians conquer Crimea.
- 1773 Mustapha IV is succeeded by his brother **Abdul-Hamid**.
- 1774 Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji is signed with Russia under unfavourable conditions to Turkey. From this time dates Russia's claim to protect Christian subjects of the Porte.
- 1783 Russia annexes the Crimea.
- 1788 Porte again declares war on Russia. Austria joins Russia. The latter is successful at Otechakov.
- 1789 Turkish armies are defeated by Russians in Moldavia and by Austrians south of Danube. Abdul-Hamid dies, and is succeeded by his nephew.
- 1792 War concluded by Treaty of Jassy.
- 1798 Napoleon's invasion of Egypt leads Porte to join coalition against France.
- 1799 Turkish army is destroyed by Napoleon at Abukir.

- 1800 Turks are defeated by French general, Kleber, at Heliopolis. Egypt is eventually taken from French by English and restored to Turkey. Russia, in fear of France, joins Turkey to reconquer Ionian Islands. Establishment of Ionian republics.
- 1804 Servians drive the janissaries out of the country and demand Servian troops for garrisons.
- 1805 Napoleon's envoy prevails on sultan to dismiss rulers in Wallachia and Moldavia, and in consequence Russia occupies these principalities.
- 1807 Selim, who has given dissatisfaction to janissaries by his reforms, by his new troops modelled on European plan, and by his French sympathies, is dethroned and succeeded by his nephew, **Mustapha IV**. Truce between armies on the Danube follows Treaty of Tilsit.
- 1808 Mustapha is deposed, and succeeded by his younger brother, **Mahmud II**. He is forced to submit to demands of janissaries.
- 1809 War again breaks out with Russia.
- 1812 Treaty of Bukharest is signed with Russia, chiefly through intervention of England. Bessarabia is ceded to Russia.
- 1820 Mahmud attacks Ali Pasha of Janina, who has revolted in Albania. This gives signal for insurrection in the Morea.
- 1821 Greek war breaks out. Greeks are at first everywhere successful.
- 1822 Independence of Greece is proclaimed. Turks take vengeance for damage to their fleet by massacring the inhabitants of Chios.
- 1824 Mehemet Ali of Egypt sends army to the Peloponnesus under his son Ibrahim in response to call of sultan. He is generally successful.
- 1827 Turks capture Athens in June. In July, England, Russia, and France sign a treaty at London to stop war in the East. Turkey rejects mediation of powers, and in consequence battle of Navarino is fought in October. Turco-Egyptian fleet is destroyed.
- 1828 Russia declares war on Turkey.
- 1829 Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey. Mahmud is induced by false information to surrender.
- 1831 Egyptian army under Ibrahim begins conquest of Syria. Turks routed on Orontes, and at pass of Beilan.
- 1832 Greece becomes independent under King Otto of Bavaria. Ibrahim conquers last Turkish army at Konieh.
- 1833 Peace made with Mehemet Ali through mediation of France. Egypt receives Syria. Treaty of alliance is signed between Turkey and Russia. Western powers refuse to recognise it, and both France and England try to break Russian influence. France becomes patron of Mehemet Ali.
- 1839 Mahmud marches against Ibrahim and is defeated at Nizib. Turkish fleet surrenders to Mehemet Ali at Alexandria. Mahmud dies in same year, and is succeeded by his son **Abdul-Mejid**. On November 3rd he issues an organic statute of government, called the hatti-sherif of Gulhane.
- 1841 Four European powers without sanction of France sign treaty confining Mehemet Ali to his Egyptian possession under suzerainty of sultan. Anglo-Austrian fleet is sent to aid Turkey in reducing Mehemet to submission. He is now recognised as hereditary ruler of Egypt.
- 1843 Remodelling of military force of empire is completed.
- 1848 Revolution breaks out in Wallachia and Moldavia, and Russian troops occupy country until 1850.
- 1849 Sultan refuses to give up defeated Hungarian chiefs who have sought refuge with him.
- 1853 War with Russia breaks out. Russian armies occupy Wallachia and Moldavia. Porte declares war.
- 1854 Siege of Silistria. Russians are repeatedly repulsed. In September occurs expedition to Crimea. Turkey is supported by England and France.
- 1855 Allies capture Sebastopol after nearly a year's siege.
- 1856 March 30th, Treaty of Paris is signed by ministers of France, England, Russia, Turkey, Sardinia, Austria, and Prussia. This treaty recognises the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; regulates military status of Bosphorus, Dardanelles, and Black Sea; provides for Christian subjects of sultan. Porte publishes hatti-humayun.
- 1860 Disturbances break out in Syria. French army restores order.
- 1861 Abdul-Mejid dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Abdul-Aziz**. This sultan visits London and Paris in company with his two nephews.
- 1870 Russia repudiates neutrality of Black Sea as declared in Treaty of Paris, and England acquiesces.
- 1875 Bosnia and Herzegovina revolt. Turkish treasury is declared insolvent.
- 1876 Abdul-Aziz is deposed, and dies, probably by his own hand. **Murad V**, son of Abdul-Mejid, is raised to the throne; but he is incapable of ruling, and after three months is succeeded by his brother, **Abdul-Hamid II**. Bulgaria revolts; massacres perpetrated by Turkish soldiers arouse Christian nations. Serbia and Montenegro take up arms,

- 1877 Conference of powers is held at Constantinople. Porte rejects its proposals and promulgates a liberal constitution. In April, Russia declares war. In December, Plevna falls, after brave defence by Osman Pasha.
- 1878 Russian general, Gourko, crosses Balkans and occupies Sofia. Sultan prorogues parliament and suspends constitution. Peace is concluded in March, at San Stefano: England refuses her assent, and in June treaty is revised at Berlin. Turkey loses large part of her European possessions.
- 1885 By a popular movement, Eastern Rumelia is united with Bulgaria. Said Pasha, grand vizir for over six years, resigns, and Kiamil Pasha takes his place.
- 1890 First Armenian manifestation takes place. Sultan uses this pretext for abrogating privileges of Armenians.
- 1893 Kiamil's ministry falls and Djevad Pasha becomes grand vizir. Policy towards England is changed to coolness; Kiamil's friendly policy towards Germany is continued.
- 1894 Armenian massacres occur at Sasun. England, France, and Russia insist on international commission of inquiry.
- 1895 Powers present identical note demanding reforms. Sultan refuses reforms and makes Said grand vizir. September 30th, Armenian "Hunchak" revolutionists make demonstration in Constantinople. Many Armenians are killed. Said is dismissed and Kiamil reinstated. Other massacres occur in different parts of empire. Kiamil is dismissed and Khalil Rifaat Pasha becomes vizir.
- 1896 Insurrection breaks out in Crete. Second Armenian massacre in Constantinople occurs. Many Armenians leave the country.
- 1897 War breaks out between Turkey and Greece in consequence of Cretan troubles. Turkey is victorious.
- 1898 France, England, Italy, and Russia, acting together, force sultan to evacuate Crete. Prince George of Greece is appointed high commissioner. William II visits Constantinople.
- 1899 Germany gets concession for railroad to Baghdad.
- 1902 Uprising in Macedonia.
- 1903 Massacres in Macedonia.
- 1904 Gendarmes in Macedonia put under foreign officers. Massacres in Armenia.
- 1905 International naval demonstration against Turkey.
1906. Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula occupied by Turkish troops, who are subsequently withdrawn at the demand of the British government. The Porte agrees to certain financial reforms.
- 1907 Railway developments. Lord Cromer resigns (April) as British agent in Egypt, and is succeeded by Sir Eldon Gorst, May 16th.





BOOK IV

SOME MINOR STATES

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF MEDLÆVAL AND MODERN EGYPT

THE dynasty of the Ayubites, founded by the great Saladin, had been overturned in 1250, and the power fell into the hands of the mamelukes (*mameluk* in Arabic means slave). From that time the chiefs of this military order bore the title of sultan (*soudan*) of Egypt. At the time of that revolution the mamelukes were recruited chiefly from Turks of Kiptchak or from slaves carried off by the Turks in southern Russia. The chiefs who rose from their ranks to the degree of royalty formed the succession of sultans called Baharites. This dynasty reigned from 1309 to 1381. It was replaced by the succession of mameluke sultans called Tcherkess (Circassians); for at that time the military order was chiefly recruited from slaves purchased in Circassia.

The mameluke army owned, governed, and exploited Egypt as if it had been its own property. The native *jellah* toiled to provide for the expenses of the court and of the royal harem, as well as for the luxury of the army. Egypt and Syria were prey to a stratocracy, as the regency of Algiers was later, with this difference, that the mamelukes were a cavalry corps. This cavalry, moreover, was the bravest in the Ottoman world, as it was also the most magnificently equipped in horses, in valuable arms, in sumptuous vestments, and in jewels. The beys or emirs who commanded the troops were twenty-four in number; the generalissimo was called *emir al-kebir*. Besides the beys of the army there were twenty-four more who governed the provinces, twelve of whom were for Egypt and the same number for Syria.

Many of the mameluke sultans were good governors; they signed advantageous treaties of commerce, and were distinguished by their taste for science, poetry, and the arts. They embellished Cairo with superb mosques, such as the Jami al-Mouïeb, founded by Sheikh al-Mahmudi (died in 1421); the Jami al-Ashrafieh, founded by Ashraf Barsebai (1423); and the mosque al-Ghurieh, founded by Kansu al-Ghuri.

WAR BETWEEN SELIM I AND THE MAMELUKES (1516 A.D.)

It was under Kansu al-Ghuri that the conflict with the Ottomans took place. This conflict had long seemed inevitable. The first war between the two Moslem states broke out under Bayazid II. Kansu at the beginning of Selim's reign committed the same imprudence as the shah, giving asylum to Prince Korkud and furnishing him support. When Selim made war upon Persia, Egypt assumed a hostile attitude; after the conquest of Mesopotamia Kansu placed an army of observation upon the northern frontier of Syria. Two of his beys had already plotted to betray him—Khair Bey, governor of Aleppo, and Berdi Ghazali, bey of the army. Kansu met the Ottomans at Marj-Dabik, near Aleppo, on August 24th, 1516. The Egyptians were defeated, thanks to the action of the artillery, which terrified them, and owing also to the defection of the *djelbans*, or mamelukes, bought in the Sudan. The resistance was so feeble that the Egyptians did not lose more than a thousand men. The rest dispersed like a flock of birds. Aleppo was surrendered by the traitor Khair Bey, and the sultan, on the "Blue Place" of the city, received the oath of allegiance. Afterwards Malatia, Behesni, Aintab, Kalat ar-Rum, and all the frontier places of the mamelukes fell into the hands of the Ottomans. Selim made his entry successively into Hamath (ancient Epiphania), Homs (Emesa), and Damascus, the holy city, the "perfume of Paradise," which preserves the tombs of the first disciples and of the wives of the prophet, of Saladin, and of many Moslem saints and heroes. Finally Gaza and Ramleh opened their gates to the enemy.

In the mean time the mamelukes had elected a successor to Kansu; this was the brave and energetic Tuman Bey. Selim I, who hesitated to cross the desert, sent ambassadors to the new Sudan with offers of peace on condition that he would recognise his suzerainty. Tuman received them with honour, but as they were leaving the audience Alan Bey fell upon them and beheaded them. Thus the anarchy which prevailed among the mamelukes did not permit them either to make war effectively or to treat for peace. A second battle was fought near Gaza (October 28th, 1516) between the Egyptians and the Turkish vanguard commanded by Sinan Pasha. The mamelukes were again crushed by the artillery. The sultan then received the chiefs of Safed, Tiberias, Naplouse, Hebron, and Jerusalem, and the submission of the sheikhs of the Arab tribes. Only Acre remained standing in Syria; Egypt was open to invasion.

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT (1517 A.D.)

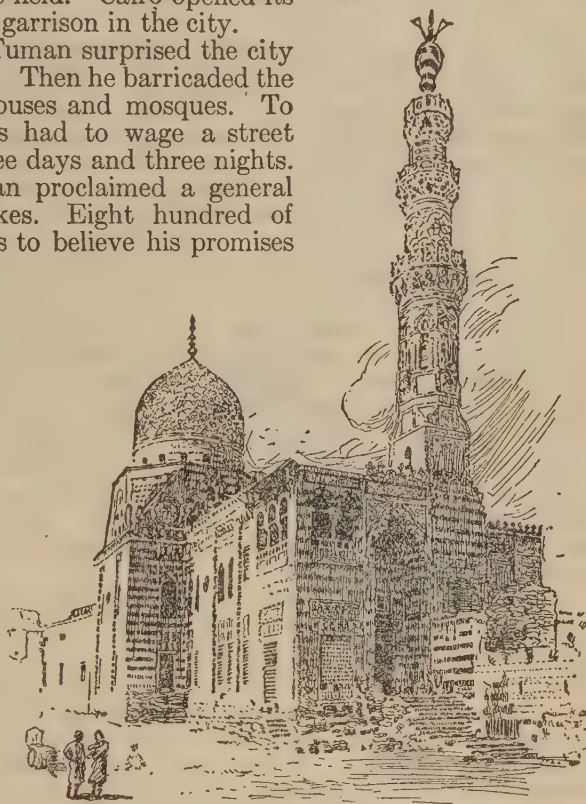
On January 22nd, 1517, Selim camped on the plain of Ridania in sight of Cairo. This time the Egyptians had some artillery, but the traitors Khair Bey and Berdi Ghazali showed the sultan a way to turn the batteries. Tuman, however, by force of pure bravery almost won the victory; he had

[1517 A.D.]

made an agreement with two of his beys that at the head of a number of picked mamelukes, covered with coats of mail, they should charge straight upon the sultan and take him dead or alive. Such was the impetuosity of their attack that they reached the standards of the Porte; but there they mistook the grand vizir Sinan Pasha for the sultan and killed him. The Turkish artillery for the third time decided the victory; twenty-five thousand mamelukes remained on the field. Cairo opened its gates and the sultan put a garrison in the city.

Seven days afterwards Tuman surprised the city and massacred its garrison. Then he barricaded the streets and fortified the houses and mosques. To regain Cairo the Ottomans had to wage a street battle, which lasted for three days and three nights. After the victory the sultan proclaimed a general amnesty for the mamelukes. Eight hundred of them were so imprudent as to believe his promises and were decapitated on Rumeila Place. Fifty thousand of the inhabitants were massacred. However, Tuman resisted bravely on the river above Cairo and won a naval victory on the Nile. Harassed by this war, Selim once again proposed peace, offering the same conditions as heretofore; again his envoy was massacred. Selim replied to this violation of justice by executing three thousand prisoners. The resistance might have been prolonged if Tuman had not had the imprudence to return to the Delta. He was tracked by the traitor Ghazali, abandoned by the Bedouins on whose support he had counted, surrounded by Selim and all his generals, and finally delivered up by the Arab Hassan Meri, to whose hospitality he had trusted. "God be praised!" exclaimed Selim, on learning of this capture, "now Egypt is conquered."

Egypt preserved almost intact its old organisation, including its mameluke army and its twenty-four beys. The latter, however, were subordinated to a pasha who resided in the citadel of Cairo. The first pasha was the traitor Khair Bey. The conquest of Egypt assured to Selim the possession of its dependency Yemen. Selim then became in reality the "servitor of the holy cities." He had discovered at Cairo a sheikh, a poor devil called al-Mustansir b'Illah, who was none other than the eighteenth caliph of the second branch of the Abbassides. Selim laid hands on him and did not give him his liberty until he had signed a deed by which, in return for some money and a pension, al-Mustansir ceded to him all the rights of the caliphate. He then added



MOSQUE AND TOMB OF KAIT-BEY, CAIRO

this title to his other titles; but the caliph was now no longer an old needy sheikh; he was at the head of the most powerful army Islam has ever possessed.^b From that day Islam has had only one head, uniting under his authority all political and religious rights. This head is the sultan of Constantinople.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE COUNTRY

After this important act Selim organised the government of his new province. Egypt became a pashalik, the chief official of which was Khair Bey, whose defection at the battle of Marj-Dabik had involved the fall of the mameluke dynasty. The sultan, however, only half trusting a man who had already perjured himself, and with a view to present as well as to future interests, established beside him powers which would control and balance his. It was a see-saw government with a system of counter-weights. The pasha was intrusted with the main executive, the appointment of all superior orders, and the hierarchic pre-eminence over all officials. Beside him was a military chief, Khair ad-din, an officer in the Ottoman army who resided in the citadel and was expressly commanded never to go out of it. Under this chief, not under the pasha, were placed the six thousand horsemen and six thousand gunners who composed the entire permanent military force of Egypt. This troop was divided into six corps, or *odjaks*. The chiefs of the *odjaks* played an important part in the administration. Without them the pasha could decide nothing important; and when a disagreement arose between these military authorities and the political functionary, decision was suspended until Constantinople had spoken. As a mixed power there existed, moreover, the mameluke emirs, who vacillated continually, thus keeping their forces balanced.

Selim, in order to avoid internal struggles, had in the reorganisation of Egypt given a rôle to these emirs. The country was divided into twelve *sandjaks*, or districts, and had for *sandjaklis*, or beys, the chiefs of the mamelukes who had made their submission. Thus, because of the complication of the machinery, Egypt was inevitably given over to struggles between high dignitaries, whose arrogance was co-extensive with their power. Selim had foreseen the situation; he had indeed encouraged these dissensions, because he felt that their tendency was to strengthen and consolidate his authority in these distant possessions. When he had promulgated a constitution he left Cairo and returned to Rumelia. The sultan's escort on this journey is said to have consisted of a thousand camels laden with gold and silver, without counting other spoils not less precious.

The administration of Khair Bey was not a happy one for Egypt. It was one of exaction and odious meanness, and such was the hatred he inspired that he was not pardoned even when dead. Popular superstition said that in al-Medresse al-Khair Beyi, the college which the pasha had founded and in which he had been buried, a voice was heard groaning every night and that it was the voice of Khair Bey. He died in the year 1522; meanwhile Suleiman had succeeded Selim. Egypt occupied the first place in Suleiman's thoughts. The new ruler completed—to speak metaphorically—the system of counter-weights created by Selim I, and added a new wheel to the established machinery—that of two divans, one called the “great,” the other the “little” Divan. These deliberative assemblies regulated almost the whole administration of the country; their sphere of influence was independent of the pasha, who was not permitted to be present at the debates except in a

[1522-1798 A.D.]

barred gallery and behind a curtain. The *kiahya* and the *defterdar* of the governor consulted with the pasha before the opening of the session and delivered to him afterwards a report of the proceedings. The rôle of the pasha was thus purely executive; the Divan was the legislative power.

In all that Suleiman decreed one purpose was manifest: to reduce the authority of his first functionary in Egypt to a purely nominal value. The pasha was ordered henceforth to reside in the citadel, where he was under the hand of the aga who commanded there. The term of his office was limited to twelve months, at the end of which his functions legally ended unless through an imperial firman he was installed for a second term.^c

If the object of the Ottoman sultans in establishing such a dualistic and complicated system of government had been to cause party strife and thus prevent any one power from becoming too strong, they certainly succeeded. The history of this period is one long succession of murder and intrigue; and governors followed one another in rapid succession; under Suleiman I there were sixteen. The mamelukes who were in authority at this time were called *ghuzz*; they continued to recruit their ranks from slaves. During the two centuries, however, following the Ottoman conquest the power of the mameluke beys gradually increased until under Ali Bey it became independent. Ali Bey had become *sheikh al-beled* or military governor of the province in 1763; in 1768, discovering that the sultan had ordered him deposed and beheaded, he persuaded the mamelukes to join with him in driving out the pasha appointed by the sultan and in making Egypt independent. The rebellion was successful, and Egypt enjoyed a period of prosperity under Ali Bey, who even extended his power by conquests in Syria and Arabia. Prosperity did not long continue, however; in 1771 Muhammed Bey, who had been his favourite mameluke, rebelled against him and with the aid of Ali's enemies drove him out of the country and himself became *sheikh al-beled*. Ali, upon trying to effect a return, was captured and poisoned by Muhammed. A turbulent period followed Muhammed's death; the position of *sheikh al-beled* was disputed by the three beys, Ismail, Ibrahim, and Murad, and the power was finally divided between the last two. In 1785 a Turkish force under Hassan Pasha was sent against the rebellious beys and occupied Cairo, but the war with Russia recalled this force, and the country was ruled first by Ismail and then by Ibrahim and Murad, until, in 1798, the French under Bonaparte landed in Egypt.^a



MURAD BEY
(1750-1801)

THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT (1798 A.D.)

The defeats of the Turks, the increasing disorders of their administration, the independent aspirations of Greece and Servia, the incessant revolts of the pashas—everything led Europe to believe in the near end of the Ottoman

domination. The Directory judged it advisable not only to have its share in the dismemberment of the empire, but to seize that share in advance, on its own responsibility and without the participation of Europe; hence an expedition into Egypt was resolved upon. Though the expedition had presented numerous chances of success, it proved a great mistake. The Porte was easily persuaded that France had no other object than to chastise the mamelukes, to re-establish its commerce, and to find a passage to India. Had France offered money it might have obtained the concession of all its demands. The internal divisions of the mamelukes would naturally paralyse their resistance. The Christian populations would have furnished numerous auxiliaries; the emir Beshir, who commanded the Maronites and Druses, could bring together seven hundred and forty thousand men in Syria, and Egypt counted more than half a million Christians. But it would have been necessary to use as a standard the Cross, without which no expedition could succeed in the Orient, and the French republic had proscribed God! Bonaparte's soldiers respected mosques more than monasteries; at Jaffa they massacred Christians as well as Moslems: hence the Christians of Syria remained inactive.

England did not lose this opportunity to break the old alliance between the Porte and France. The rather confused explanation of Ruffin, the *chargé d'affaires*, could not convince the Divan; war was declared against France (September 1st, 1798). Ruffin was conducted to the Seven Towers, and all the French living at Constantinople were thrown into prison. Ali Pasha seized Butrinto and Prevesa, which had been ceded to France by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, whilst a Russian fleet starting from Sebastopol came to blockade the Ionian Islands. A triple alliance united Turkey, England, and Russia. The grand vizir concentrated two armies destined to expel the French from Egypt under the orders of the pashas of Syria and Anatolia. The mamelukes had been defeated in the battles of the Pyramids and of Embabeh; Cairo and the whole of upper Egypt fell into the hands of the victors. But the destruction by the English of the French fleet at Abukir deprived Bonaparte of all possibility of reinforcements; he was a prisoner in his conquered territory. Mustapha Pasha landed eighteen thousand men at Abukir to attack Bonaparte from the rear, but the rapidity of the young general's movements defeated the plans of the *serasker*. Without leaving them time to intrench themselves Bonaparte fell upon the Ottomans and cut them to pieces (1799). Following up his success he invaded Syria, and in spite of the plague which was decimating his army laid siege to Acre.

In spite of its victories, the French army was in a most critical condition: the English, masters of the sea, intercepted all communications; the grand vizir was approaching at the head of a considerable army; the French troops, reduced to less than half by battles and disease, were in addition discouraged by the departure of their commander. Bonaparte had intrusted the command to Kléber and had left secretly for France, whither the presentiment of his high destiny summoned him. Kléber entered into negotiations with the English for the evacuation of Egypt, but Sidney Smith demanded that the French army should surrender at discretion. Kléber in indignation tore up the treaty. "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "such insolence can be answered only by victories." He then marched to meet the grand vizir with six thousand men and destroyed the Turkish army near the ruins of Heliopolis (1800). But an assassin's dagger delivered the Porte of this redoubtable adversary; Menou, who succeeded him, was beaten by the English at Canopus and thereupon evacuated Egypt (September, 1801).^d

[1801-1805 A.D.]

Bonaparte's expedition into Egypt was accompanied by a large number of savants, who collected much valuable information concerning the country and its inhabitants. The results of their research have been published in a work of several volumes called *Description de l'Égypte*. During Kléber's administration Egypt began once more to be prosperous, but after his death the land was soon plunged again into the turmoils and strifes of contending parties and nations. It was during the French invasion that the famous Mehemet Ali, who was destined to play such a large part in Egyptian affairs, first came into prominence.^a

Mehemet Ali

Mehemet Ali was born in 1769 at Kavala, a little town on the Macedonian coast. Although of a good family, he had had no school education—as was the case with most young Turks of his time who belonged to the military and lower official class. However, growing up in the divan of his uncle, the *mutesellim* (vice-governor) of his native city, he developed at an early age a practical mind for business and acquired a quick comprehension of affairs, which never left him. In his young manhood he speculated with ability and fortune in Macedonian tobacco, the lucrative product of his country. This career was, however, cut short in 1799, when his uncle, in compliance with an order of the Porte, sent to Egypt, against the French invading army, a contingent of three hundred soldiers, equipped by himself and under the leadership of his young son Ali Aga, and appointed Mehemet Ali mentor for his twenty-nine-year-old cousin. It was more than a year before the Turkish military force landed in Abukir, and during that time Mehemet Ali, who was intellectually superior to his cousin, soon became the actual leader of his uncle's troop of militia. Mehemet then so distinguished himself before Rosetta, in the expedition to Cairo, and in the battle of Rachmaniyeh, that in 1801 he was promoted by the kapudan pasha the commander-in-chief of the Turkish troops, to the grade of major (*bin-bashi*), and was warmly recommended to the new Turkish governor of Egypt, Khosru Pasha.^e



MEHEMET ALI
(1769-1849)

Mehemet far exceeded Khosru in intelligence and ability, and played his cards so well that in 1805 Khosru was recalled and Mehemet Ali appointed in his place.^a But neither the Divan nor the mameluke beys who reigned in upper Egypt concealed from themselves the danger with which a new power, rising so energetically, threatened the old conditions in the province. At the same time that the beys, abandoning their personal quarrels, united

in a struggle against Mehemet Ali, the Divan despatched a fleet to drive him out of Egypt. This occurred in 1806.

Mehemet Ali, however, succeeded in turning the double attack to his own advantage. With a sum of 50,000 ducats he bribed the high admiral, who procured for him the investiture of the whole of Egypt and then threw the prestige of legality into the scale against the undertakings of the mamlukes. The understanding of the mamlukes with the English, who occupied Alexandria for some time whilst Duckworth forced a passage through the

Dardanelles in 1807, placed them still lower in the estimation of the Islamic Orient, and the next year Mehemet forced them into an agreement to pay an almost impossible tribute for the undisturbed possession of upper Egypt. But when the Porte, filled with alarm at the increasing power of the pasha, entered

into new intrigues with the mamluke beys, Mehemet Ali himself broke the agreement; he renewed his attacks upon them and won several victories in the years 1809 and 1810. In February, 1811, he invited their leaders and dignitaries to Cairo to a general assembly to discuss a new peace and a joint campaign against the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula. When a large number of them had come together he had them treacherously murdered.^e

Mehemet Ali, now absolute master in Egypt, sent an army against the Wahhabees. Ibn Se'oud



MOSQUE OF THE SULTAN HASSAN AT CAIRO

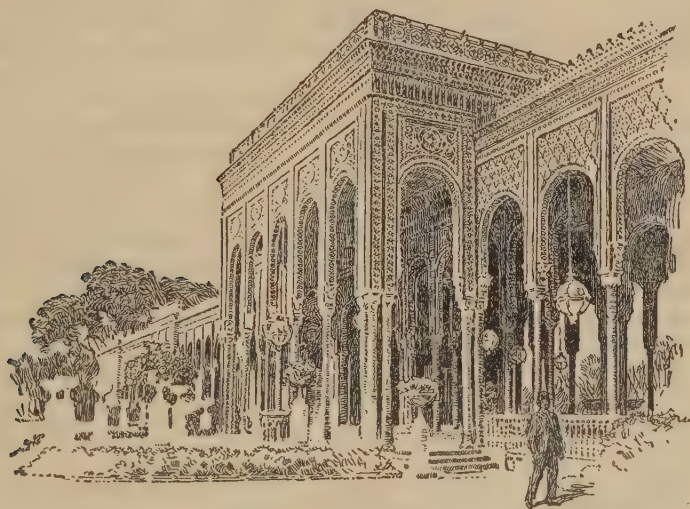
defeated Tusun Pasha, Mehemet's son, in the defiles of Judeiyideh; but overcome by superior forces he could not prevent the fall of Jiddah and of Medina (1813). Two months later the emir's son evacuated Mecca. The struggle continued without disadvantage for the Wahhabees until the death of Ibn Se'oud (1815); his son then negotiated with Tusun. The demands of Mehemet Ali, who insisted that the emir should become his prisoner, caused the war to begin anew. Ibrahim Pasha, the second son of Mehemet Ali, experienced at first several defeats, but important reinforcements allowed him again to take the initiative; the emir, abandoned by part of the Arab tribes whom he had bought for gold, was obliged to capitulate in Direeyeh, his capital, after a siege of seven months (1818). His head rolled under the executioner's sword at Constantinople; the Wahhabees were conquered but not destroyed; twelve years had not elapsed before they had retaken Medina, seized caravans at the gates of Mecca, and again prohibited the faithful to have access to the Kaaba. The expedition made into Yemen under the reign of Abdul-Aziz did not have any more efficacious results.

[1818-1832 A.D.]

Mehemet Ali then turned all his attention to the internal administration of Egypt. He constructed a canal from Alexandria to Cairo; formed an army on the European plan, the reorganisation of which was intrusted to French officers, notably to Colonel Sèves; he created a marine of war and established arsenals and foundries. The lot of the fellahs was improved; exaction and insolence were punished with the greatest severity; schools were opened, and the pashas and beys were ordered to send their sons to Europe to study. During this time his sons conquered the neighbouring countries—Kordofan, Darfur, etc. Except for the tribute which he paid, Mehemet Ali was a veritable sovereign.

The Revolt of Mehemet Ali

The embarrassment occasioned the sultan by the resistance of the old Turkish party appeared to Mehemet Ali to offer a favourable opportunity to establish his independence; however, being resolved not to throw off the mask until in the last extremity, he sought for reasons to colour his revolt. He began by refusing to pay the arrear tribute of eighteen months, arguing that the sacrifices which he had imposed upon himself during the last war furnished an equivalent; finally his disagreements with Abdallah, pasha of Acre, offered him the desired occasion. Abdallah refused to withdraw the protection which he was giving to contraband goods from Egypt and to



PALACE OF GEZYT, CAIRO

deliver up the fellahs who had taken refuge in his realm; immediately fifty thousand men, commanded by Ibrahim, invaded Syria (October 20th, 1831). In the space of a few days Jaffa, Gaza, and Kaiffa were captured and Abdallah was shut up in Acre. The sultan commanded Mehemet Ali to recall his troops and submit the disagreement to him, promising full and prompt justice. The pasha replied by demanding the investiture of Syria as a condition of his obedience. A hatti-sherif declared him *firmanli* (outlawed), and Hussein Pasha was ordered to march against the Egyptians. In the mean time Acre, although valiantly defended, was at the last extremity; on May

27th, 1832, Ibrahim delivered an attack, and Abdallah, after a desperate resistance, was obliged to surrender. The Ottoman army, which was advancing to relieve the place, was defeated before Damascus, which opened its gates to the conqueror (June 14th); the pasha of Aleppo tried in vain to stop Ibrahim at Homs on the Orontes; he lost three thousand men and all his artillery. Hussein Pasha, the exterminator of the janissaries, defeated in his turn at Beilan, between Alexandretta and Antioch, could hardly rally ten thousand men (July 29th).

Mehemet Ali then renewed his demand for the four pashaliks of Syria; the sultan would hear nothing of it, and a new army was confided to Reshid Pasha. The new serasker, although brave, intelligent, energetic, and endowed with remarkable military talents, could not count upon his inexperienced troops, who were poorly trained, and were besides demoralised by their recent disaster. Thirty thousand Ottomans remained on the field after the battle of Konieh; Reshid, in despair at the flight of his soldiers, threw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the hostile ranks; death would have nothing to do with him; he was made prisoner and conducted to Ibrahim, who treated him with the greatest honour (December 21st, 1832). The victor was free to march upon Constantinople, nothing could impede his progress. Ibrahim's European *entourage* urged him to hasten his march; it was no longer a question of Syria, but of substituting one dynasty for another and of reconstituting the Arabian Empire. Mehemet Ali did not have the requisite breadth of view or height of ambition; he wished only independence and territorial aggrandisement; the conflict, which might have become a struggle between two nationalities, remained confined to the limits of a war between suzerain and vassal.

In the mean time Ibrahim had advanced as far as Brusa and was menacing Scutari; Mahmud, being frightened, accepted the offers of aid made him in the name of the czar by General Muraviev. However, the representations of M. de Varennes, ambassador of France, led the Porte to enter again into negotiations with Mehemet Ali; but the demands of the latter had increased; he was no longer satisfied with Syria, he wanted also the district of Adana. The Divan declared these conditions inadmissible and Ibrahim marched upon Scutari. Mahmud then summoned the Russians, who landed fifteen thousand men in the city and prepared to defend it. The French and English ambassadors, frightened at this intervention, pointed out to the sultan the danger of letting Russia gain a footing in the heart of the empire; it would be better, said they, to capitulate to his rebellious subject. The sultan allowed himself to be persuaded, and on May 5th, 1833, the viceroy consented to evacuate Asia Minor in return for the cession of the pashalik of Acre, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Damascus, with their dependencies. Ibrahim received the investiture of the pashalik of Adana.

The Occident had abandoned Turkey; only Russia had showed her an effective and, in appearance, a disinterested sympathy; Mahmud, blinded by resentment and misled by the promises of St. Petersburg, signed with Nicholas a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. This treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi annihilated the political independence of the Porte by recognising the right of a foreign power to intervene in the internal difficulties of the empire; Turkey put herself at the mercy of the autocrat of all the Russias.

The quarrel between Egypt and Turkey was not settled, it was only slumbering; both sides, foreseeing a rupture, were actively pushing their armaments and preparing in silence. In the beginning of 1834 Ibrahim had severely punished brigandage; the discontentment of the Moslem population

[1832-1840 A.D.]

of Syria, which could not pardon the son of Mehemet Ali for having proclaimed and established the equality of Mohammedans and Christians, led the sultan to nourish the hope of avenging himself upon his rival, and an Ottoman army invaded Syria. Ibrahim, having overcome the insurrection, took up a position on the Euphrates and observed the movements of the enemy. European diplomacy intervened; Russia and England urged the grand seigneur to war; France was openly disposed in favour of the viceroy of Egypt. Mehemet Ali demanded the possession of his hereditary domains; the Porte acceded to this demand as concerns Egypt, Acre, and Tripoli, but claimed the restitution of the rest of Syria. The viceroy burned his vessels, ceased to pay tribute, and declared himself independent. Diplomacy laboured in vain for a settlement: on the advice of Russia, Mahmud ordered Hafiz Pasha to open hostilities. On April 21st, 1839, the first column of the Turkish army crossed the river near Bir, while Ibrahim established his headquarters at Aleppo and occupied Nizib, three leagues distant from Bir. The serasker did not intend to force Ibrahim in Aleppo; his plan was to march rapidly upon Damascus. He reckoned upon a rising of the inhabitants of that city, the most fanatical of all the Moslem Orient, and on the co-operation of the mountaineers of Naplouse and of the Metuali of the Lebanon. The Druses and the Maronites of the emir Beshir flocked to Ibrahim's standard; Mehemet, profiting by the hatred of the Arabs for the Ottomans, sent out a call to the desert. The sheikhs of the Bedouins sent twenty thousand horsemen, and the sherif of Mecca offered all the able population of the Hejaz. On June 29th the two armies met at Nizib; the Ottoman army was destroyed; Hafiz Pasha retired upon Marash, abandoning one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon.^d

The Intervention of the Powers

For the second time the way to Constantinople stood open to Ibrahim; one disaster followed close upon another. Sultan Mahmud died on June 30th, and the empire fell to his sixteen-year-old son Abdul-Mejid. Five days later the kapudan pasha sailed with the Turkish fleet from the Dardanelles with orders to attack the Egyptian fleet; instead of that he went over to Mehemet Ali with all his men. Fortune seemed to be emptying its horn upon the Egyptian. He forgot the ring of Polykrates, however; was deaf to all the Porte's offers of negotiation, and demanded nothing more nor less than the right of inheritance in all his possessions, in Egypt, Syria, and Crete.

In order to prevent Turkey from again throwing herself into the arms of Russia, the four great powers, in a collective note of July 27th, 1839, declared that they would take the settlement of the Eastern Question into their own hands. Russia, in order not to be entirely left out, had to give her assent and to support the convention as fifth power. But there were different opinions as to how the question should be decided. France, who strove for supremacy in the Mediterranean, and since Napoleon's campaign had had her eye upon Egypt, wished to leave Mehemet Ali, who was friendly to France, in his full rights. England saw her interests endangered by the pasha, thought the French occupation of Algiers quite sufficient, and feared by a too great weakening of Turkey to turn the latter into a defenceless prey of Russia. The latter did not wish the powerful pasha to enter into any inheritance of Turkey, or even a part of it, and took pleasure in seeing a relaxation of the cordial relation between France and England; Austria and Prussia upheld Russia, and hence France stood alone. This state of things was officially expressed in the quadruple treaty of July 15th, 1840, concluded at

London by the great powers with the exclusion of France. In this treaty the hereditary tenure of the pashalik of Egypt was assured to Mehemet Ali, together with the lifelong possession of a part of Syria, in case he submitted within ten days to the decisions of the conference. As Louis Philippe's disinclination to war was well known, the allied powers, without troubling themselves overmuch about the wild cry of protest in France, the warlike preparations of Minister Thiers, or the demand for the frontier of the Rhine, began hostilities against Mehemet Ali, who had refused his submission, trusting to France. An Anglo-Austrian fleet sailed for the Syrian coast; Beirut and Acre were taken, and Alexandria was bombarded by the English commodore Napier. Mehemet Ali, after the fall of the Thiers ministry, fully realised his mistake and had to be glad even to preserve the hereditary pashalik of Egypt, in return for the evacuation of all Syria, Arabia, and Crete, the restoration of the Turkish fleet, and the payment of a yearly tribute; this favour he owed to England, who wished thereby to make him a friend and to assure for herself the passage through Suez.^f

The Firman of Investiture

The following are the principal rights which the firman granted the viceroy (this title was henceforth used for the governor of Egypt): hereditary dominion over Egypt in the family of Mehemet Ali, subject to the right of investiture and appointment by the Porte of every succeeding viceroy; independence—incomplete and circumscribed—of the internal administration of the country; appointment of all civil officials, and appointment of military officers up to the rank of colonel; conclusion of non-political treaties and conventions with foreign states; and limitation to a definite sum (300,000 pounds sterling) of the tribute to be paid the Porte, substituting the earlier statute, according to which tribute was determined in each instance proportionately to the revenues of the country. The former abuse had necessarily resulted in the domination of Turkish agents, and in vexations of all sorts. In opposition to these concessions, however, stood a mass of restrictions, whereby the Porte sought to protect and strengthen its sovereignty. We have already spoken of the investiture of every new viceroy by the Porte. Other clauses provided for the limitation of the army to eighteen thousand men and of the fleet to a few war-ships; for the levying of taxes in the name of the sultan; and for the conformity of laws, of coinage, even of army uniforms to those in the rest of the empire. These regulations were not always strictly observed, but they could always furnish, and more than once have furnished, the Porte with a convenient pretext for oppressing its Egyptian vassal.

The Last Days of Mehemet Ali

Mehemet Ali had attained much, although by no means all, of what he had made the object of his life and policy. Despite the defeat he had undergone in the last catastrophe, when he was an old man of seventy-two, he had yet been able to recover himself. But now his strength was exhausted; broken in mind and body by such powerful exertion and excitement, he showed a rapidly increasing debility which developed into mental derangement. In the year 1844 his son was called to take part in the government, and in January, 1848, it became necessary for the Porte to invest Ibrahim Pasha with Egypt in place of his father.

[1848-1849 A.D.]

Mehemet Ali, who through his energy and wisdom, through the greatness and strength of his character, through his administrative talents and his dominating will, through his broad vision and his great efforts, had far exceeded all oriental and some European regents of his time, who had freed Egypt from unworthy debasement, and had attracted to it the eyes of the whole political world, who had enabled this old and formerly respected land of culture to work up again in modern times to a position among civilised lands—Mehemet Ali passed his last days in mental imbecility, and died alone, at the age of eighty, on August 2nd, 1849, at his castle Shubra near Cairo. At the time of his death the second successor, Abbas Pasha, had already entered upon his governmental career, as Ibrahim Pasha had died ten months after his appointment.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MEHEMET ALI

While Mehemet Ali was yet alive, owing to his sad mental condition Ibrahim Pasha was appointed viceroy of Egypt. But he had no time to realise the hopes which people, with reason, placed in him. He died of consumption after less than a year (and before his father's death, November, 1848). Ibrahim's importance for the country, however, does not lie so much in his career of ruler as in what he was and what he accomplished before that time. It lies above all in the fact that he was the armed instrument of the policy of his father and remained so till his death. Without him Mehemet Ali could never have attained what he did attain; because, surrounded by a hundred difficulties, obliged to turn his eyes a hundred ways at once, he never could have dared leave his country for a period of years and to place himself at the head of his army where he fought the battles which were the necessary consequences of his policy and at the same time the indispensable means of carrying it out. He possessed no generals to whom he could have intrusted and confided such great enterprises.

Abbas Pasha was Mehemet Ali's grandson, but not the son of Ibrahim, being instead the son of Tusun Pasha, who died young. His grandfather had treated him with marked partiality from his boyhood, and finally introduced him into the administration. These marks of favour, however, were probably due rather to his father, Tusun, to whom Mehemet Ali was attached with a peculiar affection, than to himself and his personal excellencies. It must be admitted that Mehemet Ali was in this case completely lacking in his usually clear insight, and that he was thoroughly deceived as to his grandson. In fact, Abbas was a man in whom hardly any praiseworthy trait could be discovered; he must be regarded as a disgrace to his house.

When he came to power in the year 1849, after Ibrahim's early death, and whilst Mehemet Ali was still alive, almost his first act was to remove and destroy the educational institutions which his grandfather had founded so zealously and fostered with such care. Of all the schools he left only the medical school and a few military institutions. He likewise disbanded the army, the organisation of which had been carefully planned by his two predecessors. He was filled with a deep hatred for Europeans and he immediately removed them from the state service and from all positions which depended on his appointment; he even tried by every possible means to remove them from the country. However, he found he could not entirely dispense with them in the administration, and consequently the French element, which until then had exercised an almost dominating influence on

the government and which was abolished by him, was merely supplanted by English influence. This had in so far a beneficial result that the construction of a railway between Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez was now finally begun; this was an undertaking which Mehemet Ali had always opposed with distrust, because he saw in it a strengthening of the English influence which he hated.

It is true, however, that under Abbas certain improvements were introduced in the administration of the country, notably the abolishment of certain taxes and the revision of certain especially oppressive measures initiated by Mehemet Ali; and, above all, the suppression of the system of monopolies.^g

Abbas Pasha is said to have been contemplating a wholesale murder of all the Europeans in the country, as well as of all his relatives and the high dignitaries of the land, when he himself was murdered, and in July, 1854, was succeeded by his uncle, Said Pasha, a son of Mehemet Ali.^a The differences between Abbas and his successor were chiefly in favour of Said. It cannot be denied that he had a great desire to advance the prosperity of his land and to give it all manner of useful institutions after European models. But he had too little real insight into what was necessary, and also too little logic in his conduct; he allowed himself to be led more by the whim of the moment than by principle; he gave orders and made plans which he quickly countermanded and abrogated. Since, however, like most people of weak and variable character, he was easily led by outside influence, his good intentions might have been made fruitful of good had he fallen under the right control. The contrary, however, was the case; the European, principally French, entourage which almost wholly controlled him consisted for the most part of men who were far from forgetting their own interests and using their influence over him for the good of the country.

At the same time it is not to be denied that various improvements in the administration of the country are due to Said's rule. Chief among them are the final and actual abolishment of the monopoly. To the peasant was given back the free dispensation of his produce; he could sell it to whom and at what prices he pleased; and the pitiable labourer, who until then had been forced to work almost exclusively for the benefit of the government, could now say that he worked mainly for himself.

We should also mention various public enterprises, the execution of which was of the greatest importance to the country. Conspicuous among these was the cleaning out and improvement of the Mahmudia canal, built in the years 1819 and 1820 under Mehemet Ali, and the only waterway from the interior to the chief port of the country—Alexandria. This canal had soon filled with mud, so that navigation threatened to become an impossibility. Said Pasha undertook the task, by no means easy, of deepening it and of improving it by the establishment of a system of locks; it is a credit to his rule that the work was wisely planned, and completed with satisfactory results. Still more important than this were the railway constructions which Said undertook. The stretch from Alexandria to Cairo, as already mentioned, had been begun under Abbas Pasha, but it was not completed until the second year of Said's reign. It was built wholly at the expense of the Egyptian government, and, including the expensive crossings of the Nile and the canals, cost more than 1,000,000 pounds sterling. It was also Said who continued the stretch from Cairo to Suez.

Above all, however, should be mentioned the important work of the Suez canal and Said's share in its accomplishment. The enthusiasm and eloquence of M. de Lesseps succeeded not only in winning over the viceroy to this proj-

[1856-1876 A.D.]

ect but also in making him enthusiastic on the subject, and he did not cease to promote and support it most energetically. He made great monetary sacrifices, engaging himself for no less than about 80,000,000 francs; in addition, he granted the canal company important tracts of land and gave it extensive privileges, the most important of which were the grant of free labour and exemption from duty of all imported materials and provisions. It cannot be denied that the chief credit for the actual execution of the canal project is due to M. de Lesseps and his tireless efforts, but it should not be forgotten that in the first years the work, although under French guidance, was yet largely carried on by Egyptian money, and that without Said Pasha's really magnificent liberality it would have been difficult actually to begin the work.

Said Pasha's end was not so cruel as that of his predecessor, Abbas, but it was yet sad enough. His death was foreseen for several weeks, and in his last illness all the parasites who had flattered him and grown rich from his bounty turned away to the newly rising sun—Ismail. They were all the more ready to do so because it was known that Ismail was bitterly hostile to him and was eagerly awaiting his death. Said, therefore, died in the most complete abandonment, and was buried not only without princely ceremonial, but also without any official escort and even without the attendance of friends. Ismail Pasha had deliberately brought about this situation by appointing the same hour for the first official reception which he held in the citadel of Cairo as for Said's funeral in Alexandria.

ISMAIL PASHA

Ismail Pasha's first acts were calculated to arouse great hopes; one of these was the publication of a programme, in which the most liberal principles were proclaimed, extensive promises made, and far-reaching reforms, modelled after European institutions, announced. He promised abolition of the *corvée* (compulsory labour), abolition of slavery and suppression of the slave trade, especial legislation in the system of instruction, and creation of a civil list. These and similar innovations, had they been put honestly and completely into effect, must have proved of the greatest importance to the country. Unfortunately, however, although some of these improvements were formulated into laws, their actual execution was not in most cases seriously undertaken.^g

When Said Pasha died the country was in a flourishing condition, and the fellah, happier than he had ever been, was growing rich without fear of being oppressed or despoiled. There was then no public debt in Egypt. The decadence of the country dates from the khedivate of Ismail Pasha. The support which he continued to give to M. de Lesseps, the marvellous palaces which he built, the turn-bridge over the Nile, the boulevards of Ismailieh, a sumptuous theatre, the acacia-lined avenue of the pyramids, which was built to please the empress Eugénie, the railways, the garden of Esbekieh with its beautiful pond—all witness to the magnificence of his ideas and of his tastes. In ten years' reign Ismail Pasha had succeeded in borrowing 3,000,000,000 francs. It has been possible, documents in hand, to trace the use of a part of this sum, but there remains a surplus of seven or eight millions the use of which has never been accounted for. On November 18th, 1876, the national debt of Egypt reached the enormous figure of 113,573,301 pounds sterling.^h

Ismail Pasha by rich presents had extorted from the Sublime Porte the firman of June 8th, 1873, which changed the succession to the throne by making the eldest son heir, instead of the eldest brother; he had thus established himself actually, though not formally, as the independent ruler of Egypt; the only sign of vassaldom was the yearly tribute of £450,000 due the Porte. He also obtained from the powers the renunciation of their consular jurisdiction in favour of the international court of justice opened in 1875. He extended his power externally by the conquest of Darfur. The attack on Abyssinia in the following year resulted, on the contrary, in failure. An army penetrating into the interior of that country was attacked by King John and almost completely destroyed; a second army, in March, 1876, was

taken captive, together with the khedive's son, and in a third defeat the Egyptians lost all their artillery. To this external disaster was added financial ruin in the interior—the necessary consequence of Ismail's extravagance and of the newly acquired right of making loans, which was taken advantage of by usurers. England made use of this pecuniary embarrassment of the khedive to buy for £4,000,000 his 177,000 shares in the Suez Canal. At his request, moreover, England sent the general paymaster Cave with other officials on a financial embassy in the hope of bringing order into his treasury. No improvement resulted from this measure. Finally the khedive tried to help himself out of the difficulty by suspending the payment of interest on the state debt and on the *daira*—i.e., his private expenditure. He consolidated the two into one state debt at seven per cent., and established for it a sinking fund to which European commissioners were attached as a guarantee for the creditors. The creditors, however, complained, and the new international court sentenced the *daira* to pay its interest in full; when the khedive protested and tried to prevent the execution of the sentence, it sequestered the vice-regal



A BLACK SLAVE OF MOROCCO

palace at Ramleh. A commission under the presidency of de Lesseps, appointed at the demand of England and France to discover a method for permanently improving Egypt's financial situation, declared that that end could be attained if the khedive, who was the owner and exploiter of the greatest part of the tillable soil, should give over the whole of his landed property to the state and should promise to levy no tax outside the law. Ismail, in his extremity, agreed to both measures, and in the new ministry formed by Nubar Pasha in August, 1878, accepted as minister of finance Mr. Wilson of England, and as minister of public works M. Blianières of France.ⁱ The khedive, however, soon found this limitation of his freedom very irksome, and in the next year tried to get rid of the European control. This caused an energetic protest from Germany in which the other powers joined, and Ismail, not being willing to abdicate voluntarily, was forced to do so by the sultan (June 26th, 1879).^a

TEWFIK PASHA

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Tewfik, an indolent person, who without opposition allowed the ambassadors of the western powers to govern for him. Thereby a swarm of foreign officials, most of them men of doubtful pasts, usurped the places of the native despots who had been in the habit of draining the country; this caused among the people a bitter hatred of foreigners, which reached its climax when the general comptroller reduced the army from fifty thousand to fifteen thousand men. A national party was formed around the colonel Arabi Pasha, which wrote the phrase "Egypt for the Egyptians" on its banner, and in September, 1881, by a military revolt obtained the increase of the army and the grant of a constitution, with an assembly of notables (later of delegates). Arabi became minister of war, in spite of the protests of the consuls-general, and the khedive signed a law according to which new taxes could be levied only with the assent of the assembly of notables.

This awakening of native opposition was very inconvenient for the western powers. In a note dated January 6th, 1882, they assured the khedive of their support against internal disturbances, but only increased thereby the hostile feeling towards their *protégé*; the more so as the sultan now aroused himself and sent a note through his ambassadors in London and Paris in which he called attention to the fact that Egypt was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, and that in consequence the western powers could negotiate with Egypt only through him. Arabi was already openly working for Tewfik's fall. But also among the western powers there was no agreement. Whilst negotiations with the other powers were still pending, Freycinet, Gambetta's successor, persuaded Granville to acquiesce in sending an Anglo-French fleet to Alexandria to protect the khedive and the Europeans; the protest of the sultan and his demand to have the fleet recalled remained unheeded. The two consuls-general sent an ultimatum which demanded the removal of Arabi out of Egypt and the dismissal of the ministry. In case their ultimatum was not accepted they would enforce their demands with violent means. Tewfik, glad to be rid of his foreign oppressors, gave way immediately. The national party, however, supported by the awakening religious fanaticism, was not intimidated; it did not believe that the two powers would use force. By threatening the khedive with arrest and deposition it compelled him to reinstate Arabi as minister of war. Arabi became thereby the virtual ruler of the country.

ENGLISH INTERVENTION IN EGYPT

In this crisis France proposed a conference of ambassadors at Constantinople. All present at it were ready to intrust the Porte with the intervention in Egypt, but the sultan declined to accept foreign orders for governmental acts upon his own territory. He preferred instead to accede to the request for a commissioner addressed to him by both the khedive and the national party. He appointed to this office the marshal Derwish Pasha, who had shown tact and energy against the Albanians in 1880. But then it transpired that the popular rage in Alexandria broke through all exertions of diplomacy. A struggle in which a European was said to have killed an Arabian led to an outbreak on June 11th. The native mob fell with fury upon the foreign quarter and for five hours plundered and murdered, with the help of the

police, until soldiers put an end to the carnage. Forty-nine Europeans were said to have been killed and eighty-six wounded. The fleet did nothing to protect the victims of the national fanaticism which in the first instance had been inflamed by its appearance. A general panic seized the Europeans; all who could took refuge on the ships; over forty thousand left Egypt. The departure of so many well-to-do families left thousands of natives without bread; commerce was at a stand-still; anarchy was everywhere; there was no longer a ministry; Arabi was actual dictator.

The sultan now summoned him to Constantinople, and when he did not obey conferred upon him the highest orders—an example of true oriental intrigue. The longer and the more ambiguously the Porte delayed to undertake itself the restoration of order the more energetic was the procedure of the British government. When France, where public opinion was against an adventure so far from home, refused joint interference, when her fleet left the harbour of Alexandria and the war-ships of the other nations followed its example, Gladstone declared that in consequence of this refusal England had regained complete freedom of action. Since Arabi failed to obey an order to stop work which had been begun on the fortification of Alexandria, Admiral Seymour, on July 11th, opened fire on the forts and at the same time reduced a large part of the city to ashes. The retreating troops and the mob helped to complete the work of destruction. Arabi, although now declared a rebel by the sultan and deprived of his position by the khedive, commanded as absolute ruler and proclaimed war to the knife against the infidels. But his big words were ill supported by deeds. General Wolseley, who had made himself famous in the successful war against the Ashantis in 1873, and who had just brought the whole of the Suez Canal into his possession with an expedition corps increased to twenty-eight thousand men, attacked him on September 13th, in the intrenchments of Tel el-Kebir, and after a short battle dispersed his army. Arabi surrendered in Cairo. The sentence of death pronounced upon him was commuted to lifelong exile, which he passed in Ceylon.

More difficult, however, was the question, What next? England, who did not have the slightest desire to be forced out of the position she had gained on the Nile, put all possible difficulties in the way of the simplest solution—that of leaving the re-establishment of order to the sultan, the suzerain lord of the country. Having once gained possession of the territory, she did not wish any longer to divide even the financial control with France. The khedive removed the joint financial control and appointed Colvin, an Englishman, as the only financial counsellor of his government. France even acquiesced in a formal renunciation of its share in the control, in return for which England made the worthless engagement to withdraw her troops from Egypt at the beginning of 1888, assuming that this could be done, in the judgment of the powers, without danger to peace and quiet. Egypt acquired more and more the appearance of an English province; the English consul-general, Sir Evelyn Baring, had the deciding voice in all questions of importance; English officers stood at the head of the Egyptian army and gendarmerie; English troops to the number of six thousand men occupied the country. The finances, however, under the English protectorate fell into boundless confusion.

The provinces Darfur and Kordofan took advantage of the disorganisation of Egypt to throw off the sovereignty of the khedive. The hatred felt towards his rule, increased by the prohibition of the slave trade, procured an important following in those regions for Muhammed Ahmed, who proclaimed himself

[1883-1885 A.D.]

to be the *mahdi*, i.e. the messenger of God, sent to complete the work of the prophet; his first successes against the Egyptians increased the number of his followers. He forced al-Obeid in Kordofan to submission after a siege of seven months. Hicks Pasha, the general sent against him by the khedive, perished with his whole army after a three days' fight, November 3rd-5th, 1883, in an attempt to penetrate into Kordofan. At the same time another Egyptian division was attacked and defeated by Bedouins at Suakim on the Red Sea. All of Sennar joined the rebellion. Confusion reigned at Cairo; especial fear was felt for the Europeans living at Khartum. Valentine Baker, otherwise known as Baker Pasha, was ordered to advance to their aid, but he lacked troops sufficient even to clear the road to Suakim as far as Berber. In an attempt to relieve Sinkat and Tokat, besieged by Osman Digna, the tireless ally of the mahdi, he was defeated near the well al-Teb, on February 4th, 1884; Osman Digna's fanatical hordes were first beaten back at Tamai, on March 13th.ⁱ

The Egyptian government was very anxious to reconquer the Sudan, but England was firm in advising against it, convinced that both men and money were lacking for the undertaking. Sherif Pasha, the prime minister, resigned in consequence, and Nubar Pasha, although reluctantly, took his place. The power of the mahdi had grown rapidly and only a few fortified places in the Sudan, including Khartum, still held out. General Gordon, sent to relieve the latter stronghold, was cut off from reinforcements, and, through an incomprehensible misconception of distances and the time necessary to cover them, the force sent to his relief arrived too late. Khartum fell on January 26th, 1885, and Gordon and all his force fell with it. The Nile expedition under Lord Wolseley failed in accomplishing anything, and the Sudan south of Wady-Halfa was left to the mahdi.^a

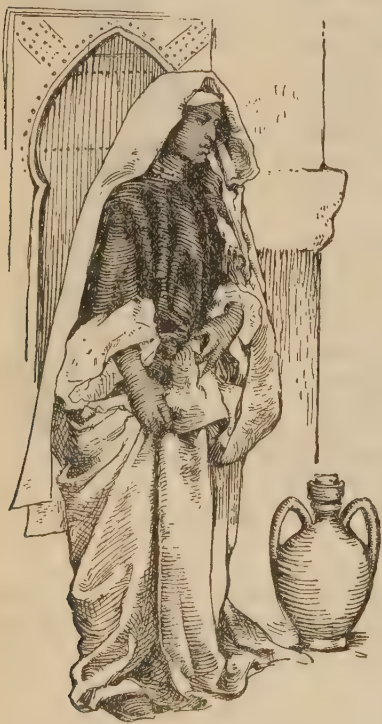


AN ARABIAN COUNTRY WOMAN

INTERNAL REORGANISATION

With the internal difficulties Sir Evelyn Baring had been struggling bravely ever since his appointment, trying to evolve out of the ever-changing policy and contradictory orders of the British government some sort of coherent line of action, and to raise the administration to a higher standard. For two or three years it seemed doubtful whether he would succeed. All over Egypt there was a feeling of unrest, and the well-meant but not very successful efforts of the British to improve the state of things were making them very unpopular. The introduction of English officials and English influence into all the administrative departments was resented by the native officials, and the action of the irrigation officers in preventing the customary abuses of the distribution of water was resented by the great landowners, who had been from time immemorial in the habit of taking as much as they wanted, to the detriment of the fellaheen.

Even these latter, who gained most by the reforms, considered that they had good reason to complain, for the defeat of Arabi and the re-establishment of order had enabled the Christian money-lenders to return and insist on the payment of claims which were supposed to have been extinguished by the rebellion. Worst of all, the government was drifting rapidly towards insolvency, being quite unable to fulfil its obligations to the bondholders and meet the expenses of administration. All departments were being starved, and even the salaries of poorly paid officials were in arrear. To free itself from its financial difficulties the government adopted a heroic remedy which only created fresh troubles. On the advice of Lord Northbrook, who was



AN ARABIAN WOMAN

sent out to Cairo in September, 1884, to examine the financial situation, certain revenues which should have been paid into the *caisse* for the benefit of the bondholders were paid into the treasury for the ordinary needs of the administration. Immediately the powers protested against this infraction of the law of liquidation, and the *caisse* applied for a writ to the Mixed Tribunals. In this way the heroic remedy failed, and to the internal difficulties were added international complications.

Fortunately for Egypt, the British government contrived to solve the international difficulty by timely concessions to the powers, and succeeded in negotiating the London convention of March, 1885, by which the Egyptian government was relieved from some of the most onerous stipulations of the Law of Liquidation, and was enabled to raise a loan of £9,000,000 for an annual payment of £135,000. After paying out of the capital the sums required for the indemnities due for the burning of Alexandria and the deficits of the years 1882 and 1883, it still had a million sterling, and boldly invested it in the improvement of irrigation. The investment proved most remunerative, and helped very materially to save the country from bankruptcy and

internationalism. The danger of being again subjected to the evils of an international administration was very great, for the London convention contained a stipulation to the effect that if Egypt could not pay her way at the end of two years, another international commission would be appointed.

To obviate this catastrophe the British reformers set to work most energetically. Already something in the way of retrenchment and reform had been accomplished. The public accounts had been put in order, and the abuses in the collection of the land tax removed. The constant drain of money and men for the Sudan had been stopped. A beginning had been made for creating a new army to replace the one that had been disbanded and to allow of a portion of the British garrison being withdrawn. In this work Sir Evelyn Wood had shown much sound judgment as well as great capacity for military organisation, and had formed an efficient force out of

[1883-1885 A. D.]

very unpromising material. His colleague in the department of public works, Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, had been not less active. By mitigating the hardships of the *corvée*, and improving the irrigation system, on which the prosperity of the country mainly depends, he had conferred enormous benefits on the fellaheen, and had laid the foundation of permanent budgetary equilibrium for the future. Not less active was Sir Edgar Vincent, the financial adviser, who kept a firm hold on the purse-strings and ruthlessly cut down expenditure in all departments except that of irrigation.

The activity of the British officials naturally produced a certain amount of discontent and resistance on the part of their Egyptian colleagues, and Lord Granville was obliged to declare very plainly that such resistance could not be tolerated. Writing (January, 1884) to Sir Evelyn Baring, he said: "It should be made clear to the Egyptian ministers and governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges H. M. government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend; and that it will be necessary that those ministers and governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices." Nubar Pasha, who continued to be prime minister, resisted occasionally. What he chiefly objected to was direct interference in the provincial administration and the native tribunals, and he succeeded for a time in preventing such interference. Sir Benson Maxwell and Clifford Lloyd, who had been sent out to reform the departments of justice and the interior, after coming into conflict with each other were both recalled, and the reforming activity was for a time restricted to the departments of war, public works, and finance. Gradually the tension between natives and foreigners relaxed, and mutual confidence was established. Experience had evolved the working principle which was officially formulated at a much later period: "Our task is not to rule the Egyptians, but as far as possible to teach the Egyptians to rule themselves. . . . European initiative suggests measures to be executed by Egyptian agency, whilst European supervision controls the manner in which they are executed." If that principle had been firmly laid down and clearly understood at the beginning, a good deal of needless friction would have been avoided.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

The international difficulty remained. The British position in Egypt was anomalous, and might easily give rise to international complications. The sultan might well protest against the military occupation of a portion of his empire by foreign troops. It was no secret that France was ready to give him diplomatic support, and other powers might adopt a similar attitude. Besides this, the British government was anxious to terminate the occupation as soon as possible. With a view to regularising the situation and accelerating the evacuation, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was sent to Constantinople in August, 1885, on a special mission. On October 24th of that year he concluded a preliminary convention by which an Ottoman and an English high commissioner, acting in concert with the khedive, should reorganise the Egyptian army, tranquillise the Sudan by pacific means, and consider what changes might be necessary in the civil administration. When the two commissioners were assured of the security of the frontier and the good working and stability of the Egyptian government, they should present reports to their respective governments, and these should consult as to the conclusion of a convention regulating the withdrawal of the English troops. Mukhtar Pasha and

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff were appointed commissioners, and their joint inquiry lasted till the end of 1886, when the former presented his report and the latter went home to report orally. The remaining stipulations of the preliminary convention were duly carried out. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff proceeded to Constantinople, and signed on May 22nd, 1887, the definitive convention, according to which the occupation should come to an end in three years, but England should have a right to prolong or renew it in the event of internal peace or external security being seriously threatened. The sultan authorised the signature of this convention, but under pressure of France and Russia he refused to ratify it. Technically, therefore, the preliminary convention still remains in force, and in reality the Ottoman commissioner continues to reside in Cairo.

PROGRESS OF REFORM

The steadily increasing prosperity of the country during the years 1886 and 1887 removed the danger of national bankruptcy and international interference, and induced Sir Evelyn Baring to widen the area of administrative reforms. In the provinces the local administration and the methods of dispensing justice were still scandalously unsatisfactory, and this was the field to which the British representative next directed his efforts. Here he met with unexpected opposition on the part of the prime minister, Nubar Pasha, and a conflict ensued which ended in Nubar's retirement in June, 1888. Riaz Pasha took his place, and remained in office till May, 1891. During these three years the work of reform and the prosperity of the country made great progress. The new Egyptian army was so far improved that it gained successes over the forces of the mahdi; the burden of the national debt was lightened by a successful conversion; the *corvée* was abolished; the land tax was reduced thirty per cent. in the poorest provinces, and in spite of this and other measures for lightening the public burdens, the budgetary surplus constantly increased; the quasi-judicial special commissions for brigandage, which were at once barbarous and inefficient, were abolished; the native tribunals were improved, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Scott, an Indian judge of great experience and sound judgment, was appointed judicial adviser to the khedive. This appointment was opposed by Riaz Pasha, and led to his resignation on the plea of ill-health.

His successor, Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, continued the work and co-operated cordially with the English officials. The very necessary reform of the native tribunals was then taken seriously in hand. The existing procedure was simplified and accelerated; the working of the courts was greatly improved by a carefully organised system of inspection and control; the incompetent judges were eliminated and replaced by men of better education and higher moral character; and for the future supply of well-qualified judges, barristers, and law officials, an excellent school of law was established. If the progress made in this direction is maintained, the native courts may some day, under proper European control, replace the anomalous mixed tribunals, and remove all necessity for the inconvenient consular jurisdictions, which are at present protected by the capitulations. Meanwhile the reforming activity has been extended to prisons, public health, and education, and has attained very satisfactory results without ruffling the religious susceptibilities of the people.

Only once since the retirement of Riaz has the policy of teaching the Egyptians to rule themselves led to friction with the native authorities. In

[1892-1901 A.D.]

January, 1892, the khedive Tewfik, who had always maintained cordial relations with Sir Evelyn Baring, died suddenly, and was succeeded by his son, Abbas Hilmi, a young man without political experience, who failed at first to understand the peculiar situation in which a khedive ruling under British protection is necessarily placed. Aspiring to liberate himself at once from foreign control, he summarily dismissed Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, whom he considered too amenable to English influence, and appointed in his place Fakhri Pasha, who was not a *persona grata* at the British agency. Such an incident, which might have constituted a precedent for more important acts of a similar kind, could hardly be overlooked by the British representative. He had always maintained that what Egypt most required, and would require for many years to come, was an order of things which would render practically impossible any return to that personal system of government which had well-nigh ruined the country. The young khedive was made, therefore, to understand that he must not make such changes in the administration without a previous agreement with the representative of the protecting power; and a compromise was effected by which Fakhri Pasha retired, and the post of premier was confided once more to Riaz. With this compromise the friction between the khedive and Sir Evelyn Baring, who had now become Lord Cromer, did not end.

For some time Abbas Hilmi clung to his idea of liberating himself from all control, and secretly encouraged a nationalist and anti-British agitation in the native press; but he gradually came to perceive the folly, as well as the danger to himself, of such a course, and accordingly refrained from giving any occasion for complaint or protest. In like manner the relations between the British officials and their Egyptian colleagues gradually became more cordial, so that it was found possible at last to reform the local administration in the provinces according to the recommendations of J. L. Gorst, who had been appointed adviser to the ministry of the interior. Nubar Pasha, it is true, who succeeded Riaz as prime minister in April, 1894, objected to some of Mr. Gorst's recommendations, and in November, 1895, resigned. He was succeeded by Mustapha Fehmi, who had always shown a conciliatory spirit, and who had been on that account, as above stated, summarily dismissed by the khedive in January, 1893. After his reinstatement the Anglo-Egyptian condominium worked without serious friction, and there is reason to believe that it will continue so to work in the future as long as England remains true to her mission and shows no signs of hesitation in carrying it out. In the report by his majesty's agent and consul-general on the finances, administration, and condition of Egypt presented to parliament in 1901, Lord Cromer concluded by expressing his belief "that his highness the khedive's recent visit to England (in 1900), coupled with the very remarkable and touching sympathy displayed by every class of society in this country (Egypt) on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria, will serve to cement more closely the bonds of friendship and good-will which, now perhaps more than at any previous period, unite my own countrymen and the Egyptians."

FASHODA

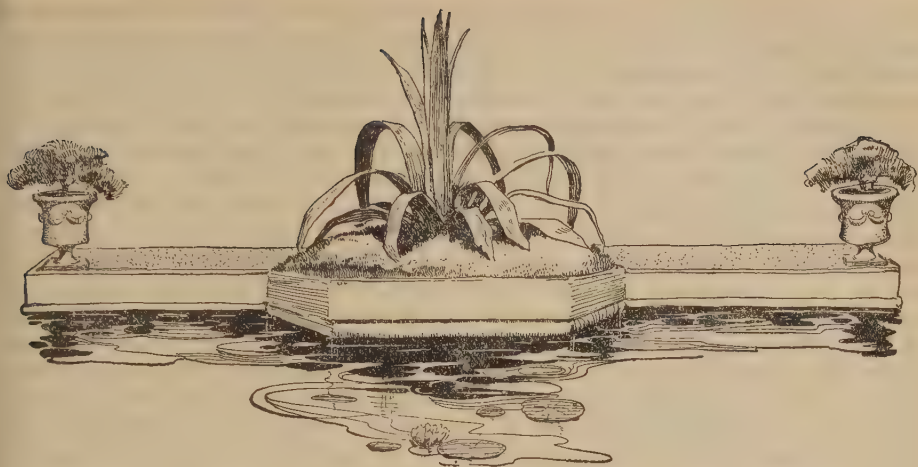
The success of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium, and the consequent economic and financial prosperity of Egypt proper, rendered it possible to recover from the Mahdists the Sudanese provinces, and to delimit in that part of Africa, in accordance with Anglo-Egyptian interests, the respective

spheres of influence of Great Britain and France. The arrangement was not effected without serious danger of a European conflict. Taking advantage of the temporary weakness of Egypt, the French government formed the project of seizing the upper Nile valley and uniting her possessions in west Africa with those at the entrance to the Red Sea. With this object a small force under Major Marchand was sent from the French Congo into the Bahr-el-Ghazal, with orders to occupy Fashoda on the Nile; whilst a Franco-Abyssinian expedition was despatched from the eastward, to join hands with Major Marchand. The small force from the French Congo reached its destination, and a body of Abyssinian troops, accompanied by French officers, appeared for a short time a little higher up the river; but the grand political scheme was frustrated by the victorious advance of an Anglo-Egyptian force under General Kitchener and the resolute attitude of the British government. Major Marchand had to retire from Fashoda, and as a concession to French susceptibilities he was allowed to retreat by the Abyssinian route. By an agreement signed by Lord Salisbury and the French ambassador on March 21st, 1899, and appended, as Article IV, to the Anglo-French convention of June 14th, 1898, which dealt with the British and French spheres of influence in the region of the Niger, France was excluded from the basin of the Nile, and a line marking the respective spheres of influence of the two countries was drawn on the map from the northern frontier of the Congo Free State to the southern frontier of the Turkish province of Tripoli.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The administration of the Sudan was organised on the basis of an agreement between the British and Egyptian governments signed on January 19th, 1899. According to that agreement the British and Egyptian flags are used together, and the supreme military and civil command is vested in a governor-general, who is appointed by the khedive on the recommendation of the British government, and who cannot be removed without the British government's consent. So far the arrangement has worked well. The governor-general, Sir Reginald Wingate, in his report dated Khartum, January 30th, 1901, after giving an account of the progress made, says: "I cannot close this report without recording my appreciation of the manner in which officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and officials—British, Egyptian, and Sudanese, without distinction—have laboured during the past year to push on the work of regenerating the country. Nor can I pass over without mention the loyal and valuable assistance I have received from many of the local ulemas, sheikhs, and notables, who have displayed a most genuine desire to see their country once more advancing in the paths of progress and material and moral improvement."

In April, 1904, the French government by treaty formally recognised the predominant position of Great Britain in Egypt, and promised not to embarrass the action of His Majesty's government by asking that a time limit be fixed for the British occupation. In addition, the French assented to modifications in the international arrangements established in Egypt for the protection of foreign bondholders. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia also agreed not to obstruct the action of Great Britain in Egypt. In April, 1907, Lord Cromer, whose services to the country justified the title of "creator of modern Egypt," resigned, and was succeeded by the former financial adviser, Sir Eldon Gorst.^a



CHAPTER II

SMALL STATES OF NORTHERN AFRICA

THE BERBERS

NORTHERN AFRICA, between the Mediterranean and the waste expanse of the desert of Sahara, is like an island. It is properly *Africa minor*; it is *Africa proper*, for the name of *Africa* (*Afriquia* among the Arabs), applied first to the land of the Carthaginians—to the present *Tunis*—has been extended over the whole continent. It is called also *Barbary*, because the original race which dominated the country before all the foreign occupations—Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, Arabian—was called that of the Berbers. It is an established fact that that race has been in possession of northern Africa from prehistoric times; in the fifth century before our era it was described by Herodotus with the characteristic traits and the ethnical names which are still recognisable, and all ancient writers distinguished it clearly from the “Ethiopians,” or negroes of the Sudan. The Carthaginians without doubt tried to exploit the country and not to assimilate it; they kept to the shores around the ports, and dominated the rest of the land only through the native chiefs who were invested with the red mantle. It is not surprising that no traces of them have been left. But the Romans ruled the land for nearly six hundred years, they pushed their advance posts into the Sahara, introduced millions of colonists into the Tell, fused their pantheon with that of the natives, founded populous cities, and raised monuments, the prodigious ruins of which still confound our imagination; and yet, except for these ruins and thousands of Latin inscriptions, no traces remain of the Roman occupation either. Those Roman colonists who remained in the country after the retreat of the imperial eagles, those sons of Latins who are still distinguished by their type, in the mountains of the Kabail (*Kabyle*) and of the Aures, have become Berbers. Moreover, history testifies that *Africa* was never completely subjugated to the Roman dominion; the inhabitants of

the greater part of the mountainous countries like the Deren of Morocco, the Jurjura of Kabail, the Aures, and most of the tribes wandering in the Sahara never obeyed the proconsuls. If most of the Africans embraced Christianity, they never did it with so much zeal as when it was a religion persecuted by the emperors. As soon as it became the official religion they tried to distinguish themselves from the conquering people by practising forms of religion peculiar to themselves, by plunging into heresy. The Donatist schism was one of the forms of African resistance against imperial orthodoxy. Later this people acted in the same way towards the Moslem conquerors. For a long time they resisted the propaganda of Islam; the Kabails of Jurjura are said to have alternately accepted and rejected the faith of the prophet as many as twelve times. The name Tuareg given to the Berbers of the Sahara has been translated by "apostate." When the Berbers, being tired of war, did finally accept Islam, we see them at once distinguishing themselves from their masters by adopting heretical creeds; Kharijism, Shiism, Ibadism, Sofrism, for a long time had the same fortune with them as Donatism or Arianism formerly. It was not until after a long and patient propaganda, carried on not by the sword of the first teachers but by isolated missionaries or missionary tribes (the sheurfa or the sheeurfa tribes; sheurfa plural of sherif), that the Africans of the north as a majority became orthodox Moslems. Then only was their language open to the intrusion of Arabic words, borrowed almost all of them from the religious, administrative, or commercial vocabulary of the conquering Semites.

The peoples of northern Africa, of Berber race, are essentially anarchistic, prone to divide their country into very small states, small kingdoms, small village republics; they are consequently condemned to eternal wars between tribes and villages and *sof* (parties); for that reason they are exposed to dangers of foreign invasion and are easily conquered. But they know how to recover themselves, to organise for defence, to group their smallest associations into confederations (Kbila, whence the word Kabails, or Kabyles), even to attempt the formation of military states. When, however, they finally recover their independence, it is only to fall again into their old divisions and to succumb to the same surprises of foreign attacks.

DYNASTIES AND SECTS OF NORTHERN AFRICA

One of these surprises was the first Arab invasion of the seventh century, in which Sidi Okba conquered the Berbers from the west to the very shores of the Atlantic. On his return he was killed in battle by the Berbers of the Aures (683). The conquest was continued, but the Arab conquerors would never have been able to control the Berbers if they had not diverted their warlike ardour and used it for the conquest of Spain (711). From that moment Africa could be governed, nominally at least, by envoys of the caliph. At heart, however, Barbary remained Berber.

The most redoubtable adversaries of the Arab governors were the schismatic imams of Tiart, Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Rostem and his sons. Their doctrine was that of the Wahhabites, Ibadites, and Sofrites, who had long since made themselves famous in the Orient on account of their rupture with Ali, son-in-law of the prophet. Ibn Khaldun tells us that the Ibadites and the Sofrites engaged in more than three hundred battles with the troops of the empire. But this Ibadite kingdom in the highlands of the central Maghreb had been unable to complete its work. The Arabs had maintained

[800-1500 A. D.]

themselves in the Byzantine fortresses of Afrikia, or Tunis, and Harun ar-Rashid had organised there a sort of a mark, the rulership over which he had left to Ibrahim ben al-Aglab (800) and to his descendants the Aglabites.^b

The Aglabites were driven out by the Fatimites, whilst in the Maghreb, the country now called Morocco, the Idrisites established themselves as rulers. After them came the Zirites in the eleventh century, and they were followed by the Almoravids and the Almohads. These names are already familiar to us through the history of the conquest of Spain and in connection with Egypt and the crusades. Their importance consists in their influence on the world around them rather than in any permanent effects upon the place of their origin.

After the great period of conquest followed a period of decline during which three dynasties ruled in northern Africa—the Merinids, the Zeianids, and the Hafsites—who occupied regions vaguely corresponding to the Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis of to-day. Towards the end of the fourteenth century these sultanships had fallen into such a state of dissolution that they were helpless against the Arab tribes from within, and against the Portuguese and Spanish from without. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese conquered Ceuta and Tangier, and Safi and Asemur in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Spanish began their conquests in the first years of the sixteenth century, and took Oran, Bougie, Dellys, Algiers, and Tripoli.^a

THE SHERIFATE OF MOROCCO

These blows delivered to Moslem Africa, from the shores of the Atlantic as far as Syrtis, had aroused a prolonged echo in the depths of the Mohammedan world. The Islamic reaction, provoked by Portuguese or Spanish aggression, took on two different forms: at Morocco it was the Sherifate; in the countries of Tunis and Algiers it was the Ottoman conquest.

The extreme south of Morocco, the sandy valleys dug by the intermittent rivers of the Wady Dra, the oases lost in the sands, like those of Sajilmasa, or Tafilet, with their population of Berbers strongly mixed with Arabs, formed a reserve of fresh fanaticism and of ardent faith. In the fifteenth century pilgrims who had started from this region met not far from Mecca certain sheurfa whom they took to be true descendants of the prophet. The pilgrims spoke of their home country and told the sheurfa of its wonders, thus inducing the strangers to return with them. Of these sheurfa, some settled in the Wady Dra; they were the Saadians. The others settled at Sajilmasa; they were the Hassanians, called from that time forward Filali. The former gave a dynasty to Morocco in the sixteenth century; the latter, in the eighteenth century, gave her the dynasty which rules there to-day.

The Merinid sultan was at that time very much occupied against the Portuguese of Ceuta, Alcazar-Srir, Tangier, and Asili; the people of the land of Sus, left to themselves, were tormented by the Portuguese of Asemur, Safi, and Sainte-Croix. Against these enemies of the true faith they sought a leader inspired by God. They first applied to a marabout called Ben Mbarek, but he said to them: "There is at Tigumdet, on the Wady Dra, a sherif who prophesies that great glory is destined for his two sons; address yourselves to him and your desires will be fulfilled." This sherif of the Saadian family was called al-Kaim, his two sons were Abul-Abbas and Muhammed al-Mahdi. The people of Sus went to them. Al-Kaim wished to receive the *baraka* (benediction) of Ben Mbarek: then he demanded an oath of obedience from

the tribes of Sus; the Masmuda of Deren, whence the great Almohad dynasty had started, also promised to obey him. It was a veritable holy war which was about to commence, a war preached and conducted by the marabouts and by the sheurfa—without doubt against the Portuguese, but also against the bad Moslems who had submitted to them, and, in case of necessity, against

the Merinid sultans themselves, those of Fez and Marrakesh (Morocco), who were judged too lukewarm

in the cause of the faith.^b Fortune favoured the reformers; the two sultans, through fear of their power, gave them assistance. The two brothers gained the supreme authority in Marrakesh and killed its sultan. Finally the Merinid sultan of Fez was confined to the northern part of Morocco, and the brothers shared the south between them for some years.^a

Soon (1535) a civil war broke out between the two brothers. Abul-Abbas, being conquered, asked aid from the Merinid ruler of Fez. A strange battle took place between the Merinid and the young sherif, near Wady al-Abid, in which troops of renegades formed the principal force of the armies on either side. Muhammed al-Mahdi was again the victor; the Merinid was wounded and captured, and gave the province of Mequinez as a ransom (1547). Then the war



AN ARAB CAVALRYMAN

recommenced. This time Fez was invested and taken after a long siege (1550). Several years previously Abul-Abbas had abandoned the city and retired into Taflet.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The whole of Morocco was now united under the younger son of al-Kaim. The new power had to fight against the Christians, but more grave was the anxiety which the Turks were to cause it. Between the son of al-Kaim and Suleiman the Magnificent there was the rivalry for the religious supremacy, the rivalry of an Alide with the champion of orthodoxy, whose father had bought the rights of the caliphate at Cairo. There was also the antipathy of an African for a Turk, for that far-away sultan who, in the Maghreb, was the protector of pirates. The sherif called Suleiman the "sultan of fish." Already, in 1547, Sulciman had sent an ambassador to demand that the Merinid should be put at liberty; afterwards his lieutenants in Africa took

[1550-1590 A.D.]

arms to reinstate him. The Turks invaded Morocco, occupied Fez, installed their protégé, Abu Hassun, and retired, after having made him pay a large indemnity. After their departure Muhammed al-Mahdi took Tafilet away from his brother Abul-Abbas, who was in sympathy with his enemies, got rid of the Merinid by having him assassinated on the way to Fez (1553), re-entered that city and made it expiate its defection by ransoms and punishments. To avenge himself on the Turks, he entered into an alliance with the Spaniards of Oran to take Tlemcen; he occupied the city, but not the citadel. That was enough to draw upon him the wrath of the sultan. Suleiman wished to have his head at any price. Turkish horsemen, pretending to be deserters, came to offer their services to Muhammed al-Mahdi; he accepted their offer imprudently and took them on an expedition against the rebel tribes of the Atlas; on the way he was assassinated by their chief, and it is said that his head was taken to Stamboul and hung on a gate of the city (1557).

This Muhammed al-Mahdi appears to have been a very great man. When he was only governor of Sus he had introduced into that country the culture of the sugar-cane and had built a mosque in his residential city of Taroudant. When he became sultan of Morocco he embellished Marrakesh likewise. He founded the port of Agades on the ocean and revised the system of taxation. He was the only man who might have extinguished the Turkish domination in Africa at its start. His son, Mulei Abdallah, sought an alliance with Philip II. The troubles which desolated Morocco later came from the fact that there was always a Turkish and a Spanish party in the reigning family and in the empire. It was these very civil wars which in 1578 provoked the intervention of the king of Portugal, Don Sebastian, which ended in the disaster of Alcazar-Kebir.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SUDAN

Don Sebastian had made this expedition on the pretext of supporting a pretendant of the sherifian family against the sherif Abul-Malik, who was reigning at that time and who died during the battle. Abul-Malik's son, Abul-Abbas, who helped to gain the victory and who got from it the title of al-Mansur, was one of the greatest sovereigns of Morocco. He is above all famous for his conquest of the Sudan. Since the time of the Almoravides, Islamism had been implanted among the blacks of that land. It was a Moslem dynasty, that of the Sokia, which reigned at Timbuktu. One of these kings, after a pilgrimage to Mecca, in the fifteenth century, had received from the caliph of Egypt the title of "lieutenant, in the Sudan, of the prince of the believers." Timbuktu had acquired a great importance; the capital was not only the chief market of central Africa, but a great centre of learning. It possessed a sort of university, a school of Moslem law; besides the royal line of the Sokia there was a dynasty of learned legists, the Ben Baba.

Legists and kings were orthodox Moslems; the sherif of Morocco was an Alide. Abul-Abbas al-Mansur, invoking his title of Imam, summoned the Sokia, who at that time was Ishak, son of David, to recognise his supremacy and to pay him tribute. Naturally his claims were refused. An expedition was decided upon. The army was confided to Juder Pasha (October, 1590). The journey across the great desert took four months and a half. The king Ishak, it is said, had collected a hundred and forty thousand warriors, who were led into battle by both Moslem marabouts and fetishes. He was defeated and fled to Garu, four hundred kilometres to the east. The victorious

army entered Timbuktu (1591). The chief task of the pasha Juder was to overcome the resistance of the black legists, foremost among whom was Ahmed Ben Baba, the author of many famous books. Ben Baba courageously reproached the Moroccans for their excesses and for the pillage of his house and library, which numbered sixteen hundred volumes.

The Moroccans then turned towards Garu and besieged the king. Finally Ishak appeared disposed to surrender and to pay a war indemnity and an annual tribute. But during the long siege the invading army had suffered so severely that to avoid its total destruction the pasha Juder ordered the retreat. He was ill received by al-Mansur, and was replaced by the pasha Muhammed. A new campaign was directed against Garu; the king Ishak, before being besieged, fled still farther, to Kokia, but being pitilessly tracked by Tuareg and Moroccan meharists, he died of exhaustion. His death was followed by the complete submission of Senegal, of the Sudan, of the sultan of Bornu. The victorious army brought back to Morocco (1593) an immense booty consisting mainly of ingots of gold. Al-Mansur took therefrom the cognomen of al-Debhi (the gilded). He could now raise magnificent constructions like those of Badia, and could import marble from Carrara, for which he paid "its weight in sugar." Among the prisoners brought back to Marrakesh the most illustrious was Ben Baba. He did not belie before the redoubtable sovereign his courageous firmness of soul. As the sultan, concealed by a veil, received him, the black legist said: "God himself talks to mortals by revelation and not behind a veil; but thou art not God." Then he again protested against the brutality committed by the conquerors at Timbuktu, and audaciously asked the sultan why he had not rather turned his arms against the Turks; the sultan could answer him only with a citation from the Sunna. As he went out from the audience all the lettered men of Morocco paid homage to Ben Baba, begging him to teach among them. He consented, and his renown spread throughout Africa. Later he obtained permission to return to Timbuktu.

FALL OF THE SAADIANS

In Africa, as in the Orient, all dynasties, even when they have been founded by holy persons, even when they have as a cause for existence the austerity and pious poverty of their ancestors, finally end, and sometimes in the first generation, by outdoing in luxury and ease all the vices and all the crimes for which their founders condemned the preceding dynasties. It was thus with the Almoravids and with the Almohads; it was the same with the Saadian sherifs. Immediately after the death of al-Mansur (1603), their struggles between brothers, their connivance with Christians (in 1609 al-Mansur delivered up al-Araish to the Spanish), aroused against them other marabouts, other sheurfa, other mahdis. In general these reform preachers came to a bad end, and had their heads hung up on the battlements of Marrakesh. Others were redoubtable because they were more prudent; such were the saints of the oasis of Sajilmasa, such were the Hassanian sheurfa. The latter continued to lead poor, meditative, and virtuous lives while all the time fighting against the Christians, masters of the ports on the ocean. When in 1659, about a hundred years after the defeat of the Merinids by the Saadians, the Saadian dynasty was extinguished, it was these Hassaniens who founded a new dynasty at Morocco, entertaining the quickly dispelled illusion that it would initiate a period of greater purity and prosperity. The same dynasty rules there to-day.^b

[1664-1894 A.D.]

HASSANIAN DYNASTY

The first one of this family to take the title of sultan was Arshid, who ruled from 1664 to 1672. He was succeeded by his brother, Mulai Ismail, perhaps the most famous of this dynasty—a very cruel and at the same time a very able despot. His rule lasted fifty-five years (until 1727). Under his successors the land was torn by wars and dissensions; it enjoyed a period of repose under Mulai Sidi Muhammed (1757-1789), who showed a marked inclination towards European civilisation, but after his death the old tyranny and lawlessness were resumed. During the reign of Abd ar-Rahman (1822-1859) occurred in Algeria the revolt of Abdul-Kadir against France; the assistance given by Morocco to Algeria led to an attack upon Morocco by French troops. In August, 1844, the prince de Joinville bombarded Tangier and Mogador, and Marshal Bougeaud defeated the Moroccan troops at Isly. Peace was concluded on September 4th, 1844, but Abdul-Kadir's attempts to stir up a new revolt in Morocco soon led to further disturbances. This time the sultan refused to aid the Algerian patriot, who thereupon attacked Morocco and captured the city of Tasa. France again interfered and forced Abdul-Kadir to surrender.^a

A change of rulers in 1859, when Abd ar-Rahman died, and his successor, Sidi Muhammed, had to defend himself against other pretenders to the throne, led to plundering raids upon Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory by Moroccan troops, and gave to Spain the not wholly unwelcome opportunity of taking up the sword against her old opponent in the Mohammedan world. On October 24th, 1859, Spain declared war upon Morocco, and on November 18th landed an army on the African coast. On February 4th of the following year the Spaniards, advancing southward from Ceuta towards Tetuan, gained a victory in the vicinity of the latter city, and thus procured the ducal title for the Spanish general O'Donnell. The peace negotiations which followed this defeat led to no result. Not until the Moroccans had suffered a second defeat, on March 23rd, were they convinced of their impotence against a European army and forced to accept an amnesty. This led to the Peace of Tetuan, on April 26th, 1860. A small tract of land was surrendered, Spanish missionaries were allowed to pursue their vocation throughout Moroccan territory, and a war indemnity of 400,000,000 reals was imposed.^c

Sidi Muhammed died in 1873, and was succeeded by his son, Mulai Hassan who instituted the policy of friendly intercourse with Europe which has been continued by his son. In 1880 a conference was held at Madrid to determine the extent of the protection which may be afforded by foreign consuls to Moroccan subjects. In 1892 the sultan was called on to subdue a serious revolt of the discontented Kabail tribes, and in 1893 a Spanish fort near Melilla was attacked by the Kabails. The latter were finally reduced to submission by combined Spanish and Moroccan troops, and in 1894 Morocco concluded a treaty with Spain, in which the sultan pledged himself to pay a war indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas, to punish the Kabails, and to establish a neutral zone around Melilla.

The sultan Mulai Hassan died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Mulai Abdul Aziz IV, the fourteenth ruler of the dynasty, who was at that time only fourteen years of age. The following account of his accession and of the Moroccan court was given in the *London Times* of June 10th, 1901.^a

Mulai Abdul Aziz succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, the late sultan Mulai Hassan, in 1894. At the time of his father's death young

[1894-1901 A.D.]

Abdul Aziz was in Rabat with his mother, a Circassian lady, and it was there that he was proclaimed. Mulai Hassan died during a punitive expedition in the central provinces of his country; but, owing to the extraordinary capability of Si Ahmed Ben Musa, the chamberlain, his shereefian majesty's death was concealed from the world, and for two days even the palanquin-bearers imagined that they were carrying a living, though ill, sultan, and never suspected that their burden was a corpse. Two days were sufficient for the wily chamberlain. It gave him time to proclaim young Abdul Aziz in Rabat, and to lay the foundations of his plans by which he afterwards became vizir and practically sultan, whilst the real holder of the title was kept hidden

away in the palace. But Mulai Abdul Aziz had an elder brother, Mulai Muhammed, who had been viceroy of the south, and who by his generosity—with other people's money—and by his libertine ways was extremely popular with the general public. A rising in his favour occurred, but the iron will of the vizir Si Ahmed crushed it, and even to-day (1904) the prisons are full of the tribesmen who rose, whilst Mulai Muhammed himself lives in confinement in Mequinez. The vizir died in 1900, still in possession of his great influence, and leaving to be confiscated by his royal master a huge fortune, amounting, it is said, to some millions sterling, every penny of which had been squeezed and extorted from the wretched population of the country. His death gave Mulai Abdul Aziz, then some nineteen years of age, an opportunity of emerging from his almost enforced seclusion and of exercising his authority, for up till this period his identity had been entirely overshadowed by that of his powerful and cruel vizir. Since the death of Si Ahmed he has certainly come forward, and the northern blood inherited from his Circassian mother has rendered him not a little susceptible to European influence, though possibly not to his own advantage. The Moorish sultan-



A YOUNG MOOR

ate is so essentially a religious one, depending upon that descent from the prophet which confers the title of Amir el-Mumenin—commander of the faithful—that any change in the *régime* of the court would at once raise the antagonism of the large and fanatical religious faction. At present these progressive tendencies have done little more than interest his shereefian majesty in European inventions. He rides a bicycle, photographs, and enjoys the cinematograph. So lavish has he been in obtaining all the newest inventions and toys of Europe that one trading Jew alone, who brought him a real circus to the capital, has received some £20,000 of the country's revenue, drawn from the custom-house of Mazagan. It is the custom, unfortunately, for oriental monarchs to hoard their private fortunes and to draw upon the resources of their country for their private amusements. In appearance Mulai

[1894-1904 A.D.]

Abdul Aziz is tall and well-built. In bearing he is very dignified. On public occasions, in his loose white robes, he looks, and is, a sultan. His life is one of great simplicity. He rises at dawn, and prays at the regular stated intervals throughout the day. His food is simple, and eaten, according to the custom of his country, without knife and fork.

The position of a sultan of Morocco never allows him to come into actual touch with his subjects, and the principal power therefore rests with the grand vizir. The present (1904) holder of this important office, though he prefers to call himself the minister of war, is a young and energetic man, Kaid Mehedi al-Menebhi, who was in former days an understudy of Si Ahmed. His influence is all-powerful, and it was through his agency that, in April, 1901, the elderly Haj Mukhtar, the nominal grand vizir, a refined and honest old man, who had done all in his power not to be appointed, was sent a prisoner to Fez, whilst all his property was confiscated. He knew a year before, when he received his appointment, what his fate would be. Such falls from power are of every-day occurrence in Morocco. No man knows his fate until the fatal day arrives, and the writer has been the guest of a great local governor, whose stables were full of splendid horses, and who was served by a horde of attendants and servants—and within a month he has given in charity a loaf of bread to the same governor's son, begging in the streets, whilst the father lay dying in prison. The son of another great official, whose wedding attracted thousands of tribesmen, and whose generosity was unsurpassed, was met by the writer within a year loading the baggage mules of a European envoy amongst the muleteers of the sultan's army. No complaint, no despondency—merely the recognition that the wheel of fortune had turned!

It is a picturesque court, that of the sultan of Morocco. The great palace squares and courtyards, topped with the iridescent green-tiled roofs, the miles of fortified gardens, the high windowless walls, all present an appearance of unfathomable mystery. Seldom, indeed, do men penetrate within, for the precincts are sacred to the rule of women. Even the ministers of the great powers, on their periodical embassies to the Moorish court, see little more than the outside walls and the great green gates. At private audiences with the sultan the visitor is led through tangled vine-clad gardens to some little summer-house rich in exquisite plaster-work and tiles, half-ruined, perhaps, and yet a gem, where, under a ceiling gorgeous in colours and gilding, sits the almost pathetic figure of the sultan. The grand vizir stands by his master's side, and without the doorway, out of sight of their sovereign, are seated half a dozen soldiers awaiting orders; and all around, the tall dark cypresses shoot up their pillar-like forms. Very different is the public reception of the accredited ministers of Europe—very different and more humiliating. The sultan is mounted, seated on horseback under his umbrella of state, surrounded by his courtiers and preceded by his officers of state. His led horses champ their bits and wave their marvellous manes and tails, and the sun glitters on the lances of the spear-bearers and the gold-embroidered saddles. The empty green-and-gold brougham, part of all processions, creaks and groans as it is brought into position, and in front of it all, bareheaded in the bright sunshine, and on foot, stand the envoys of the emperors and kings of Europe. A blare of trumpets, a banging of salutes, and the sultan and his procession disappear through the great palace gates, and the reception is over.^d

In 1903 opposition to the reforming zeal of the young sultan resulted in a rebellion, but the government was finally victorious. In 1904 a bandit chief named Raisuli seized Ion Perdicaris, an American citizen, and his stepson, an English subject; after strong representations had been made to

him the Sultan ransomed the men. In April, 1904, Great Britain by treaty recognised the preponderant position of France in Morocco and practically consented to ultimate annexation. Germany, however, raised objections; after prolonged negotiations it was agreed that various questions relating to Morocco should be taken up at an international conference, which met at Algeiras in January, 1906. [For the recent history of Morocco, see France.]^a

TURKISH CONQUESTS IN THE NORTH OF AFRICA

The Greek and Ottoman pirates, although hunted down by the knights of Rhodes upon the shores of Anatolia and of Egypt, swarmed there like ants, and had their headquarters at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos. The anarchy existing in Africa appeared to them a good opportunity to pass over to the Occident. And thus the feebleness of the Merinids, of the Zeianids, and of the Hafside had as a last effect the opening up of a new field for the battle between Christianity and the sultan of the Turks. Their own states became the stake in the final struggle between Islam and the spirit of the crusades.

A porter of Mytilene (Lesbos) had four sons, Elias, Ishak, Arudj [Horuj], Khair ad-din. The third, Arudj, had practised piracy from his youth. Being surprised one day by a galley from Rhodes, he had seen Elias killed and was himself forced to row. A tradition relates that afterwards when he was reigning in Algiers he remembered the military organisation of the knights. He succeeded in escaping, went to Tunis, was well received by the Hafside sultan, and founded an independent establishment for himself in the island of Jerba. There he was joined by his younger brother, Khair ad-din, who had followed in his footsteps, and both of them, heaping the sultan of Tunis with presents, made him their accomplice. They often made good captures. On one single occasion they gave to the Hafside ruler fifty young Spaniards holding dogs in leash, with rare birds and four noble maidens clothed in beautiful garments and mounted on splendid horses.

An envoy came from Bougie to Arudj and Khair ad-din begging them to come to that country and help in the expulsion of the Spaniards. The harbour of Bougie is the deepest and safest of all those opposite Spain, France, and Italy. The brothers accepted, and their future was decided from that day; but the beginnings were painful. Bougie, built in the form of an amphitheatre, is easy to defend. The Spaniards held their ground well. Arudj had his arm broken, and the corsairs retreated (1512). They had to be content with occupying Jijelli. They returned in force to Bougie in 1515 at the request of Ahmed ben al-Kadi, the sultan of Kuko, and succeeded no better this time, for their supply of powder was deficient, and their friend the sultan of Tunis refused to replenish it.

OCCUPATION OF ALGIERS

Finally Selim at-Teumi, the chief of the Tholeba Arabs, the protector of Algiers, made them offers in his turn; he gave them Algiers on condition that they would destroy the towers of the Penon and drive the Spaniards out of them.^b Arudj entered Algiers with his soldiers and soon afterwards killed Selim. He then proceeded to enlarge his territory, conquering the valley of the Sheliff and Tlemcen. In the latter place he was attacked by the Spaniards. He was obliged to flee on account of rebellion among the inhabitants of Tlemcen, and was killed by a Spaniard.^a

Arudj had been fourteen years in Africa and had stained his hands with barbarous bloodshed; but he had acquired great glory, primarily and above

[1515-1533 A. D.]

all because he had understood better than the Spaniards that in order to be master of a part of the coast of Africa it is necessary to occupy a large zone in the interior. This pirate, after he had once become master of Algiers, had perhaps not made a single excursion on the sea, but he had conquered the valley of the Sheliff, Titéri, Dahra, Waransenis, Tlemcen; he had dealt a death-blow to the Zeianid dynasty. It is true that his armament was superior to that of his adversaries, but his muskets were not worth so much as his boldness and his tenacity, and his rude genius which was made for great wars. He can be compared to only one of his contemporaries—Hernando Cortes.

His brother Khair ad-din succeeded him, being hailed as king by all the "Turks" that were in Algiers; but never was a young sovereign—if he deserves that title—in a more desperate situation at his accession. The new empire seemed to have gone to pieces and dissolved with Arudj.

Khair ad-din, worthy of his brother, did not hesitate an instant in facing all the perils surrounding him, and took the only course which could dispel them. He turned to the sultan of Stamboul, Selim the Inflexible, and offered to become his vassal. Selim accepted, conferred on Khair ad-din the title of beyler-bey, and from that moment (1518) Barbarossa's realm, which till then had been only an embryonic state, became what it remained until the final revolt of its janissaries—an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Selim sent two thousand janissaries to Khair ad-din, and permitted him to recruit as many as he pleased in Anatolia. More than four thousand men, incited by the hope of plunder, responded to his call.^b A fleet sent against him from Sicily met with disaster and defeat, but soon Khair ad-din was driven out of Algiers by the Tunisians and by the treachery of the sultan of Kuko, in the Kabail district. He returned for five years to his life of piracy, capturing various places on the coast until he was strong enough to regain Algiers, this time establishing himself more strongly in that place by the capture of the Spanish fortress called the Penon.^a Andrea Doria tried in vain to repair so grave a check by seizing Shershel (1531) with fifteen hundred soldiers. A return attack of the Turkish garrison routed his troop, which was engaged in pillaging, and he fled, leaving six hundred men on the shore.

Khair ad-din then completed his work on a broad scale. He gave the greatest possible development to maritime warfare. The port of Algiers was filled with ships made for rapid courses. At the same time the war of conquest continued in the interior. Stations were established to guard the most important routes. The janissaries were energetically held to their duty. Khair ad-din even resolved to protect himself against their demands by recruiting a corps of eight thousand Albanians, Greeks, or Slavs, on whose fidelity he could depend. He had a large personal guard, composed of Spanish renegades.

Finally he selected a propitious moment for attacking the kingdom of the Hafsides, according to his first intention. But before that he had received from the sultan of Stamboul a new dignity; the sultan had named him kapudan pasha of the Ottoman fleet, whilst preserving his title of beyler-bey of Africa.

CONFLICT WITH CHARLES V

Tunis belonged to a degenerate prince, Mulei Hassan, who hardly dared emerge from his gardens. The Arabs held the plains. The mountain nearest to the city, Jebel Resas, recognised only the authority of a marabout; a little local dynasty occupied Keruan, and made itself respected clear to the

south of Constantine. All the rest of Tunis was also in revolt or else wholly independent. Khair ad-din left Stamboul with eighty galleys and eight thousand soldiers, rallied all his following at Bona, and appeared before Tunis in August, 1533. After a short defence Mulei Hassan took refuge amongst the Arabs. Tunis, although she had surrendered, was pillaged. Then the cities of the coast made their submission, and up to the district south of the province of Constantine powerful tribes recognised Barbarossa. The *riposte* was not long in coming, and this time it was delivered by Charles V in person, who left Barcelona in May, 1535, with four hundred ships, of which ninety were galleys, and with an army of nearly thirty thousand men.

Goletta had been fortified in haste, but the city was hard to defend; it was full of Christian captives and doubtful renegades, and Khair ad-din had only nine thousand men under him. The Spanish army took Goletta. Khair ad-din delivered battle not far from Carthage. He was defeated, and Charles V, in his turn, entered the capital of the Hafsidæ, which he gave up to plunder. There perished, it is said, seventy thousand men, women, and children. The beyler-bey was on the point of being taken when the friendship of some Arab chiefs opened a way for him towards the west, and he regained Bona with his decimated bands. The intrepid corsair, as soon as he reached Algiers, hastened to undertake a marauding expedition on the Mediterranean, which had been deprived of its defenders. He surprised Port Mahon, pillaged a part of Majorca, and loaded a large number of captives upon his ships, so that the news of his raid reached Rome in the midst of the fêtes given to celebrate the capture of Tunis.

The principal occupation of Khair ad-din, since 1536, had been to command the Ottoman and sometimes the French fleet in the Mediterranean. He had left the government of Algiers to his lieutenant, Hassan Agha, or Hassan the eunuch, and the latter had continued to carry on petty battles, sometimes on the west, on the side of Tlemcen, sometimes on the south as far as Beskra. However, Charles V announced to the whole of Christian Europe that he would soon destroy Barbarossa's lair, and in fact towards the end of August, 1541, the Algerians learned with terror that an enormous fleet of sixty-five galleys and four hundred and fifty-one transports was assembling at Spezzia. It carried twenty-nine thousand troopers, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, including the knights of Malta. Counting all the crews, a sum total of thirty-six thousand two hundred and fifty was reached. Among the men of note upon it were Andrea Doria, the duke of Alba, Hernando Cortes and his two sons.

To oppose to such forces Hassan Agha had only eight hundred Turks, five thousand Algerian Moors, a few Majorcan renegades and Moriscoes of Andalusia who were armed with iron. A whole month passed, and the autumn with its storms was approaching, but the zeal of the emperor was such that he insisted on starting nevertheless, and this multitude of ships, loaded with soldiers and munitions of war, entered the bay of Algiers in good order on October 19th. The landing took place on the 23rd, in calm weather. All at once the sky clouded over, the north wind raised great waves on the sea, and torrents of rain fell. The Spanish army passed a frightful night without tents or food. The powder being wet, the only arms left were swords and a kind of halberd. At the same time the transport ships, rolled by the waves, came to shore, and bands of Arabs assailed their crews and tore up their cargo. The galleys, although at anchor, were held in place only by a great effort of the oarsmen. Charles asked how many hours they could still hold out. "Two," replied a pilot. "Good!" said he, "it is at

[1541-1587 A.D.]

midnight that the priests rise in Spain to pray; they will have time to recommend us to God." The next morning the tempest had unchained everything, when the Italians repulsed the Moors and began the attack from the side of Bab Azun. They approached the walls, but, riddled with arrows and bullets and incapable of defence, they retired in disorder. The knights of Malta came to their aid and nearly entered the city; their standard-bearer, Ponce de Balaguer, called de Savignac, planted his dagger in the gate, but the knights were carried away by the crowd of those who were fleeing. The day was lost; the last galley chains were on the point of breaking. Andrea Doria thought it prudent, in order to save what was left of the fleet, to get out of the ill-omened gulf, and to seek shelter near Cape Matifu. Charles V then gave the order to start.

Khair ad-din died a few years later, in 1546, and the deliverance of Algiers added a final aureole of glory to his extraordinary life, in which all the qualities of a statesman seemed to be united to those of a soldier. Audacious and tenacious, supple and rather cruel, he had been able, by making his and his brother's conquest an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, to assure to it lasting resources, and to class it, almost from its birth, among the great states of his century. A friend to France and the mortal enemy of Spain, not only had he organised Africa but he had assigned to it its rôle abroad. In this perhaps he was greater than Arudj; or rather he supplemented him, for they are inseparable in the eyes of posterity.

SUCCESSORS OF BARBAROSSA

Because of the foundation of the Saadian empire of Morocco the activity of Barbarossa's successors was no longer exercised between Tlemcen and Constantine, but between Fez on the one side and Tunis on the other. They also continued to fight against the Spaniards and to subjugate successively all the little Arab or Berber principalities of the interior. They went south as far as Wargla. It was the heroic period of conquest, the completion of the primitive plan of Arudj. The merit of the bold men who realised it was the greater because they were obliged at the same time to direct the regular war in the western Mediterranean, and to take part in joint expeditions as important as the siege of Malta and the battle of Lepanto.

Hassan Pasha was the son of Khair ad-din; his father's lieutenant in 1544, appointed beyler-bey in 1546, he had to fight against the count of Alcaudete, governor of Oran, whom he defeated before Mostaganem. He was the first to make war against the sherif of Fez, attaching himself to contingents of the lord of the Beni Abbas, Abdul-Aziz. His army, led by Abdul-Aziz and a Corsican renegade called Hassan, avenged a recent act of treason upon the troops of the sherif and left a garrison of fifteen hundred men in Tlemcen under the command of a *caid*; but all at once Hassan Pasha was recalled to Stamboul, probably at the insistence of the French ambassador, who had drawn the sultan's attention to his attempts to secure independence (1552). In the mean while the corsair Dragut, or Torghud, had taken Mehediah in Tunis, and, aided by Sinan Pasha, had conquered Tripoli (1556).

THE ORGANISATION OF OTTOMAN AFRICA

By the year 1587 all the laws of organisation and administration of Turkish Africa were already outlined. In the succeeding periods they were merely altered. In principle the government was strongly centralised in the

hands of beyler-beys, or, when they were away, in those of their caliphs (lieutenants). At that time neither the governor of Constantine nor the caids of Tunis and Tlemcen corresponded directly with Stamboul. The army was far from having acquired the independence it attained later. It comprised almost as many renegades as native Turks, and was easily balanced by the regiments of Kabail Zouaoua (Igaouaouen) and of numerous mercenaries raised from almost everywhere, following the tradition of Khair ad-din; rough battles from time to time made great gaps in it. On the other hand, the *reis*, or corsair captains, who formed a sort of a guild called *taiffa*, and whose crews, workmen, and slaves even formed a considerable force, were always and naturally inclined to obey chiefs who had acquired such a degree of preponderance in a hundred maritime expeditions. They submitted to them as much from respect as from fear, and certainly they would have laughed at a galley captain who wished to hold up his head against the hero of Lepanto, the padisha's admiral.

The government over the natives did not extend to the limits to which the French have carried it. It stopped at the southern boundary of the Tell. The beyler-beys did not concern themselves with their customs or habits. All that they demanded from them was free passage for their troops and the payment of taxes, heavy perhaps in the north but becoming more and more light towards the south. They could thus maintain their domination with a small number of soldiers. Even then this small number, or even an army corps double its size, would have been insufficient had they not known how, with a rare skill, to profit by the social organisation of their subjects. The average size of the army at the end of the sixteenth century was probably fifteen thousand men. It never exceeded twenty-two thousand. Of these fifteen thousand, one-third remained in Algiers and took part in the maritime expeditions; the second third was garrisoned in certain towns or fortresses of the interior, as Tebessa, Constantine, Beskra, Bougie, Tlemcen, Mostaganem, and was there divided into *seffara*, or companies of twenty-three men; the last third formed columns (mahallat) which were separated into *kreubbat*, or "tents." A corps of adventurers, called *z bentout*, and the artillery were reckoned separately. It was a small force to maintain peace over a surface as large as half of contemporary Algeria and Tunis; but these regular troops were supported by the *Zmoul* and the *Maghzen*.

The *Zmoul* were tribes composed of fugitive natives who often gathered under the authority of a sheikh or a priest. The government of Algiers granted them lands, and they had only to pay their sheikh certain taxes; in return they engaged to protect the soldiers and travellers within a circle as large as their territory. The principal group of their huts or tents was placed upon a main thoroughfare and was called *konak*. It has been possible to trace the line of konaks from Sig to Miliana. They nearly mark out the present route of the Sheliff valley.

The *Maghzen* were warlike tribes, almost all of which had been sovereign in their own regions. The government preserved for them their old authority. They paid neither the land tax nor the animal tax, but they assumed the responsibility of collecting them from certain other tribes which had fallen to the level of rayahs. They had their subjects, and that, flattering their pride, was enough to guarantee their fidelity. Almost all the country was thus divided among *Maghzen* and rayahs.

The only danger of this system was that of developing pride, brutality, and lawlessness among men for the most part of low origin, such as the Turkish soldiers, by lifting them too high above the conquered people. This

[1600-1700 A.D.]

danger was increased by the fact that their famous militia (*odjak*) was a sort of republic, the chiefs of which had little authority. The simple soldier or janissary was called *yoldash*. He received regularly twenty ounces of bread and a wage of about three shillings a month. At the end of five years of service he was allowed 12s. 6d. That was extra pay called *saksan*, and the rank made no difference. All degrees of rank were given in order of age. The oldest officer became *kiaia* (superior commander), and after two more months *aga* (captain-general of the army); he kept this office only two months, and then received the honorary title of *mansul aga*, which he kept till his death. The equality in pay and in advancement resulted in the soldiers regarding their officers as comrades, and holding them of little account when the fancy took them to overturn the state. This was distinctly seen when the beyler-beys were replaced by pashas, serving terms of three years.

THE CORSAIRS; THE BARBARY REGENCIES

The corsairs of Algeria were at the end of the sixteenth century the first sailors of their time. Their galleys, which dispensed with everything which was not strictly necessary and might burden them, were of an incomparable swiftness, and their crews were submitted to the severest discipline. They were composed of galley slaves, as were all the Christian galleys. Besides a number of soldiers who had an interest in the prizes, the galleys carried cannon and artillerymen. No slave was allowed to change his place when the galley was at sea; navigation continued in all kinds of weather. It was rarely that they returned to port without bringing ships of commerce full of men and merchandise. The men, despoiled of their clothes, were sold at auction on the public square called *badestan*; the merchandise and wine also found ready buyers. The whole city rejoiced at these markets. The victors shared a considerable part of the booty; twelve per cent. was allotted to the beyler-bey or to his lieutenant, one per cent. was applied to the repairs of the port of Algiers, and one for the support of the mosques. The rest was divided equally between the shipowners on the one side and the captain (*reis*), the soldiers, and the crew-masters on the other. The lower city belonged to the *reis*. They had built there spacious houses with thick walls pierced with low doors and narrow windows like fortresses. There, all together, were their dwellings, in which a European luxury was quaintly combined with the luxury of the Orient. There were rooms reserved for numerous servitors of every race, stores filled with everything which could serve for war and with inexhaustible provisions, private baths, and those great vaulted halls surrounded by small rooms which they also called baths, but for which the word *bagnes*, derived from the Italian *bagni*, does not sufficiently indicate the purpose. Some of these *bagnes* have held as many as three thousand captives. Wine was sold in them, and they were almost like pleasure resorts up to a certain hour in the evening. The slaves employed in the city then returned to them to sleep. The real power of the *reis*, the carelessness with which they spent their fortunes, the splendour of their escorts (when they went out they were followed by pages all clothed in silk), made them, in this world where death was so little dreaded, the most enviable of mortals. Their ambition reached no higher than these attainments. It was not till the seventeenth century that, relieved of their obligations to the immediate successors of Barbarossa, they began, following the example of the army, to form a state within a state and could even usurp the supreme power.

A surprising fact is the number of renegades who held a high rank in this barbarous maritime aristocracy. Of the thirty-five reis in 1588 enumerated by Father Dan, there were at least twenty-two of distinct origin: one Hungarian, one Frenchman, one Albanian, two Spaniards, one Jew, one Corsican, two Venetians, one Paduan, three Greeks, one Silician, one Neapolitan, one Calabrian, six Genoese. It was almost the same in the army, as we have seen, and that is sufficient to give a correct idea of the attraction which a life of adventure exercised over the men of the sixteenth century.

It thus came about that Algiers, originally a little city of Kabail origin, with a slight intermixture of Andalusian, and governed by pure Turks, was soon filled with turbaned Europeans and outgrew its limits and became a city of nearly a hundred thousand souls, wholly Mediterranean in character, although always under the mask of Islam. It kept and was to keep the appearance of an oriental city. It was Algiers the White, built up in the form of an amphitheatre on the shore of a blue sea, with its cubic houses, with its terraces rising one above another. It had its Fort Victory, built on the site of Charles V's tent, in token of one of the most brilliant triumphs of the Crescent, its high battlemented walls, which continued to defy the assaults of the Christians, its fortifications, and its sea front bristling with cannon always turned against the enemies of the one God, and its seven barracks full of soldiers always ready to earn paradise in the *jihad*. But behind this exterior a slow evolution was modifying the blood and even the soul of all its inhabitants, and was to contribute, together with the mental attitude of the soldiers and sailors, towards the corruption of Algiers. This corruption was detrimental to the empire. However little Turkey relaxed the ties with which Khair ad-din had bound Algiers to her, she herself was to enter a new and individual path, and, in spite of some periods of glory, to incline towards decadence. That which we call Algeria was to follow the same destiny. Immediately after the death of Euldj Ali we touch on the commencement of that evolution which, from fall to fall, ended at last in the French occupation of 1830.^b

The Barbary regencies had in the middle of the seventeenth century become practically independent states. They sometimes sent naval succour to the Porte in its wars; but this was done rather in a spirit of voluntary goodwill and recognition of community of creed and origin similar to that which formerly made Carthage give occasional aid to Tyre, than out of the obedient subordination of provincial governments to central authority. The strength and audacity of these piratical states, especially of Algiers, had so increased that not only did their squadrons ravage the Christian coasts of the Mediterranean, but their cruisers carried on their depredations beyond the straits of Gibraltar, both northward and southward in the Atlantic. They pillaged the island of Madeira; and the Algerine rovers more than once landed in Ireland, and sacked towns and villages and carried off captives into slavery. They even ventured as far as Iceland and Scandinavia, as if in retaliation for the exploits of the old Norse sea-kings in the Mediterranean seven centuries before. Algiers had a marine force comprising, besides light galleys, more than forty well-built and well-equipped ships, each manned by from three hundred to four hundred corsairs, and mounting from forty to fifty guns. The number of Christians who toiled in slavery in the dockyards and arsenals at Algiers or at the oar in her fleets fluctuated from between ten thousand to twenty thousand. Tunis and Tripoli had their fleets and their slaves, though on a smaller scale. Admiral Blake tamed the savage pride of these barbarians in 1655. He awed the dey of Algiers into the surrender of all his English prisoners; and when

[1655-1852 A.D.]

the dey of Tunis refused to do the same, Blake burned the pirate fleet under the guns of the town, destroyed the forts, and compelled obedience to his demands. The Dutch admiral de Ruyter and the French admiral de Beaufort also at different times punished the insolence of the Barbary corsairs; but their outrages and cruelties were never entirely quelled. In 1663 England concluded a treaty with Algiers and the Porte by which she was to be at liberty to chastise the Algerines when they broke their engagements, without its being considered a breach of amity between England and Turkey. The rulers of the Barbary states styled themselves dahis or deys. According to some authorities, the Algerine chiefs termed themselves deys as delegates of the sultan. According to others, the title came from the old Asiatic word *dahi*, which signified a superior, even at the time of the ancient republic of Mecca, and afterwards amongst the Ishmaelites. They were elected by the military body, consisting of the descendants of the janissaries and others of Turkish race. They used to apply to the sultan for his firman appointing them pashas and confirming their election; but this soon became a mere formality.^e

ALGERIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The presence of ships of war in the Mediterranean during the revolution and the empire in France had caused a lull in the expeditions of the Algerine pirates, but after the re-establishment of peace in 1814 they again became troublesome to the Christian powers. In 1815 the American commodore Decatur gained a victory over an Algerine war-ship, and after the capture of another, Algeria was forced to make peace with the United States (June 30th, 1815), and pledged herself to recognise the American flag. In the summer of 1816, Algeria having failed to execute certain promises made to England the year before, and having massacred the crews of Italian ships sailing under the English flag, Lord Exmouth appeared in front of the city of Algiers and began a bombardment which destroyed both the city and fortifications, and reduced the Algerines to accept the terms offered. Their spirit, however, was not crushed; the fortifications were rebuilt, and in the very next year the piratical raids began again; only the ships belonging to states which had given gifts to the dey were safe from attack. Finally, however, Algeria became involved in a dispute with France over a debt contracted by the French government to two Jewish merchants of Algeria. This, in connection with the repeated injuries to French ships, led to a war which was the end of the piratical state. The story of the war belongs more properly in the history of France. Suffice it to say that after severe fighting the French were in the end successful, and on July 5th, 1830, the dey capitulated, being allowed to retire with his family to Naples.

The French had attacked Algeria on the understanding that they were to retire after they had punished the offenders and restored order, but in 1833 the French ministry announced its intention of colonising the country. Many difficulties were in the way. The natives were incensed at the treatment they received at the hands of conquerors who outraged their national and religious feelings and made no attempt to conciliate them. Constant conflicts took place, and in 1832 the emir Abdul-Kadir appeared on the scene, who for fifteen years was the most dangerous enemy the French had in Algeria. War with him continued, with intervals of peace, until the heroic emir was obliged to surrender in December, 1847. He was taken to France, where he lived under close supervision until 1852, when Louis Napoleon gave him his

liberty on condition that he would not return to Algeria. Abdul-Kadir then lived in Brusa and afterwards in Damascus, where he distinguished himself by protecting the Christians during the massacres of 1860. He died at Damascus in 1883.^a

After Abdul-Kadir had been removed to France, the French possessions in North Africa could be regarded as secure. There could no longer be any talk of giving up conquered territory, whoever might be in power at Paris, and however great might be the expense and the difficulty of keeping and administering the province across the sea. The national assembly declared Algeria, which had hitherto been called a regency, to be a lasting possession of the republic, and granted the inhabitants the right to elect four delegates to the legislative body; the government also made constant efforts to keep



AN ARABIAN GENERAL

the Arabian tribes, which were always inclined to hostility and rebellion, in obedience, fear, and peace by appointing energetic and reliable governors-general, such as Cavaignac, Changarnier, and Charron. At the same time the republic furthered colonisation by establishing European settlements at the expense of the state. The military and aggressive procedure against the restless Kabail tribes in the south and west of the colonial district was still more forceful and vigorous. Most of the military celebrities of the empire, such as the generals Pélissier, St. Arnaud, and MacMahon, won their first laurels in Africa, and acquired their strategic skill and military experience in fighting against the natives. The long administration of General Randon (1851-1858) promoted greatly the consolidation and extension of French rule in Africa. The subjugation of the fruitful and well-wooded oasis Laghuat, or al-Aghuat, by Pélissier and Yusuf was used for the glory of the new empire just as the conquest of the *smala* had been for that of the kingdom of July. The oasis districts of Tuggurt, of Wady Suf, and of other regions in the steppe lands of the Sahara were brought into subjection; the powerful tribe of the Banu Mزاب voluntarily recognised the supremacy of France. The natives were left in possession of all their traditional rights, customs, and patriarchal usages, and this respect for their old habits and cus-

toms made the annexation to France easier for them. The attempt was made to replace nomadic life by the system of fixed abodes, and only moderate levies and taxes in money or produce were demanded. Commercial routes were laid out, the northern part of the central Sahara explored, caravan connections with Timbuktu and Senegal established, and new markets opened up to French industry. An expedition on a large scale under Randon against the tribes of Great Kabylia led to their complete subjugation in the campaigns of 1856 and 1857. In the year 1860 Marshal Pélissier was appointed governor-general. The plan of appointing a separate minister for Algeria had been given up after a short experiment.

Nevertheless, however actively the French government carried on its mission of civilisation, the reserved element amongst the natives showed little inclination towards the foreign intruders. Race, religion, and traditional customs

[1865-1908 A.D.]

formed an insurmountable barrier, so that the conquerors could never lay down the sword. The situation was little changed when in 1865 the emperor himself appeared in the colony and by proclamations full of promises tried to win over the Mohammedan tribes to a peaceful union; the following years were just as full of disquiet as the preceding ones. The French military system irritated the independent spirit of the Arab Bedouins. The caravan-serai between Saida and Geryville was destroyed by the united tribes under their warlike chiefs Si-Lala, Si-Hamed Ben Hamza, and Sidi Muhammed Murei Kersar, the tribes in the vicinity which had remained faithful to France were robbed of their herds and fruits, and all the cultivated land was laid waste by warlike bands. Not until after a two years' war did the enterprising colonel Colomb succeed in putting a check to the barbaric raids and in driving the Arabs back into the Sahara. After the decisive defeat of Si-Hamed and Si-Lala near El Golea the frontier lands remained quiet for a time, so that at the outbreak of the Franco-German war the Paris government could transport a large part of the African army to Europe.^f

Since the great insurrection of 1871 there have been two revolts in Algeria, that of al-Amri in 1876, and that of Bou Amama in 1881, in southern Oran, which were repressed not without difficulty. Another important event was the annexation of Myab (1882), where the inhabitants, tributary since 1853, had refused to fulfil their engagements. Since 1896 Algeria has suffered from the anti-Jewish agitation, which on several occasions, especially at Algiers, Oran, and Constantine, has led to riot and bloodshed. In consequence of the difficulties raised by this anti-Semitic propaganda, there has lately been a constant change in governors.^g

TUNIS

After conquering Tunis in 1535, Charles V restored the city to its legitimate ruler, Hassan, and the Spaniards fortified the stronghold Goletta, but their authority was never established in the interior. Finally, in 1574 the Spaniards were driven out by the Ottomans and Tunis became a Turkish province, governed by military rulers or deys appointed by the janissaries, whose authority was disputed by the civil rulers or beys. Finally, in 1705 the last dey was overthrown and Hosain ben Ali, as bey, established a dynasty which has continued down to the present day. Hamuda, who reigned from 1782 to 1814, made himself independent of the Turkish yoke.

Like Algeria, Tunis was a pirate state and dependent for revenue on its piratical raids. Consequently when in 1819 the European powers put an end to piracy the country became more and more involved in debt. After the capture of Algeria by the French and the increased political importance of Tunis, Turkey tried to regain its lost supremacy in its old regency, but the bey Sidi Ahmed attached himself more closely to France and attempted to Europeanise his country. During the Crimean war, however, he aided the Porte against Russia. In 1858 Sidi Muhammed ascended the throne and speedily caused a revolt of the native tribes—the Arabs, Moors, and Kabails—by his attempts at reform. He died, however, in the following year, and his successor, Muhammed as-Saduk, restored things to their former state—abolishing the newly established constitution and reducing the head-tax. In 1871 the sultan issued a firman making Tunis an autonomous state under the hereditary rule of the bey. In 1881 the French seized the pretext of a boundary dispute to invade Tunisian territory, and on May 12th forced the

bey to sign the Treaty of Kasr as-Said, or Bardo, by which he gave up his rights of government to the French, whereas the succession on the throne was assured to his family. In October of the following year Muhammed died, and was succeeded by his brother, Sidi Muhammed, in whose reign the country remained under the protection of France.^a

In 1883 it was decided to undertake a thorough reform of the government and administration of the country, and from 1884 onwards Tunisia has been almost exclusively governed by the French minister resident-general. Nevertheless, the bey continues in a measure to reign over his native subjects, and is the ostensible head of the government in their eyes. On the whole, French control over the country has been indirectly and wisely exercised, so that the benefits of French rule have hitherto been much more apparent than has the exercise of the firm hand that put an end to oriental corruption. In the last two or three years of the nineteenth century, however, an agitation sprang up amongst the French "colonists" for a government which should be less that of the benevolent despotism carried on by the present triumvirate



MONASTIR, IN TUNIS

of the French minister of foreign affairs, the French minister resident, and the bey of Tunis, than a kind of constitutional or parliamentary control, by which the small body of French colonists are to direct and control the administration.

In short, some ten thousand French settlers would like to turn what is practically analogous to an English crown colony into one with representative institutions. Such a policy might have much to recommend it in a country like West Australia, where the native population is very sparse, but in a country like Tunis, where there are one million eight hundred thousand Mohammedan Berbers and Arabs as compared with a hundred and twenty-five thousand Christians, such a proposition is altogether another matter, and would lead to very serious troubles, as has been the case in Algeria. Sooner or later the position of the puppet prince must become a superfluity, but Tunis must continue to be governed despotically, wisely, and well by a single French viceroy or pro-consul, until perhaps some distant epoch when the Arabs and Mohammedanism have jointly disappeared, and the great mass of the Berber population of Roman Africa has abandoned its fatal connection with the East, and returned to that community of European nations to which by blood and affinities it belongs.^h

[1500-1908 A.D.]

TRIPOLI AND BARCA

Of the countries in the northern part of Africa conquered by the Turkish corsairs in the sixteenth century, Tripoli and Barca are the only ones which have remained under the suzerainty of Turkey. Until 1869 Barca was included in Tripoli, but the two districts now form two separate vilayets, directly dependent upon Constantinople. The history of Tripoli during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very similar to that of Algeria and Tunis; like them it was a pirate state, and like them it was attacked and bombarded at different times by the European powers. Like them, too, it was subject to a military despotism under the janissaries. Finally, in 1835 the Turks overthrew the dynasty of the Karamanli, which had been ruling independently since 1714, and since then Tripoli has been ruled directly from Constantinople by governors appointed by the sultan.^a The Turkish authority is little more than nominal, and the French masters of Tunis are looking forward to the peaceful occupation of Ghodames [on the western boundary] in the near future.

The explorations of Duveyrier, Largeau, Von Bary, and Cowper have shown not only that Tripoli was inhabited by primitive man, but that neolithic culture flourished there—culture comparable to and in many respects resembling that of Iberia, Brittany, and the British Isles. As in other parts of Mauretania, many now arid and uninhabitable wastes are strewn with monolithic and other remains, which occur in great variety of form and in vast numbers, as many as ten thousand, chiefly of the menhir type, having been enumerated in the Mejana steppe alone. All kinds of megalithic structures are found—dolmens and circles like Stonehenge, cairns, underground cells excavated in the live rock, barrows topped with huge slabs, cup stones, mounds in the form of step pyramids, and sacrificial altars. Most remarkable are the “senams,” or trilithons, of the Jebel Msid and other districts, some still standing, some in ruins, the purpose of which has not been determined. They occur either singly or in rows, and consist of two square uprights ten feet high standing on a common pedestal and supporting a huge transverse beam. In the Terrgurt valley “there had been originally no less than eighteen or twenty megalithic trilithons in a line, each with its massive altar placed before it” (Cowper). There is reason to believe that the builders of these prehistoric monuments are represented by the Hamitic Berber people, who still form the substratum, and in some places the bulk, of the inhabitants of Tripoli proper. But even here the Berbers have for the most part been driven to the Hurian and Tarhona uplands by the Arab nomads, who now occupy the Jafara flats about the capital, and are in almost exclusive possession of Cyrenaica, Marmaricæ, and the Aujila oases. In Fezzan the Saharan Berbers (Tynilkum Tuaregs) are still dominant, but are here largely intermingled with Negro, or Negroid, intruders from Sudan. But even in the uplands many of the Berbers have been Arabised, and Cowper describes those of the Tarhona heights as even “pure-bred Arabs.” Other early intruders are the Jews, some of whom arrived from Egypt in the time of the Ptolemies, and are still found leading the life of troglodytes in the limestone caves of the Ghurian escarpments. They are numerous also in the large towns, where the population is further diversified by the presence of Turkish officials and garrison troops, of Maltese, Italian, and other south European traders and artisans.²



CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN PERSIA

THE first period of Persian history down to Persia's conquest by the Arabs has been related in a previous volume. After that time it is rather the religious and literary life of the country which is of interest from the point of view of world history, for in its political development Persia has been more or less passive whilst foreign invaders and foreign armies have swept across its territories. Its political importance to-day is due to the rival European powers that are seeking to gain "influence" in the country.^a The second period of Persian history begins in the year 640 of our era with the battle of Nehavend, which sounded the hour of national ruin. From a political point of view the continuity of the two periods is logical. Iranian independence is at an end. Without doubt some dynasty will arise and revive for a brief time the manners and customs that existed in Persia before the time of Islam, but none will be of long duration. Arabs, Turks, Mongols, and Afghans one after another put on the crown of Jamshid; at the present moment the crown is in the possession of a Turkish tribe, to-morrow it will be in the possession of the Russians. The change is no less profound internally than externally. The old religion has been rooted out; it counts to-day only eight thousand followers, who live, in poverty and under oppression, in a few villages of Kirman. The religion imported by the "lizard eaters" has put out the fire in the temples, introduced a strange language there, and silenced the Zend-Avesta. If the national tongue has survived amongst the people, it also has received marks of slavery and has replenished its vocabulary in honour of its conquerors. Nevertheless, if we look closely, we shall find that the national element has disappeared from the surface more than from beneath, and that Persia in accepting the stranger has transformed him more than she has transformed herself, that she has adapted her life and her new faith to hereditary habits and traditions, and that it is not without justice that for the mass of the Mohammedan world Persia stands outside of Islam.

[640-700 A.D.]

In fact, the Islam of Persia is not at all Islam; it is the old religion of Persia framed in Moslem formulas; not the sacerdotal religion—an artificial construction which had never spoken to the conscience of the people—but the popular and living religion which had nothing in common with the other except the fundamental base upon which both had grown up. Thus in the anarchy of modern Persia religious evolution is the only guiding thread which permits us to follow the national spirit and to give an approximate idea of the Iranian life in the second period; it is easier and surer to start from within rather than from without, from the history of thought rather than from the incoherent succession of political revolutions.

RELIGION

Persia the day following its conquest was converted *en masse*. For this many different reasons exist, all of which, however, may be reduced to two: in the first place, Islam was the religion of the masters; in the second place, Persia cared very little for the old state religion. Moreover, the two religions had so many points of contact that the passage from one to the other did not offer to convictions already so shaken any very serious difficulties in dogma, cult, or mythology. The old Aryan polytheism had already come as near as possible to the Semitic dogma in Mazdaism, and Allah was only an Ormazd, who kept his creatures more at a distance. The Arab cult in its simplicity was a deliverance as far as the Mazdian ritual was concerned, and, from a higher point of view, the practice of charity recommended by the Avesta found more than an equivalent in the tithe for the poor imposed by the *Koran*. In Arab mythology the Persians found much with which they were already acquainted—all the legends, for instance, concerning the end of the world, paradise and hades, which Mohammed had borrowed from them, sometimes directly, sometimes without knowing it, by the intermediary road of Jewish and Christian mythologies.

Of the three elements of religion, it is mythology which has the most resistance and the most vigour; it is the only one which a people never renounces, even when it thinks it is converted. Persia transported its mythology as a whole into the new religion. Mohammed fell heir to Zoroaster; Dedjal and Antichrist to Ormazd and the serpent Johak; Saocyant, the son still to be born to the Prophet, who at the end of time is to inaugurate the reign of eternal life, returned to make his promises to mankind under the Arabic name *Mahdi*. All that tribe of demons, jinns, divs, and peris which animate the waters, mountains, and deserts, continued to reign in peace in their empire as if nothing had happened in the temples. For the mass of people nothing had changed, either in heaven, on the earth, or in hell; there were only two new names to learn, Allah and Mohammed, and the eight words of the Moslem *credo* to be substituted for the twenty-one words of Honover.

The reaction went still further, and the principles of political theology which had ruled ancient Persia returned to affirm their empire almost the day after the national ruin. According to Persian theory the power belonged to the king, the son of God, invested with divine glory by his superterrestrial origin. Owing to political revolutions Persia united on the head of Mohammed's legitimate successor, the Arabian Ali, who had been excluded from the caliphate, all the splendour and sanctity of the old national royalty. The one she had once called in her protocols "the divine king, son of heaven," and in her sacred books the "lord and guide"—lord in a worldly sense, guide

in an intellectual—she now called by the Arabic word *Imam*, “the chief.” This was the simplest title imaginable and at the same time the most august, for in it was included all the sovereignty of the world and of the mind. In regard to the caliphs, who were raised to power by the blind clamour of the masses, by crime and intrigues, she upheld the hereditary rights of the imam Ali, the infallible and sacred of God.

At his death she gathered about his two sons, Hassan and Husein, and afterwards about their descendants. Husein had married a daughter of the last Sassanid king, so that the inamate was fixed in his blood by a doubly divine right; and the union of ancient Persia and Islam was sealed in the blood of Husein on the plains of Kerbela.

The revolution which overturned the Omayyad usurpers in favour of the Abbasids, the nephews of the Prophet, was the work of Persia. If she did not bring into power the favourite family for which she thought she was fighting, she at least caused her principle to triumph. For an instant, under al-Mamun, it was even the representative of the principle who seemed on the point of triumphing by the abdication of the caliph in favour of a descendant of Ali's. The first Abbasids, placed on the throne by Persia, surrounded themselves with Persians; their first ministers, the Barmecides, were suspected of belonging at heart to the religion of Zoroaster. The days of Khusrau (Chosroes) returned; Hellenic tradition, formerly brought to Ctesiphon by the Nestorians and the New Platonians, was brilliantly renewed after two centuries of interruption. Greek philosophy made the palaces of Baghdad re-echo, as once those of Ctesiphon did under Anoshirvan. There appeared something resembling free thought, and a spirit of disinterested learning; the *motecallemin* came to discuss religious sects and systems in courteous controversy before al-Mamun. Thus began what has been called Arabic philosophy, but which according to Renan's expression might better be called Greco-Sassanid, for it has nothing Arabic but the language; the foundation is Greek and those who apply it are Persians or Syrians, taking up again the Sassanid inspiration. Philosophy, history, geography, grammar—the most of the great writers in the best Arabic period in all branches except poetry, are Persians; the Abbasids are real Sassanids of Arab blood.

Orthodoxy again gained the upper hand in the state under the successors of al-Mamun, who realised that they no longer had any reason to adhere to the Shiite doctrines. But this triumph of orthodoxy coincided with the dissolution of the caliphate, exhausted by its immensity, and, in the breaking up of the empire, the Persian provinces separated and followed independent destinies, with the Taharids, the Saffarids, the Samanids, and the Buyids. It was the reawakening of the national sentiment. All those founders of dynasties, rebel governors or simple adventurers, opposed memories of the time before Islam to the prestige of the caliphate of Baghdad, in order to be followed by the nation into a struggle which seemed sacrilegious. The Samanids, come from beyond the Oxus, of doubtful origin, perhaps Tatar, pretended to be the descendants of one of the last heroes of the Sassanid epoch, Behram Tchubinek, who died in exile amongst the Turks. The Buyids, simple fishers who settled in Media whilst the Samanids were establishing themselves in Bactria, and who for a century as major-domos of the palace were to hold the caliphs and the caliphate in their hands, pretended to be direct descendants of the Sassanids. Persia again expressed herself in literature after three centuries of silence.

LITERATURE

The caliphs had tried to extinguish the national language in Persia; the Pahlavic writing had been forbidden; when the language of the Koran became the language of the administration, it had, by the force of circumstances, become also the language of science, of theology, of poetry, of thought. With the rise of the national dynasties the Persian language rose again from the lower ranks, where it had not been possible to extirpate it, and penetrated the court and its literature. The poets, without doubt, still held it an honour to manipulate the language of Mohammed and the rhythm of the poets of the desert; but they began to throw the vulgar tongue into the mill of Arabic poetry, and a national literature was formed in the shadow of the foreign poetry, as in Europe a few centuries later Petrarch and Dante were formed with the support of the Latin tradition. The *kasida* and the *ghazel* in Persian disguise, charmed the Transoxanian court of the Samanids. It was with the name of the third of this dynasty, Nasir, the son of Ahmed, that the renaissance of the national poetry is connected; his favourite was the first in date of the Persian poets, Rudagi, the blind poet of Bokhara.

The school of Rudagi and of his successors was Persian only in language; the inspiration and the models were Arabic. Thus it was thrown into the shade by a poetry truly national, in substance as well as in form, which was born at about the same period, under the protection of those same Samanids—the epic poetry. There was in the oral tradition, in the fields which had remained more faithful to memories of olden times, a mass of stories and historic legends as ancient as the Iran and which followed the whole of its history from its origin down to the Sassanids. The last Sassanids, as if with a presentiment that the end of the national drama was approaching, had collected all this epic treasure, which was loose and scattered, and had published it in the language of the time, the Pahlavic. Then the deluge had come and the epic book of Persia had been lost in oblivion. The national dynasties took up the work of the last Sassanids; the ephemeral house of the Saffarids had the old uncomprehended book translated into Persian. The Samanids who overthrew them continued their work, called the prestige of poetry to aid the national thought, and the Persian book began to receive a poetical form under the pen of a Guebers poet, Dakiki. He died at the commencement of his work; the Samanids were carried away in their turn by a new dynasty founded by a Turkish slave, that of the Ghaznevids; the national work was completed under Turkish princes, under the greatest of them, Mahmud the Ghaznevid, an intolerant fanatic who broke the last ties binding Persia to Baghdad, who imposed the Koran with the sword, but drove Arabic out of the administration for the benefit of Persian; it was at his court and at his order that Firdusi wrote the *Book of Kings*; the Persian epic was fixed, the ancient tradition was definitively saved by the happy genius of a poet; Persia had regained consciousness of herself.

BARBARIAN INVASIONS

Unfortunately, this regaining of consciousness was not a regaining of fortune. The evil destiny of Persia demanded that centuries of anarchy and abandonment should coincide with the great movement which agitated the barbarians of central Asia and impelled them towards the Occident. As far

back as her memory goes, Persia had had the terrible nomads of Turkestan for neighbours, but in olden times she had been able to keep them behind the Oxus; she had been able even to cross the barrier of the great river and of the desert and to plant her colonies among the barbarians, to sow her cities there and to light her fire temples; all the ancient part of the epic tells of the triumphant struggle of Iran against Turan. Now the force of expansion has been broken and it is the desert which crosses the Oxus and invades Persia.

Nevertheless, such was still the strength of the traditions of culture in Persia that three times she gained the ascendant over her enemies. At three successive times she absorbed her invaders, too few in number to form anything else than a governmental caste, too limited in intellect to bring or to create a civilisation peculiar to themselves, politic enough to recognise the value of Persian traditions, were it only the better to organise the exploitation of the vanquished. The Seljuks of the eleventh century were Turks, but their administrators were Persians. Those barbarians, moreover, have a devoted admiration for things of the mind; the great Turkish lord, with bags of gold piled about his divan, throws handfuls of it to the poets who sing around him. Under the third Seljuk, Malik Shah, the cities became filled with mosques and colleges; his astronomers were five centuries ahead of the reforms of the Gregorian calendar. It was during his reign that Omar Khayyam wrote his quatrains. On the fall of the Seljuks ten little local dynasties, those of the Atabeg Turks, pursued a course of destruction, ruining in one century themselves and Persia; but here and there at the court of one of these rulers an hour of peace caused poetry to blossom once more; Nizami wrote his divan at the court of the Atabegs of Shirvan, and it was for the court of Shiraz that Sadi wrote his *Gulistan*. There was a term of anarchy in the thirteenth century on the arrival of the Mongols, who were still pagan and who made peace only through devastation. But the Mongols themselves in their turn fell under the charm of knowledge, the fierce Hulagu founded the observatory of Maragha and had Nasir ad-din compose the Ilkhanian tables. The Mongols became converted to the religion of their subjects. Losing their force through contact with civilisation, they passed away in their turn. Then Transoxania, impelled to take up the work of destruction, sent forth Timur, who marked his passage from the Oxus to the Euphrates with pyramids of human heads. His son, Shah Rukh, trying to remedy the evil done by his father, rebuilt Merv and Herat; one of his grandsons gave his name to the Tables of Ulug Bey; another, Baisanghes, had made the first critical edition of the *Book of Kings*. At the court of the sultans of Herat, other descendants of Timur, Persian thought sheds a last gleam under the auspices of a Turkish Mæcenas, the vizir Ali Shir, a poet himself, who formed Turkish poetry on the model of Persian poetry. He had as a friend the last great poet of Persia, Jami, the romancer of Sufism; as protégés he had the historian Mirkhond and his son Khondemir, the last of the great chroniclers. Devlet Shah might write his *Biography of the Poets*; there will be no more. It was the epoch when the Renaissance was beginning in the Occident.

SUFIC DYNASTY

After the successors of Timur in the sixteenth century arose the last great dynasty of Persia, that of the Sofis. The Sofis are descended or pretend to be descended from Ali; they enthroned Ali and the Shiite doctrines



INTERIOR OF A PERSIAN PALACE

[1500-1878 A.D.]

in Persia. It was the signal for the great war between Persia and Turkey, then at its meridian. To racial hatred and political rivalry was added religious hatred, as the sultan, the inheritor of the caliph of Baghdad, was the representative of Sunnite orthodoxy. The fight between the sultan and the great Sofi, which brought Persia towards the west, wore her out so that, after the great reign of Shah Abbas, she was in condition to fall a prey to any new invaders. At the beginning of the eighteenth century (1722) twenty thousand Afghans attacked her, defeated her armies, covered her with ruins, and during a reign of seven years caused a million men to perish. An adventurer of Turkish race, a brigand chief, Nadir Shah by name, became the liberator and hero of Persia, extended her boundaries once more to the Oxus and Tigris, and in the full light of the eighteenth century renewed beyond the Indus the marvels and the horrors of the Ghaznevids and of Timur. He dreamed for a time of conciliating Shiites and Sunnites in a religion larger than his powers of invention. Persia fell again with him. Two Turkish tribes then gave her rulers one after another; the tribe of Zends, which filled the second half of the eighteenth century, and the tribe of Kajars, which is still reigning.

The dynasty of the Kajars marks the entrance upon the scene of Persian territory of a new neighbour, to the will of whom her fate is henceforth attached, a neighbour who advances always and never retreats—Russia. In 1813, whilst Moscow was still burning, she started her career of conquest. By the reduction of Daghestan and Shirvan she pursued it, and ever since she has been crowding Persia back beyond the Caucasus, which she has crossed, herself becoming installed on Iranian soil. In 1828, by the Treaty of Turkmanchai, it was the turn of Persian Armenia to submit to Russia. Russia alone received the right to have war-ships on the Caspian, which became a Russian lake. Ever since that day the ambassador of the czar at Teheran has played the rôle of an English resident at the court of an Indian rajah. The conquest of Kara on the west in 1878, and that of Merv on the east in 1884, shutting Persia in, on the right and on the left, make annexation useless; the only question is whether the south, which is more accessible to England and upon which she has already put her hand on several occasions, will follow the north, or will become vassal of another power, and whether in our days we shall see the old separation of Media and Persia. Whatever happens, between the chronic covetousness of Russia and the intermittent covetousness of England, the political rôle of Iran is finished.

BABISM

The political renaissance of the Sofis had not brought a renaissance of thought. The nineteenth century, which marked the end of Persia, had its reawakening, both literary and religious. The funeral ceremonies, with which for centuries Persia has celebrated the fatal date of the tenth of Muharram, on which day Ali's sons expired at Kerbela, have caused the creation of a popular theatre, incomparable for the influence which it exercises on the national imagination. As the Greek tragedy grew out of the dithyrambus chanted in honour of Dionysius, as the miracle plays in Europe grew out of the religious representations in which the passion of Christ was enacted, so in Persia to-day, although the mystery has not yet ended in a drama and in a lay theatre, it has already produced a sincere poetry, a dramatic and humane poetry, which is worth all the rhetoric of the court poets.

At the same time was produced an attempt at religious innovation, that of Babism. Persia, demoralised for centuries by ten foreign conquests, by the yoke of a composite religion in which she believes just enough to persecute unbelievers, by the enervation of a mystic philosophy which discourages action and takes away all aim in life—Persia made in the nineteenth century an unexpected effort to create for herself a virile ideal. Babism has little originality in its dogmas and in its mythology; its metaphysical doctrine is derived from Sufism and from old Alide sects formed about the dogma of divine incarnation; but its morals are a revolution, they are as the morals of the Occident. It suppresses legal injustice; it suppresses polygamy, the great source of oriental degradation; it reorganises the family, and it elevates man in bringing woman up to his level. Babism, which spread in less than five years from one end of Persia to the other, and which in 1852 was bathed in the blood of martyrs, is recovering and spreading in silence. If Persia can be regenerated she will be so by Babism.^b

The founder of the Babis, the Bab, Mirza Ali Muhammed, was executed at Tabriz in 1850. As recently as 1903 there was a massacre of his followers at Yazd.

PERSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

European interference in Persia began at the very outset of the nineteenth century, in connection with Georgia. The founder of the Kajar dynasty, Aga Muhammed (1795), had succeeded in reconquering that country, but in 1800 its czar voluntarily surrendered his authority to Russia, and when his brother refused to recognise the act, Persia, under its ruler, Feth Ali Shah, took up arms, but, in spite of some successes on the part of the crown prince Abbas Mirza and the formal occupation of Erivan by the Persians, not much was accomplished. In the mean while England, the Indian government, and France sent embassies to Persia seeking to establish diplomatic relations, and France incited the shah to renew the war with Russia. The Persians were defeated and were forced to sign the Treaty of Gulistan, which formally ceded to Russia Georgia, Derbent, Baku, Shirvan, Sheki, Ganja, the Talish, Moghan, and Karabagh (October 12th, 1813). Another war with Russia broke out in 1826 which terminated in the Treaty of Turkmantchai, of which we have already spoken and in accordance with which Persia was obliged to cede Erivan and Nakhichevan to Russia, to pay a war indemnity of about £3,000,000, and to give up her right to have armed vessels on the Caspian. War with Persia's other troublesome neighbour—Turkey—broke out in 1821, and peace was not definitely concluded until July 1823. Persia was also involved in fighting with Afghanistan, her neighbour on the other side. A Persian expedition into the country under Abbas Mirza captured several places and was on the whole successful. An attempt to take Herat, however, resulted in failure.

Feth Ali Shah died in 1834, and was succeeded by his grandson, Muhammed Shah, whose father, Abbas Mirza, had died in the preceding year. Both England and Russia aided in placing Muhammed on the throne. The new ruler at once resolved to extend his dominions at the expense of Afghanistan, which he wished to annex, desiring to re-establish the empire of the Sufis. In spite of the adverse counsel of England, Muhammed laid siege to Herat, and it was only after firm intervention on the part of the British that he was induced to withdraw after a ten months' siege. Muhammed Shah died in 1848, and England and Russia were instrumental in establishing his son and

[1848-1908 A.D.]

successor, Nasir ad-din. The reign of Nasir ad-din was marked on the whole by an increase of Russian influence over British. Persia's sympathies were strongly with Russia in the Crimean war and decidedly against England, the ally of the hated Sunnite Turks, and Persia's repeated attempts to gain possession of Herat were displeasing to England. In 1856 the latter power declared war; English troops were landed on the Persian Gulf and the Persians were forced to restore Herat (1857). Disputes with Afghanistan and Baluchistan led to a demarcation of the frontier between Persia and Baluchistan in 1872, carried out by an English commissioner. In the next year the shah visited Europe, and repeated his visit in 1878 and in 1889. In 1896 Nasir ad-din was assassinated near Teheran, and his son, Muzaffar ad-din, quietly succeeded him. In 1906 the shah granted a constitution. On January 8th, 1907, he died and was succeeded by his son, Muhammed Ali Mirza, who had for some time been regent. The first meeting of the new parliament took place in the following May. On August 31st the premier was assassinated. At present the country is in a disturbed state, and, in addition to domestic troubles, there is a dispute with Turkey over the western boundary that has led to armed clashes.

For many years various powers, and especially Russia and England, have been endeavouring to gain influence and special commercial concessions in Persia. During the reign of Muzaffar ad-din Russia appeared to be the most successful in this respect; she established consuls and banks in the more important towns, made extensive loans to the government, and obtained other concessions. It was Russia's aim to secure an outlet on the Persian Gulf, but here she was blocked by Great Britain, which felt the necessity of safeguarding India. Early in the last century Great Britain put down piracy and the slave trade around the gulf, and induced the chiefs to enter into engagements, the terms of which vary greatly, some of them treating the chief as an independent sovereign, others reducing him to the position of an Indian feudatory. She has also performed the duty of buoying, lighting, and policing the gulf, and has enjoyed practically a monopoly of its trade. By a convention signed August 31st, 1907, the two rival powers endeavoured to regulate their interests in Central Asia on a friendly basis. That part of the convention which dealt with Persia guaranteed the independence and integrity of the country, but divided it into two "spheres of influence." The Russian sphere, which is much the larger, lies to the north of a line drawn from the Turco-Russian frontier west of Kerman to the point where the Persian, Afghan, and Russian frontiers meet. The British sphere extends south of a line extending from the Perso-Afghan frontier to Bunder Abbas on the Persian Gulf. Two further articles safeguarded the customs and other revenues which Persia had pledged as security for loans made by Russian and British banks.^a

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF PERSIA

PERSIA UNDER THE ARABS (642-1258 A.D.)

- A.D.
- 641 Battle of Nehavend marks end of Persian empire. Although the country is now nominally under Arab rule, the governors soon make themselves practically independent.
- 820-873 Tahirid dynasty rules in Khorasan. It is overthrown by Saffarids, who rule in Khorasan and Fars.
- 874 Samanid dynasty rises under Ahmed, grandson of Saman.
- 901 Samanids under Ismail, son of Ahmed, overthrow Saffarids.
- 998 End of Samanid dynasty.
- 999 Mahmud, the Ghaznevid, conquers Khorasan and drives Samanids to Bokhara, where they are overthrown by Turkomans. Mahmud makes extensive conquests in India.
- 1028-1030 Mahmud attacks Buyids or Bowides in the west and takes Hamadan and Ispahan.
- 1037 Mahmud's son Mas'ud (1037-1041) is attacked by Seljuks under Togrul Beg. They occupy Azerbaijan, Armenia, Fars, the Persian Irak and the Arabian Irak.
- 1055 Togrul overthrows Buyids in Baghdad.
- 1097 Khwarezmian shahs (1097-1231) become powerful under Atsiz, governor for Seljuks in Khwarezm.
- 1150 Ghurid sultans of region between Herat and Ghazni become powerful under Aladdin Husein.
- 1183 Ghaznevids under Khosru Malik are overthrown by Ghurids.
- 1194 Khwarezmian Takash defeats Seljuks and takes Khorasan from Ghurids.
- 1203 Ghurids defeated by Khwarezmian shah, Muhammed, son of Takash, who takes Ghazni and conquers most of Persia.
- 1220 Muhammed is conquered by Jenghiz Khan.
- 1229 Tulé, youngest son of Jenghiz, succeeds to rule over Persian provinces.
- 1258 Persia under Tatars and Mongols (1258-1501). Tulé's son Hüdagu conquers Baghdad. He extends his dominion over Syria, Anatolia, and Arabian Irak, makes himself independent, and founds dynasty of Ilkhans.
- 1335 Buseid, last Ilkhan, dies without heirs. His Tatar successors are called khans of Persia, but they are not powerful.
- 1387 Timur (Tamerlane) conquers Persia and kills seventy thousand persons in Ispahan, making a pyramid of their heads.
- 1405 Timur dies, and is succeeded by Khalil Shah, although Timur had designated Pir Muhammed as his successor. Khalil's bad rule soon results in his deposition.
- 1408 Shah Rukh succeeds Khalil. He removes his capital from Samarkand to Herat. In the northwest Persian provinces the Turkomans revolt under Kara Yusuf and conquer large part of Persia.
- 1446 Shah Rukh dies, and is succeeded by his son, Ulug Bey. Ulug is put to death by his son, Abdul-Latif, who is himself soon killed by soldiers. Baber usurps power for a short period, and after his death Abu Said, great-grandson of Timur, succeeds to power.
- 1467 Uzun Hassan, a Turkoman, overthrows kingdom founded by Kara Yusuf.
- 1468 Abu Said is taken prisoner and killed by Uzun Hassan. His son reigns in Bokhara, his brother in Farghana.
- 1478 Uzun Hassan dies, and is succeeded on the throne of Persia by his son Yakub.
- 1485 Yakub dies by poison, and is succeeded probably by his son Alamut, though there is some doubt on the subject, and it would appear that a period of civil war intervened, during which various nobles usurped the power.
- 1487-1506 Husein Mirza, great-great-grandson of Timur, reigns at Herat.

SUFIC DYNASTY (1501-1721 A.D.)

- 1501 Ismail I founds Persian dynasty of Sufi. Ismail is a grandson of Uzun Hassan and a descendant of Sheikh Sufi. He takes old Persian title of Shah or Shainshah.
- 1502-1503 Ismail destroys Turkoman dominion, conquers Azerbaijan and Armenia.

- 1510 Ismail conquers the Usbeg khan, Shaibani, a descendant of Jenghiz Khan.
- 1514 Ismail is defeated by the Ottoman sultan Selim I. Ismail had introduced the Shiitic form of belief, which is regarded as heretical by the orthodox Turkish Sunnites. Selim annexes Diarbekir and Kurdistan.
- 1519 On Selim's death, Ismail subdues Georgia.
- 1523 Ismail dies, leaving an empire extending from Kerman, Khorasan, Turkestan, to Diarbekir and Irab. He is succeeded by **Tamasp**.
- 1527 Persians defeat army of Usbegs.
- 1528 Baghdad is recovered from a Kurdish usurper.
- 1534 Suleiman takes Baghdad from Persians.
- 1543 Indian emperor Humayun is entertained at Persian court.
- 1548 Rebellion of shah's brother, in alliance with sultan, leads to war with Turkey.
- 1552 Persians invade Georgia.
- 1559 Bayazid, son of Suleiman, takes refuge with Tamasp, who is prevailed upon to give him up to his father. This cements peace between Persia and Turkey.
- 1561 English envoy from Queen Elizabeth arrives in Persia to make a commercial treaty; no important results.
- 1575 Tamasp dies, and is succeeded by **Ismail II**.
- 1577 Ismail II dies after two years of misrule. He is succeeded by his brother, **Muhammed the Blind**. Muhammed is a weak ruler, and his reign is disturbed by rebellion within and foes without.
- 1586 Shah **Abbas the Great**, son of Muhammed, comes to throne. He is most distinguished of Persian rulers. Makes Ispahan his capital. At his court are ambassadors from England, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and India. On his accession Abbas is obliged to fight Usbegs, but is called off by Turks.
- 1590 Abbas makes a treaty with Murad III.
- 1597 Abbas retakes Herat and Khorasan from Usbegs. He extends his dominion over Balkh, the Bahrein, and the province of Lar.
- 1601 War begins again with Ottomans in which Persians recover lost provinces. Peace is signed under Othman II.
- 1609 Persians retake Kandahar from the Grand Mughal.
- 1620 About 1620, English, French, and Dutch establish factories at Gombroon (Bender-Abbas).
- 1623 Abbas dies, and is succeeded by his grandson, who rules under name Shah **Sufi**. Sufi commits many barbarities and empire declines under him.
- 1638 Kandahar is taken by Grand Mughal. Baghdad is conquered by Murad IV.
- 1641 Sufi dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Abbas II**. Abbas receives foreign embassies and is tolerant of other religions. He is a drunkard.
- 1647 Kandahar is retaken by Persians.
- 1666 Abbas II dies, and is succeeded by his son Sufi, under name of **Suleiman**. He is a weak prince under whom Persia declines; no important event occurs during his reign. Usbegs invade Khorasan annually. Tatars ravage shores of Caspian. Dutch seize island of Kishm in Persian gulf. Many foreigners visit magnificent Persian court.
- 1694 Suleiman dies, and is succeeded by his son **Husein**. Husein, a weak and bigoted ruler, brings his empire to ruin.
- 1700 Afghan tribes of Ghilzais and Durranio (Abdalis) revolt, and under **Mir Wais** take possession of Kandahar, which is constituted into an independent kingdom.
- 1713 Mir Wais dies, and is succeeded by his brother, **Mir Abdallah**, who gives dissatisfaction to Afghan nobles.
- 1717 Mir Abdallah is killed by his nephew, Mir Mahmud, son of Mir Wais. **Mahmud** is proclaimed king.
- 1720 Mahmud invades Persia and takes Kerman, which is retaken by Persian general Lutf Ali Khan.
- 1722 Ispahan is taken by Afghans after seven months' siege. **Mahmud** becomes ruler of Persia, and in order to establish his power massacres thousands of Persians. He finally becomes insane.
- 1725 **Ashraf**, son of Mir Abdallah, succeeds Mahmud; his reign is disturbed by Russian and Turkish designs on Persia.
- 1729 Nadir (Kuli Khan), a powerful Persian chief, drives out Ashraf, and places **Tamasp**, son of Husein, on throne. Tamasp has claimed royal title ever since his father's surrender to Mahmud.
- 1732 Tamasp is defeated by Turks, and cedes to them Georgia and Armenia. In consequence, Nadir dethrones Tamasp and raises his infant son, **Abbas III**, to the throne.
- 1733 Nadir attacks Baghdad and is defeated by Turkish general Topal Osman. After three months Nadir again attacks Baghdad and takes it.
- 1734-1735 Nadir occupies Armenia and Georgia, drives out Turks, and concludes treaty with Porte.
- 1736 Abbas III dies, and **Nadir** becomes shah on condition that the Shiitic heresy be given up. He raises empire to its former glory.

- 1738 Nadir conquers Balkh and Kandahar.
- 1739 Nadir invades India and in a single battle captures Delhi. Many thousands of inhabitants are massacred.
- 1743 Nadir is suspicious of his son Kuli and puts his eyes out. From this time on Nadir is so violently savage and cruel that he is a terror to his subjects.
- 1745 Nadir gains victory over the Turks and makes treaty with them.
- 1747 Nadir is murdered by nobles. Period of anarchy follows. **Adil Shah**, nephew of Nadir, is proclaimed ruler. Kingdom of Afghans is founded in eastern Iran under Ahmed, and is permanently lost to Persia.
- 1748 Adil is deposed and blinded by his brother **Ibrahim**. Ibrahim is soon killed by troops. The blinded **Shah Rokh**, grandson of Husein, succeeds. He is deposed several times, and finally established in Khorasan by Ahmed Khan, king of Afghans. In the mean time Muhammed Husein Khan, of the tribe of Kujurs, ancestor of the reigning dynasty, has established his authority in Mazenderan. Azerbaijan, Ghilan, and Georgia are independent. Ali Murdan Khan, of tribe of Bukhtari, puts descendant of house of Sufi on throne and asks Kurim Khan and other chiefs to aid him.
- 1753 **Kurim Khan** succeeds in uniting southern Persia under his rule, and occupies Shiraz. He is a wise and just ruler; never calls himself shah, but only wakil of Sufi Shah.
- 1756 Kurim takes Ispahan and large part of Irak. He is forced to retreat to Shiraz by Muhammed Husein Khan.
- 1757 Muhammed besieges Kurim at Shiraz, but is forced to retire to Mazenderan. Owing to lack of union among his followers, Muhammed is eventually defeated and killed. Khorasan alone is left under dominion of Shah Rokh.
- 1776 Basra surrenders to Saduk Khan, brother of Kurim. Internal commerce of Persia is revived during later years of Kurim.
- 1779 Kurim dies, nearly eighty years old. Another period of anarchy follows.
- 1781 **Ali Murad**, nephew of Kurim, finally obtains the crown.
- 1785 Ali Murad dies while on his way to fight Aga Muhammed, khan of the Kajar tribe in Mazenderan. He is succeeded by **Giaffer** (Jaaffer) **Khan**, son of Saduk Khan. During his reign he is occupied chiefly in fighting Aga Muhammed Khan.
- 1789 Giaffer Khan is murdered. During an interval of a few months one of the conspirators who killed Giaffer reigns. **Lutf Ali Khan**, son of Giaffer, then succeeds to power. Lutf Ali is distinguished for his noble qualities, but is rash and proud. He offends Hadji Ibrahim, one of his most powerful supporters, who goes over to Aga Muhammed Khan.
- 1791 Hadji Ibrahim seizes Shiraz. Almost all of Lutf Ali's troops desert him. Ibrahim disarms soldiers and sends them out of Shiraz. Sends for Aga Muhammed.
- 1792 Lutf Ali boldly attacks Aga Muhammed's advancing army. Owing to Muhammed's calm resolution and self-possession Ali is defeated.
- 1793 Lutf Ali after repeatedly attempting to regain his kingdom is captured and finally killed.

KAJAR DYNASTY

- 1794 With **Aga Muhammed Khan** begins rule of Kajar dynasty. At the death of Lutf Ali, he is ruler over provinces of Astrabad, Mazenderan, Ghilan, over Irak, Fars, and Kerman. He makes Teheran his capital.
- 1795 Muhammed marches against Georgia, which under Heraclius has transferred its allegiance to Russia. He enters Tiflis.
- 1796 Aha Muhammed Khan is crowned as **Muhammed Shah**. In the same year he subdues Khorasan, and tortures the blind Shah Rokh to make him give up his concealed jewels. Russians take Georgia, but retreat on death of the empress Catherine, and Muhammed makes treaty with Russia.
- 1797 Muhammed is murdered, and—owing to the firmness and good management of Hadji Ibrahim—Muhammed's nephew Baba Khan, under name **Feth Ali**, succeeds him. Feth Ali is not actually crowned until the following year. He soon begins contest with Russia.
- 1800 Georgian ruler, George, son of Heraclius renounces his crown in favour of Russia. His brother repudiates the act and war ensues. Russia gains possession of Derbent, Baku, Shirvan, Sheki, Ganja (Elizabethpol), the Talish, and Mugan. British India makes commercial and political treaties with Persia.
- 1802 Georgia is declared a Russian province. A few years later France enters into diplomatic relations with Persia, and the French officers are sent to drill army. British send mission to Persia.
- 1809 French general Gardanne is dismissed owing to Peace of Tilsit. British diplomatist, Sir Harford Jones, concludes treaty with Persia.
- 1810 Malcolm is sent as envoy from England with two officers and field pieces. Said Muhammed Ali, founder of Babism, is born in Shiraz about this time.

- 1811 Persia declares war on Russia.
- 1813 Treaty of Gulistan. Persia loses all her possessions in the Caucasus, north of Armenia, and Russia obtains right to have ships of war on the Caspian.
- 1822 War with Turkey.
- 1823 Treaty of Erzerum between Turkey and Persia. No territorial changes are made.
- 1826 Persians, without making declaration of war, attack Russia. At first they are successful, but they soon meet with reverses; negotiations for peace are begun, but prove futile.
- 1827 Campaign reopens.
- 1828 Peace is concluded through British mediation at Turkmanchai. Persia gives up Erivan, Nakhitchevan, and Armenia, with the rich monastery Etchmiadzin, besides paying a war indemnity of £3,000,000.
- 1829 Popular rage breaks out against Russians in Teheran, and Russian ambassador with his wife and largest part of his suite is killed. Soon afterwards alliance with Russia is strengthened and that with England weakened.
- 1833 Crown prince Abbas Mirza dies. His death is a great loss to his country.
- 1834 Feth Ali dies, and is succeeded by his son, **Ali Shah**, who reigns for twenty days. **Muhammed Shah**, a grandson of Feth Ali, is placed on throne through influence of Russia and England in opposition to Ali Shah. Russia and England struggle for influence in Persia; Russia persuades Persia to undertake against Herat an expedition, which proves unsuccessful.
- 1837 Shah again invades Herat and lays siege to city.
- 1838 Siege of Herat is raised owing to English efforts.
- 1840 England gains but does not maintain upper hand in Persian affairs.
- 1846 Persia concludes treaty with Russia, giving latter right to use two ports on Caspian Sea for war-ships.
- 1847 Treaty of Erzerum with Turkey settles frontier disputes which had lasted for about five years.
- 1848 Muhammed Shah dies, and is succeeded by **Nasir ad-din**. He appoints Mirza Taki vizir and introduces reforms. Insurrection in Khorasan is suppressed.
- 1850 Babist teachings have spread to such an extent that Said Muhammed Ali is put to death.
- 1852 Persia incorporates sultanate of Herat. An attempt on the shah's life by three Babists results in terrible persecutions and massacres of members of the Babist sect.
- 1852 England tries to secure independence of Herat and to land troops at Bushire on the Persian Gulf.
- 1853 Persia, though favouring Russia, takes no active part in Crimean war.
- 1855 Persia reconquers Herat.
- 1856 English seize Bushire. Shah sends troops against them, which are defeated.
- 1857 Peace is concluded with England through French mediation. In the following years Persia fights with Turkomans, but with no lasting result.
- 1859 Sir Henry Rawlinson, the celebrated orientalist, becomes British minister to Persia. About a year later he is succeeded by Mr. Charles Alison.
- 1868 Telegraph convention between England and Persia for communication between Europe and India.
- 1872 Renewal of telegraph convention.
- 1873 Shah visits England.
- 1878 Treaty of Berlin gives city of Kotur to Persia.
- 1879 Shah visits Europe.
- 1881 Treaty with Russia (ratified 1882) settles boundaries between Persia and the Turkoman territory conquered by Russia.
- 1887 Ayub Khan, son of Shir Ali of Afghanistan, who, through agreement with England, has been confined at Teheran since 1884, escapes and tries to raise a revolt against Amir Abdur-rahman of Afghanistan. He is unsuccessful, and is sent a prisoner to India.
- 1888 Karan river is opened to international navigation. Railway between Teheran and Shah Abdul Azim is opened.
- 1889 "Imperial Bank of Persia" starts business with British royal charter. Russia demands corresponding advantage. Shah visits Europe for third time.
- 1890 As a concession to Russia, railways are forbidden in Persia.
- 1891 Twenty-eight thousand persons die of cholera in Persia.
- 1893 In a convention with Russia, Persia cedes lands on the northern frontier of Khorasan in exchange for land on the frontier of Azerbaijan.
- 1895 Persia gives France exclusive right to excavate antiquities in Persia.
- 1896 Nasir ad-din is assassinated. He is succeeded by his son, **Muzaffar ad-din**.
- 1897 M. J. de Morgan begins work of excavation at Susa (Shushan).
- 1900 Russian government secures important loan to Persia. Shah visits Europe.
- 1902 Shah makes second visit to Europe.
- 1905 Shah visits the Russian czar. Persian army reorganized.



CHAPTER IV

THE BUFFER STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

IN the high lands of eastern Afghanistan, which are bounded on the north by the snowy peaks of the Hindu Kush or the Indian Caucasus, anterior Asia touches that "roof of the world" which is the geographic centre of the continent and in which India, the Chinese Empire, and the territories of immense Russia come together. In this region, one of the least explored of the continent, the base of the table-lands upon which arise the great mountains, surpasses the highest peaks of the Pyrenees in altitude. A little distance to the west, between the plains of Turkestan and the valley of the Indus, pass the routes which have been in all time the most frequented; hence the extreme military importance of Afghanistan and the great rôle this country plays in the history of commerce and of popular migrations.

Neither tradition nor legend tells us that the mountain was crossed in the time of the Aryan ancestors. But the relationship existing between the cults, ceremonies, prayers, language, and civilisation of the people of the Iranian "Seven Rivers" and the people of the Hindu "Seven Rivers" is so close as to amount almost to identity, and leaves no doubt that the gates to the mountains between the two slopes of the watershed were known and used by the expeditions of Alexander. Then the constitution of Hellenic states, which stretched from Bactria clear to the other side of the snowy mountains and perhaps into the heart of India, joined again the two extremities of the Aryan world through these defiles of the Hindu Kush; afterwards Buddhist missionaries and probably also armed propagandists chose the same routes for putting India into communication with the countries of northern Asia and of the extreme Orient. Gigantic images, carved centuries ago in the rocks of Bamian, have seen pass before them many expeditions of war, of propaganda, or of commerce, which have exercised considerable influence upon the history of the world.

[1888 A.D.]

Taken as a whole, Afghanistan may be considered a region of passage; it is the Roh, a mountainous country mentioned by ancient authors, simply as the region comprised between Turan, Iran, and Ind. As an eastern continuation of the plateau of Iran, it separates the two cradles of civilisation, Iran and the basin of the Euphrates, and its chief importance comes from the roads which unite these two countries. The cities which arise there, in the fertile valleys, in the midst of oases, at the entrance to gorges, are mentioned in history principally on account of their strategic value and the advantages they offer to armies for the conquest or defence of distant territories. Thus Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul are often called the "keys" of India. "Since the most ancient times," said the historian of Akbar in 1602, "Kabul and Kandahar have been regarded as the gates of Hindustan; one opens from Turan, the other from Iran, and if these places are well guarded, the vast empire of India is protected from foreign invasion."¹ b

HISTORY

The oldest accounts of Afghanistan are found in the Indian Veda and go back to 1800 B.C. Further and more detailed information is obtained from the expedition of Alexander the Great into India. Later references to Afghanistan occur here and there in Persian and Chinese works—in the latter in connection with a journey of a Buddhist, who twice passed through the valley of the Kabul river in the second half of the sixth century A.D. The Afghans, however, do not appear in the clear light of history until later; they are first mentioned in the campaigns of Mahmud the Ghaznevid as useful and brave allies of the Ghaznevids. Immigration into the country took place only gradually, and in the fourteenth century single tribes still resided outside the present frontier. Still later Kaffirs or Siaposh lived in great numbers in the eastern province of Afghanistan, whilst the Tajaks lived in the west. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the Afghans united in a close and powerful confederation. Up to that time they had been subject to the Persians, especially at last under the energetic rule of Nadir Shah. After his death, in 1747, the twenty-three-year-old Ahmed Shah of the tribe of Abdali, who was known as a poet and historian, took advantage of the disorders in Persia to shake off the yoke of the Persian, who was doubly hated as a Shiite. In this attempt he was successful. He founded the dynasty of the Abdali, or, as it was later called, Durrani. He soon appeared as a conqueror, and the fortune of war was so favourable to him that before his death his realm extended from Khorasan into the Pendjeh. He was also the founder of Kandahar. The glory of the Durrani dynasty was not, however, of long duration. The dynasty, after an existence of seventy-six years, came to an end with the death of Ahmed's grandson Mahmud, in the year 1829. The kingdoms, with the exception of Herat, now passed into the hands of the Barakzai brothers, Dost Muhammed coming to power in Kabul, Kohan dil Khan in Kandahar, and Sultan Muhammed in Peshawar. At the head stood the oldest of the three brothers, Dost Muhammed, as owner of Kabul.

Nevertheless, the country was not blessed with peace. Dost Muhammed was at war with Lahore in the east; Herat was involved in war with the Persians in the west. In addition, the British governor-general of India, Lord Auckland,

¹ Abul-Fazel.

declared war on Afghanistan on October 1st, 1838, on the pretext that Dost Muhammed had wrongfully fought against the British ally Ranjit Singh, that the military plans of the Afghan princes revealed a hostile attitude towards India, and that Shah Shuja had asked for assistance as the legitimate successor. An Anglo-Indian army of twelve thousand men and forty thousand camp-followers started against Afghanistan in February, 1839, crossed the Indus on February 20th, went through the Bolan Pass in March and the Khojak Pass on April 7th—not without great loss—and on April 25th reached Kandahar, where Shah Shuja formally took possession of his government. On July 22nd, Ghazni, which had always been considered impregnable, was taken through treachery. On August 6th, the shah, with the British main force, moved into the devastated Kabul, and the English already regarded the land as a fief of the Anglo-Indian Empire. They had, however, taken into consideration neither the nature of the land nor the character of the Afghans, and in consequence were soon terribly undeceived. Afghanistan was overrun but not conquered. Dost Muhammed, in a helpless situation, did indeed surrender to the English, but his crafty son was so much the more active. The latter placed himself at the head of a far-reaching conspiracy in which neither the British commissioner, Alexander Burnes, nor Macnaghten, the British minister at the court of Kabul, would believe, in spite of all indications.^c The massacre at Kabul and the dreary retreat of the English are too well known to need repetition.^a

Only one Briton of rank escaped death to bring the sad news to English headquarters. General Nott marched from Kandahâr, which had remained in British possession, against Ghazni, which he occupied on September 6th, 1842, without much opposition, and which, in spite of its flourishing condition, he destroyed. In the mean while General Pollock had started towards the other central point, Kabul, to join forces there with Nott in the middle of September. The destruction of this place and the liberation of the captured English followed the defeat of Akbar's men. Afghanistan appeared ruined and disorganised enough, so that the British generals began a quick retreat in December, leaving the land to itself. The transports of victory led them to commit the folly of liberating the captured Afghans, even Dost Muhammed himself. Returning from Hindustan and well aware of the state of things in that country, Dost Muhammed gladly allowed himself to be welcomed as a saviour in Kabul, and began to strengthen his dominion. Already in 1846 he seized an opportunity to operate against England, and entered into an alliance with the Sikhs. However, the battle of February 21st, 1849, destroyed the power of his allies and his own hopes, so that he fled discouraged over the Indus, with sixteen thousand of his warriors. The British Indian government, nevertheless, took no decided steps against him; on the contrary, Dost Muhammed found time and leisure to enlarge and strengthen his own kingdom. In order to secure his conquests by being on good terms with his eastern neighbours, he had already signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Indo-British government on March 20th, 1855. In January, 1857, he concluded a new alliance with the British government, as the representative of which, the governor of Punjab, John Lawrence, conducted the negotiations.

The prosperity of the Afghan realm had on the whole begun to increase, but the peace was again disturbed in 1860 when Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat fell into a disagreement with Afzul Khan of Kunduz, the son of Dost Muhammed, who was very popular among the Afghans. But Dost Muhammed knew how to restore the equilibrium now, as he had restored it in the disturbances in Bokhara in 1861. In the beginning of 1862, however, a Persian

[1862-1901 A.D.]

army from Nedjed again threatened the Afghan boundary, and Sultan Ahmed Khan of Herat, at the instigation of the Persians, marched against Farah and Kandahar at the head of an army corps. Then all Afghanistan was aroused and war became unavoidable. The grey-headed amir Dost Muhammed hastened at the head of his army against the enemy, calling at the same time on the help of the British in British India. He cleared the frontiers and then advanced upon Herat, which fell into his power on May 26th, 1863, after a tedious siege. Ahmed Khan died shortly before the capture of the city. Dost Muhammed died a few days afterwards, at the age of ninety-two, after designating his son, Sher Ali Khan, as his heir and as ruler of the realm. Herat remained in the hands of the Afghans, without any opposition on the part of Persia, but the realm soon fell into confusion. For, after Dost Muhammed's death, his sons and grandsons began to quarrel amongst themselves, and a wild strife broke out in the tribe of the Barakzai, which caused terrible devastation in the country.^c

Dost Muhammed was succeeded by his son, Sher Ali, who, however, did not establish himself on the throne until after many wars and disputes with his brothers and nephews. After five years his authority was firmly established in Kabul, and in 1869 a splendid reception was accorded him at Am-balla by the earl of Mayo, Lawrence's successor.

In the mean time the Russians had been approaching the northern boundary of Afghanistan, and Sher Ali again turned to the English for support. Not meeting with a favourable response, and being hurt, moreover, at England's refusal to take his part in a dispute with Persia, the amir now began to look more and more to Russia. Accordingly, in 1878, when England demanded the reception of a British resident at Kabul, Sher Ali refused and war was at once declared.

The English advanced resolutely; Jalalabad was occupied by the end of 1878, Kandahar fell into their hands in the beginning of 1879, and a force under Sir Frederick Roberts defeated the amir's troops at the Peiwar Kotal. Sher Ali fled from Kabul to the north, where he died in February, 1879. His son, Yakub Khan, who was proclaimed amir, concluded a treaty of peace with the English in May. The peace was, however, of short duration. In September of the same year the English resident at Kabul, Sir Louis Cavagnari, was killed with his whole suite and the war began again. Sir Frederick Roberts at once marched upon Kabul, which he entered in October, and sent the deposed amir Yakub to India. Abdurrahman, the nephew of Sher Ali, was recognised as amir by Great Britain, but the province of Kandahar was taken out from under his jurisdiction and given to the sirdar Sher Ali Khan of the Barakzai family.

In a land containing so many claimants to the throne, however, it was not long before war broke out afresh. Shortly after the proclamation of Abdurrahman as amir in July, 1880, Ayub Khan, another son of the amir Sher Ali, who had been in possession of Herat since the death of his father, defeated General Barrows and marched upon Kandahar. General Roberts made a forced march to relieve the city, defeated Ayub Khan on the 1st of September, and placed the province under the dominion of Abdurrahman. In the next year, the English having in the mean time retired, Ayub Khan again attacked Kandahar, of which he took possession in July. Abdurrahman, however, succeeded in defeating him and drove him to take refuge in Persia, incorporating Herat in his own kingdom. During the twenty years that now followed, until Abdurrahman's death in 1901, Afghanistan enjoyed a period of comparative quiet, broken only by occasional civil wars. The central power was

established by the organisation of a regular army equipped with European arms, and law and order were to a certain extent introduced into the country. In 1895 the amir subdued the "infidels" of Kafiristan and compelled them to accept Islam.

Abdurrahman was succeeded in 1901 by his son, Habib Ullah, whose accession to the throne took place quietly and without any disturbance. He has maintained a friendly policy towards England, although the latter country has felt some apprehension on account of Russian desires to establish direct commercial relations with the Afghans on the frontier, in opposition to the agreement between Russia and England that Russia would hold no direct diplomatic negotiations with Afghanistan.^a

TIBET

Tibet comprises almost exactly half of the vast semicircle of mountains which, with a radius of eight hundred kilometres, extends west of populous China, from the first Mongolian promontories of the Tian-Shan to the openings in the eastern Himalaya, through which the Tsangpo, the Salwin, and the Mekong escape towards the Indian Ocean. The high bordering chain of the Kwanlun divides this semicircle into two parts which contrast singularly with each other; on the north is the closed basin of the Tarim and of several other rivers which lose themselves in the sands; on the south rises the high plateau of Tibet. At the side of one of the deepest hollows in the interior of a continent rises the most massive protuberance on the surface of the earth. Taken as a whole, if one disregards the irregularities of contour caused by its political frontiers, Tibet is one of the most clearly demarcated regions of the Old World. Resting at the northwest on the jagged ranges which are furrowed by the valleys of Ladak and Kashmir, Tibet widens gradually towards the southeast and east between the dominating ridges of the Asiatic continent—the Kwanlun and the Himalaya. Like the Pamir, the two great chains which dominate the triangular mass of Tibet on the north and south are regarded by the people who live at their base as the "roofs of the world," the "steps of heaven," and the "sojourn of the gods." They seem to form the limits of another land, to which the diadem of snow shining in the sun gives the appearance of an enchanted region, but which the few explorers who have reached it know is a land of cold, of misery caused by snow, and of famine. If the Tibetan government has succeeded better than any other state of Asia in prolonging the isolated condition of its people during the last century, this success is due chiefly to the high relief of the country and to the nature of its soil. Tibet rises like a citadel in the centre of Asia; its defenders have been better able than those of India, China, or Japan to prohibit an entry into their abode.

The greatest part of Tibet is yet unexplored, or at least the itineraries of the Catholic missionaries who traversed the country when entrance into it was not forbidden cannot be traced with certitude. In the first half of the fourteenth century a Friuli friar, Odoric Pordenone, went to Tibet from China and resided at Lhasa. Three centuries later, in 1675 and 1676, the Portuguese missionary Andrada penetrated twice into Tibet, where he was well received by the Buddhist priests. In 1661 other Jesuit priests, Grüber and d'Orville, went from China to Hindustan, passing through Lhasa. In the following century still others, the Tuscan Desideri and the Portuguese Manoel Freyre, visited the capital of Tibet coming from India. But the Capuchins had already

[1750-1901 A.D.]

founded a Catholic mission at Lhasa under the direction of Orazio della Penna, who remained in the country no less than twenty-two years. At that time the Tibetan government allowed strangers to go freely through the passes of the Himalaya which are so carefully guarded in our days. A lay explorer also resided for several years at Lhasa, and from thence went to China by the Kuku-nor, to come back again to Hindustan by way of Lhasa. That traveller was the Dutchman Van der Putte, who is known to have been a learned man and a good observer. Unfortunately he destroyed his maps and papers, fearing lest, badly classified as they were, they might be the cause of propagating errors. Southeastern Tibet has been traversed by French missionaries, but all recent attempts to enter Tibet from the northeast and north have failed. The Russian Prjevalski had to retire twice without being able to penetrate into the heart of the country, and the Hungarian Béla Szechenyi was likewise obliged to retrace his steps.^b The only Englishman to enter the sacred city of Lhasa before the recent military expedition under Colonel Younghusband was Thomas Manning. He reached there in 1811, but was not allowed to remain. During the last century European travellers have been firmly and persistently turned back from any approach to the capital of Tibet. The well-known Scandinavian explorer Sven Hedin was turned back in 1901 when within a five days' journey of it. The Englishman Landor, who penetrated into the country in 1897, was taken prisoner when within a short distance of Lhasa and severely tortured before he was finally sent back to the frontier under military escort.^a

PEOPLE

The great mass of the inhabitants of Tibet, except the Hors and the Soks—that is, the Turks and the Mongols of Khatchi—and the various independent peoples of the province of Kham, belong to the same group of the race called Mongolians. The Tibetans are certainly among the most richly endowed peoples of the earth; nearly all travellers who have penetrated into their country agree in praising their gentleness, their humanity, the frankness of their language and conduct, their dignity, without ostentation in the case of those in authority and spontaneous among the common people. Brave, courageous, naturally gay, fond of music, dancing, and singing, the Tibetans would be a model people if they had a little initiative. But they passively allow themselves to be disciplined and to be transformed into a docile herd. The word of the lamas is their law. Even the will of the Chinese residents, strangers as they are, is scrupulously obeyed, and it is on this account that the nation, although so hospitable and gracious, has come to guard its frontiers in order to prevent travellers from entering the country. The inhabitants of Bodyul (Tibet) have long been a civilised people. It is true that the customs of the Stone Age are maintained in certain religious ceremonies, since the prelates use a “stone of thunder” to tonsure the heads of the lamas. The same age of human history continues also on the high plateaus of Tibet, where the shepherds of numerous encampments use stone cooking-pots; but that comes from their extreme isolation; they are not ignorant of the existence of iron and copper, and those of them who can procure instruments of metal are glad to do so.

It is well known that Tibet is the centre of that religion which disputes with Christianity the first place in regard to the number of its confessors. The Tibetans are the most zealous of Buddhists, although their cult, modified

by the influence of anterior rites, of climate, of mode of life, and of contact with surrounding peoples, resembles in appearance the old religion of Chakya-muni. It was only in the fifth century, after first attempts made three centuries earlier, that the Hindu missionaries began the conversion of the Tibetan people. Their rites, analogous to those of the Chinese taoism, consisted at that time in offerings and prayers to the lakes, mountains, and trees, representing the forces of nature; but two hundred years passed before the new cult replaced the Bon or Pön bo religion to any extent in the country. The first temple was not built until 698. A hundred years afterwards religious edifices and convents arose on all sides, and the religion of Buddha shone over Tibet like the "light of the sun." It was the golden age of the theocratic power, for, according to the Mongolian historian Sanang Setzen, "the unbounded respect which was felt for the priests gave to the people a felicity like to that of the blessed spirits." Nevertheless, it does not appear that the cults anterior to Buddhism were entirely vanquished, since, according to the same writer, "the love of good thoughts and of meritorious acts was afterwards forgotten like a dream." The doctrine was not re-established in full force until the end of the tenth century, and then it soon became divided into sects. Tibetan Buddhism had its religious revival four hundred years later. The monk Tsongkapa undertook the revision of the doctrine, formulated new precepts, and modified the ritual; his disciples are the "yellow bonnets," or *geluk-pa*, whose cult predominates in Tibet, whilst the old sect of the "red bonnets," *duk-pa* or *shammar*, has maintained its power in Nepal and Bhutan. The reformer Tsongkapa was regarded by his followers as the incarnation of the divinity, as a living Buddha who had taken on the appearance of human nature. He never dies, but passes from body to body in the form of a *khoubilgan*, or "new-born Buddha," and it is thus that he is perpetuated as the Tashi lama in the sacred monastery of Tashilunpo, near Shigatse. Another living Buddha rivals him now in the veneration of the Tibetans, and surpasses him in political power, thanks to his residence in the capital and to his direct relation with the Chinese ministers; this is the dalai-lama or the "prelate of the ocean," the story of whose enthronement in the seat of Buddha is differently related; but whether it was in the sixteenth or in the seventeenth century, the ecclesiastical prince of Lhasa has taken rank amongst the immortal divinities who are reincarnated from generation to generation. The third living Buddha in the hierarchy of the religion is that of Urga in Mongolia; but there are still others, and in Tibet even the superior of a monastery situated on the southern bank of Lake Palti is regarded as a divine Buddha.

The life of most Tibetans is passed in invocations and in conjurations in the form of prayers. The six magic syllables, *Om mani padmé houn*—which most commentators translate by "O jewel in the lotus, thus may he be!" but which others declare to be untranslatable—are the formula which is most often repeated. The sacred inscription is found everywhere, on the walls of houses and temples, beside the roads, on colossal statues rudely hewn in the live rocks. *Manés*, or ramparts built beside the paths, are composed of stones, each one of which bears the sacramental phrase. Brotherhoods have been formed for the sole purpose of carving the sacred inscription in huge characters on the sides of the mountains, so that the traveller passing at full gallop may be able to read the words of salvation. The *korlos*, *khortens*, or prayer wheels, also employed in all other countries, except Japan, where the cult of Buddha prevails, are nowhere else so frequent as in Tibet; even the forces of nature, the wind and water, are used to turn these cylinders, every revolution of which

[1901 A.D.]

shows to the all-seeing heaven the mystic words by which human destinies are governed.

The inhabitants of Tibet, Buddhists and Singhalese, Mongols and Chinese, are clearly distinguished from all other peoples of the same religion by their national customs, which the cult has not modified. The Tibetans of the south, as well as their neighbours and racial relatives, the Bhutans, still practise polyandry, in order to remain under the same roof and to avoid dividing the inheritance. The eldest son presents himself at the house of the bride in his own name and in the name of all his brothers, and as soon as a piece of butter has been placed on the foreheads of the conjugal pair the ceremony is valid for the whole family. The priests, who are obliged to remain at a distance from women, do not take part in this purely civil ceremony.¹ The Tibetan woman is highly respected, and is a good housekeeper. She also helps the men in their outside employment, either in tilling the soil or in caring for the flocks; her work, like that of her brothers, is done for the family as a whole. As in China, much heed is paid to politeness in Tibet. When two people meet they salute each other several times, sticking out the tongue and scratching themselves on the right ear, or even exchanging scarfs of white or pink silk, covered with embroidery representing flowers and the sacred formula; letters also are accompanied by these scarfs "of felicity." In this country all ceremonies are regulated in advance; the form and colour of the clothes are prescribed for all occasions of life by rigorous custom. During the year of mourning the men abstain from wearing silken garments and the women leave off their jewels. As soon as a person dies they hasten to pull out the hair from the top of his head in order to facilitate a happy transmigration. The family keeps the corpse for several days at least, or, if the family is rich, even for weeks; afterwards the priests decide whether the deceased shall be buried, burned, thrown into the current of a stream, or exposed on a rock to be devoured by dogs, birds, and beasts of prey.

THE CAPITAL

Lhasa is at once the capital of Tibet and the religious metropolis of all the Buddhists of the Chinese Empire; its name signifies "Throne of God"; for the Mongols it is the *morke-djot*, or "Eternal Sanctuary." Perhaps the number of priests, which is estimated at twenty thousand in Lhasa and vicinity, exceeds that of the civil population; crowds of pilgrims from all over Tibet, and even from beyond the frontiers, flock every year to the temples of the "Buddhist Rome." On the two long tree-lined avenues leading from the city to the palace of the lama, the faithful may constantly be seen with their rosaries, whilst prelates of the court, magnificently clothed and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, pass through the multitude. The palace of Potala, in which the sovereign resides, is an assembly of fortifications, temples, and monasteries, surmounted by a dome entirely covered with gold plate. It is surrounded by a peristyle whose columns are likewise gilded. The present edifice, reconstructed by Kanghi and filled with treasures brought by the faithful of Tibet, Mongolia, and China, has replaced the palace which was destroyed by the

[¹Landor, in describing the marriage customs, says that both polyandry and polygamy prevail. If a man marries the eldest daughter of a family, all the rest of her sisters become his wives. If he marries the next to the oldest, all younger than she are his wives, and so on. In the same way the bridegroom's brothers become husbands to the bride.]

Sungarians at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The "mountain of Buddha" has been ever since the seventh century the most venerated place of eastern Asia. When the day begins to decline, leaving the profile of the sacred mountain still plainly visible against the blue of the sky, all work stops in the city; the inhabitants gather in groups on the terraces, in the streets, and on the public squares and prostrate themselves, chanting their prayers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TIBET

In appearance the government of Tibet is purely theocratic. The dalai lama, called also *gyalpa-rembotché*, "jewel of majesty" or "sovereign treasure," holds all power in his hands. He is at once king and god; master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, he has no limit to his power other than his own good pleasure; nevertheless he consents to let himself be directed by ancient custom in his ordinary decisions. Moreover, his very grandeur prevents him from directly oppressing his people; being obliged to concern himself only with the high spiritual matters of the state, he is replaced in the government proper by a viceroy whom the emperor chooses in a superior council composed of three great priests. This supreme administrator is the *nomakhan* or *gyalbo*, obliged like all other Tibetans to be only the humble scribe of the grand lama. The nomakhan directs the administration, either by himself or through the intermediary of four ministers and sixteen inferior mandarins; the other officials, almost all chosen from the class of lamas, are named by the minister. But at the side of the government are two *kirichais* or *ambans*, Chinese residents, who watch over the high officials, and on grave occasions transmit to them the desires of the emperor. The principle established by Kanghi, and followed by his successors, is that in the affairs of Tibet everything relating to general politics and to war shall be dealt with by the government of Peking, but that the care of the special interests of the land and of the local police shall belong to the authorities of Lhasa, Tashilunpo (Shigatse), and the various other more or less independent provinces of Tibet. All the civil employees are Tibetans. The most serious crises in the government of Tibet occur when the dalai lama deigns to part with his human exterior to take on again the exterior of a child. The *khutuktu*, that is, the chief prelates, unite in a conclave and spend a week in fasting and prayer; then the future pope is designated by the casting of lots. But it is the Chinese embassy which controls this pretended chance; in 1792 it presented the conclave with a magnificent urn of gold, out of which the name of the new master was to be drawn, and ever since the sending of this gift no representative of a family hostile to the empire has ever been appointed by the electors. Moreover, the dalai lama cannot assume his dignity unless provided with a regular diploma signed by the emperor of China. Pope, king, and ministers all receive an annual subsidy from Peking.

All the able-bodied population of Tibet is obliged to constitute a sort of national guard for the defence of the country, but the only permanent troops are composed of strangers, Manchus, Mongols, and Turks, which the Chinese government is said to employ preferably because they are easier to support and are willing to eat the flesh of horses and wild asses (*dziggetai*); the real reason is that in their quality of foreigners they would not hesitate to massacre the Tibetans at the command of their chiefs. A small number of these soldiers suffices; most of the garrisons are composed of only a few dozen men.^b

[630-1903 A.D.]

OUTLINE OF HISTORY

The history of Tibet is very ancient, although much of it is legendary. The Chinese annals begin to mention the nomads of the Kuku-nor districts in the eleventh century B.C. The Tibetan annals begin between the fifth and second centuries B.C., and there are lists of kings covering the period down to 914 A.D. The most important event during this time was the conversion to Buddhism, which was finally accomplished in the eighth century. The first king who favoured the new religion was Srong-btsan-sgam-po (630), one of whose wives was the daughter of the Chinese emperor. This king extended his realm by conquests, through Nepal and into India on the south and to Ladak on the west. Muni-btsan-po, who came to the throne in 789, attempted to improve the condition of his subjects by reducing them all to the same level and abolishing all distinctions of rank and property, but his levelling process was not successful. After the death of Glang-dharma (899) the kingdom was divided between his two sons, and became still further split up under their successors. Kublai Khan conquered the east of Tibet in the middle of the thirteenth century, and established Buddhism more firmly than heretofore as the religion of the country. Ever since that time the history of Tibet has been the history of internal disputes between religious sects. In 1270 Kublai Khan gave the chief power over Tibet to Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltshan, chief of the Sakya sect, and lamas of the same sect (so called from the monastery which was their home) ruled until 1340. At that time the authority of rival monasteries began to increase, and whilst the country was in an unsettled, divided state, the reformer, Tsongkapa, appeared and established a new dynasty. The internal difficulties in China during this period opened the field for Mongolian interference in Tibet, under Tengir To. His son, Kushri Khan, conquered the whole of Tibet, and invested the dalai lama with the supreme authority over the whole country (1645). This ruler was the fifth of the dalai lamas of a monastery near Lhasa. Since then the dalai lamas have continued to be the combined spiritual and political leaders of the people, having been confirmed in the supreme office by the Chinese government in 1653. During the eighteenth century the English in India tried to establish friendly relations with the Tibetans, but the assistance given by the English to the Ghurkas, who invaded Tibet from Nepal in 1790, checked any inclinations the Tibetans may have had to cultivate the friendship of the nation of the "sahib" on the south. Since that time the passes between India and Tibet have been jealously guarded. During the last century Russian and English designs in central Asia have caused Tibet to be dragged from the position of isolation and seclusion which she has been trying to maintain. The English have been gradually nearing the Tibetan frontier; they have a resident in Nepal; Sikhim and Darjiling are in their power. In 1886 Sikhim was invaded by the Tibetans, and in 1890, after they had been driven back, the Chinese amban at Lhasa went to Calcutta for the purpose of drawing up a treaty between China and India in regard to the frontier between Tibet and Sikhim and to the commerce between the two countries. In 1902 the Chinese government suggested that a joint Chinese and Indian commission should meet on the frontier to discuss the situation, and in June, 1903, the viceroy informed the senior amban at Lhasa that Colonel Younghusband had been appointed to proceed to Khamba-Jong, near the frontier, there to meet the Tibetan and Chinese commissioners. The latter, however, failed to put in an appearance, and the British commissioner returned to Simla, to receive

instructions from the viceroy. In the mean time it was learned that the dalai lama had sent a present to the czar of Russia, and the Indian government felt that its prestige would be seriously affected unless some demonstration were made against Tibet. Accordingly a "mission" under Colonel Younghusband was sent into Tibet with a military escort, which came in contact with Tibetan soldiers half-way between Lhasa and the Indian frontier, and many of the native troops were shot down by English Maxims. The English expedition reached Lhasa in August, 1904, but found it impossible to communicate with the dalai lama, who fled, presumably into Mongolia. For a time there seemed to be some doubt as to whether negotiations could be carried on in a state without a head, but finally, on September 7th, Colonel Younghusband signed a treaty with the Tibetan officials in the palace of Potala. The Russians have throughout disclaimed any intentions upon Tibet, but the tutor and favourite counsellor of the dalai lama, who has just abdicated, was a Russian Mongolian subject by birth, and used his influence to incline his master favourably to Russia and to destroy the influence of China. Tibet is still recognised as a dependency of China.^a

NEPAL

Nepal is one of the "unknown countries" of Hindustan. Although the British government has been recognised by the king of the country as suzerain power, and an English resident has the right to live in the capital, guarded by sepoys, nevertheless the frontier of Nepal is strictly forbidden to ordinary travellers as well as to topographers.

The existence of Nepal as a state distinct from the rest of India is explained by the geography of the country. On the north the vast desert plateaus between the Himalaya and the Trans-Himalaya constitute the natural boundary of Nepal, and on the south the marshy forest of the Tarai forms a barrier, at once ethnographical and political, between the region of valleys and that of the plain. Nepal is composed of zones of vegetation built up on the sides of the central Himalayas. The fact that it is a geographical unit is owing to the climate, and not to the slopes of the watersheds. Wars, invasions, and treaties have variously modified the political boundaries; the custom-houses of the Tibetan frontier have had frequently to advance or withdraw their posts.

The variety of races is still very great in Nepal; with the exception of seaport towns it would be impossible to find more representatives of different peoples than in the cities of Nepal.

West of the Gandak the predominant race is that of the Hindu "Aryans." The Nepalese are the only people of India whose territory was not founded by the soldiers of Islam. The inhabitants of the west of Nepal have Hindu names and speak dialects connected with the common Sanskrit stock; they class themselves also as belonging to the two higher classes of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. In reality the race is much mixed, and a number of the Rajputs of Nepal have wholly Tibetan features.

The Khas, who are frequently though incorrectly called Ghurkas, or Goorkhas, are undoubtedly of Hindu origin and of Kshatriya rank. But there are other military tribes which, while calling themselves Hindu, have much better preserved their own traditions and customs. These are the Majars or Magyars, and the Gurungs living north of Ghurka. They speak Khas with their masters, but amongst themselves they always use their Tibetan

[1200-1881 A.D.]

idiom. The Khas of Ghurka, the Magyars, the Gurungs, and the Limbus of the eastern districts compose almost the entire armed force of Nepal; but this is not sufficiently large for their warlike instincts. Like the Swiss of former days, they emigrate to serve as mercenaries. These Nepalese, uniformly designated by the name of Ghurkas, are very numerous in the British Indian army, in which they are highly valued for their courage, their endurance, their address, and their promptitude. They are easy to discipline, and perhaps would not be less dangerous against their own country, if war should one day break out between the Anglo-Indian Empire and Nepal.

Some traces of the ancient matriarchal system seem to have been preserved amongst them; according to Kirkpatrick, the women of Newar have the right to marry as many husbands as they please and to repudiate them on the slightest pretext. After the twelfth century of the Christian era Buddhist zealots fleeing from the persecution of the Brahmans came to ask asylum of the Newars, and in return for the hospitality received they brought them their books and knowledge of the arts and sciences of Hindustan. Precious works of this period, of which not even the names had been known, were found in the libraries of Nepal. About two-thirds of the Newars are still Buddhists, but, whilst the neighbouring tribes on the north and east have lamas like the Tibetans and practise a kind of Shamanism, the Nepalese proper have no monasteries and their ceremonies approach those of Hindu cults; Brahmanic divinities and symbols have entered into their temples. The architecture of the two thousand temples or sanctuaries in the valley bears witness to the struggle between the influences of the north and south, and the mixture of the two styles has been accomplished with a certain degree of originality. The ornaments which the Hindu artists first carved recall those that are seen on the temples on the banks of the Ganges, but the use of wood in construction, the projection of the upper stories, and the superposition of roofs are characteristic of Chinese architecture.

The commerce of Nepal is singularly hampered by the rigours of the custom-house. Not only on the frontier, but also at several stations of the interior, taxes are put on merchandise and some goods are wholly prohibited. Nepal, as a military kingdom threatened on both sides by two empires more powerful than itself, can defend itself only by means of customs and passports; but in spite of its dislike for foreign traders it is obliged to receive them. Tibetans come to buy opium to introduce it into their country as contraband; hundreds of Hindus come to the annual fairs of Khatmandu, and English merchants, who are becoming more and more necessary to the Nepalese, have to be paid in local produce, such as the wood and gum of the rubber-plant, building wood, iron and copper objects, wools, horses—sober and tireless little animals—salt and gold dust, different minerals or borax imported from the plains of Tibet. Even Nepal, represented by about fifty wholesale merchants, can send to the Anglo-Indians the products of its industry, notably blankets and paper which is firm as parchment and made from the fibre of the *daphne cannabina*.^b

The present ruling family dates only from 1768. Since the war of 1814-1816, in which the Ghurkas after a stubborn resistance were driven from the conquests they had made in the plains of India and the adjoining hill states, the relations of Nepal with the British have been friendly. A resident is stationed at Khatmandu, but no interference is exercised with the internal administration. The present maharaja, Prithiwi Vir Vikrama Sah, was born in 1875, and succeeded in 1881. But by custom of old standing, he is a *roi fainéant*, all power being vested in the minister. For many years the minister

was Jung Bahadur, G.C.B., who established his position by murdering his rivals in 1846, and died in 1877. His son and successor was in his turn murdered in 1885 by the head of a rival faction, Vir Shamsher Jung, G.C.S.I., who is the present minister, and has strengthened his position by marrying two of his daughters to the maharaja. In March, 1892, Lord Roberts, then commander-in-chief in India, visited Khatmandu, and reviewed the army.^d

BHUTAN

Between the two native states of Nepal and Bhutan are interposed British military and commercial posts. On the east, the English, without conquering Bhutan, have at least annexed to their empire the eighteen *dwards* which are naturally dependent upon it, that is, the "gates" of the Himalaya, the only regions of the country whose products have any value and where the inhabitants are gathered in any considerable numbers. Moreover, to assure tranquillity on the frontier, the English government gives the rajah of Bhutan an annual subsidy, the regularity of which depends upon the wisdom of the pensioner.

Deprived now of the *dwards*, opening upon the plains of Bengal and Assam, Bhutan, or rather Bhut-ant, that is, the extremity of the land of Bhut or Bhot, consists only of narrow valleys, separated one from another by high ranges crossed by different paths.

The Bhutanese belong to the same race as the Tibetans, and their name is derived from the same root as that of the Bods of the plateau and of the Bhutanese of the southern slope in Nepal and Koumaon; they are frequently called Lo. They are small but robust, and might be considered one of the best-looking races of India were it not for the prevalence of the goitre among them. The Bhutanese appear to be one of the most oppressed peoples; they own nothing, and their fate depends on the caprice of the lords or the monks who govern them. The English envoys who visit their country describe the condition of the Bhutanese as most miserable; the land does not belong to them and the state inherits all their acquisitions; of their harvest they keep only that which is absolutely necessary to obtain a few *betel* leaves, and to keep the people from starvation; the rest is taken by the governors, who receive no salary but who have the right to take a commission out of the taxes. In order to enjoy the products of their labour in peace, thousands of Bhutanese emigrate annually into the provinces of the Indian Empire, and above all into British Sikhim.

It is not surprising that under such a régime the country should be impoverished. Commerce, which is a monopoly of the government, has never been of importance and has even diminished, although Bhutan possesses great natural riches and has an excellent race of horses—beautiful ponies which have a wonderful power of endurance. The Bhutanese—when they are not afraid of being despoiled of the fruits of their labours—are industrious; they cultivate the terraces, built upon the side of the hills, with great care, weave thick stuffs, produce elegant objects in iron and brass, transform the bark of the *daphne papyrifera* into paper and even into a kind of satin, carve wood with taste, and construct spacious and comfortable chalets which bear some resemblance to those in the Swiss Alps. In several cities there are rich pagodas of Chinese architecture.

The government of the country is modelled on that of Tibet, except that Chinese ministers, the real depositaries of power in the Bodyul (Tibet), have

[1700-1865 A.D.]

not yet made their appearance in Bhutan. The titular sovereign, a sort of grand lama, has received the name of *tchoigyal*, in Sanskrit *dharmarajah*, "king of the law." On the death of this Buddha the council of *lenehen*, or ministers, hunts for one or two years to find the child in whom the god has deigned to incarnate himself, and it usually finds him in the family of one of the chief dignitaries of the country. Beside the spiritual sovereign reigns another rajah, the *deb*, who is likewise appointed by the council of ministers, or rather by the party which happens to be in power; in theory the authority of the *deb* lasts only three years, but he can always maintain himself on the throne if he enjoys the favour of the influential lords.

Between the state, which officially recognises the power of the "king of the law," and the independent tribes of the eastern Himalaya are interposed the domains of the lama rajahs, or priest kings, who call themselves vassals of the dalai lama, but who are in reality sovereigns, thanks to their remoteness from Lhasa and to the difficulty of communication through the passes of the Himalaya. In spite of the rivalries between these petty potentates the country of the Bhotiyas is fairly important as a commercial route between Tibet and Assam.^b

Little is known concerning the interior of Bhutan or the number of its inhabitants. As for the history of the country, its only importance is due to its geographical position on the boundary between India and Tibet. The land was conquered by Tibetan soldiers in the seventeenth century, and first came into contact with the English towards the close of the eighteenth century. In 1774 the East India Company concluded a treaty of peace with Bhutan, and the country was left undisturbed until 1826, when the British occupied Assam. Then the Bhutanese were accused of taking possession of the dwars, or outlets from their mountains to the outer world, and of committing depredations on British soil. These frontier aggressions and disputes continued until 1865, when the British finally forced the Bhutanese to come to terms, and a treaty of peace was concluded. This ceded the eighteen dwars, which have already been mentioned, to the English, in return for which the Bhutan government received an annual subsidy. Since then nothing of importance has occurred in the history of the country.

FARTHER INDIA

SIAM

Of the countries constituting what used to be called Indo-China, the southeastern peninsula of Asia, which to-day goes by the name of Farther India, Siam is the only one which has preserved its independence. Burma is part of British India; the provinces of Tongking, Laos, Annam, Cochin China, and Cambodia are united in French Indo-China. The Malay Peninsula is divided between Great Britain and Siam, the southern part, or the Strait settlements, being an English crown province, whilst several districts lying between the Siamese possessions in the centre and northeast are under British protection. Siam is important to Europe chiefly because it forms a buffer state between English and French possessions in the Far East, and also because through it it is possible to open up commercial routes into southern China.^a

Compared with the other river basins of the peninsula, the slope of Indo-China watered by the Menam, or "mother of waters," is not very great

in extent, but it occupies a central position which insures it a place of importance in the history of transgangeitic India. The river and several other streams uniting their mouths in one delta enter the sea at the northern extremity of a gulf which penetrates far into the interior. From the Gulf of Bengal to the Gulf of Tongking the coast of Siam forms the geographical centre of Indo-China.

People

Nearly all the inhabitants of Siam belong to the same race; Shans, Laos, and Siamese are all Thais. The Shans proper are very numerous in the region of the Upper Burman Irawadi and of its Chinese affluents, on the banks of the Salween, and large numbers of them have settled in that part of the Sittang basin which has become English territory. The Lovas, better known by the name of Laos, or Laotians, are related to the Shans and live in the northern regions of the land of Siam, chiefly between the Salween and the Mekong. The Siamese proper live in the coast regions; they are the most civilised of the Thais, but not the purest of race, since, owing to the incessant demands of commerce, they represent very different ethnical elements. Chinese, Burmans, and Malays have contributed most towards modifying the Thai type. Taken as a whole the Thais resemble the Chinese much more than they resemble the Indians or Malays, and yet their physiognomy, their customs, and their way of thinking present so many characteristic Indian traits that the Siamese nation to a certain extent justifies its claim to descent from the Brahmans. The Siamese are well named Indo-Chinese; everything about them—manners, customs, civil and religious institutions—participates in that double character. Their festivals are of Brahmanic origin, whilst their mode of government and their laws are clearly borrowed from Chinese institutions. The language, like the other principal idioms of Indo-China, is monosyllabic, and includes no words of more than one syllable except those taken from foreign languages.

The Siamese are for the most part very good-tempered and remarkably patient, but they wholly lack initiative; they work regularly at their customary labours, but are not ingenious enough to discover new methods. No people are more hospitable or more humane; the poor are taken care of everywhere, and travellers find along their routes shelters where they can cook and pass the night; the recommendation made by the Buddhists to place along the road jars of fresh water for thirsty wayfarers is nowhere better observed. Siam is the country of Indo-China in which Buddhism is least mixed with other religious elements; it has not degenerated into Shamanism, as in the valleys of the Himalayas, on the plateau of Tibet, and above all on the steppes of the Mongols and in the forests of the Buriats; it has also held aloof from Hindu idolatry, at least in modern times, for in the sculpture on several temples of the Laos, as in the religious buildings of Cambodia, a confused mixture of Buddhist and Brahmanic motives may be detected. Every son in the family has to pass through a monastic state; between the years of twenty and twenty-one the young men go to a monastery, take off their civil dress, and renounce their rank and dignity during the time of claustration. Even the kings are subject to this rule, and on emerging from the monastery they have to be crowned anew, although they remain none the less high priests and are responsible for the prosperity of the monasteries. The Siamese nation expends annually more than £5,000,000 for the support of priests and monks.^b

[1350-1851 A.D.]

History

Anterior to the establishment of Ayuthia about the middle of the fourteenth century, the annals of Siam are made up of traditional legends and fables, such as most nations are fond of substituting in the place of veracious history. The Siamese group their early ancestors around the first disciples of Buddha, and begin their annals about five centuries before the Christian era. A succession of dynasties frequently shifting their capital cities, in which Buddhistic miracles and the intervention of superhuman agency are constantly exhibited, figure in the first volumes of the Siamese records. There are accounts of intermarriages with Chinese princesses, of embassies, and wars with neighbouring states, interblended with wonders and miraculous interpositions of Indra and other divinities; but from the time when the city of Ayuthia was founded by Phaya-Uthong, who took the title of Phra Rama Thibodi, the succession of sovereigns and the course of events are recorded with tolerable accuracy.^e

The city continued for about four hundred years to be the capital of the Siamese kingdom, and the dynasty founded by Uthong continued in power, with short intermissions, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The chief events during this period were wars with Cambodia and other neighbouring states, and the beginnings of intercourse with western nations. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish trade relations with Siam in 1511, after they had conquered Malacca. The intercourse of Siam with the West became more active under the celebrated king Narai, who ruled in the second half of the seventeenth century. He encouraged European traders, tolerated Catholic monks and priests in his land, and in 1685 held a grand reception for the ambassador of Louis XIV. He even appointed Constantine Phaulcon, a Greek by birth, to be his prime minister, but this man, although he appears to have been an able ruler, drew on himself the hatred of the mandarins by his European methods and was assassinated. The king Narai died about the same time, his death very probably being due to violence.^a

The intimate union of Phaulcon with the French no doubt led to his own destruction and that of his master. There are sufficient grounds for believing that Phaulcon was desirous of handing over the sovereignty of Siam to the French king, of which the advent of considerable bodies of French soldiers is unmistakable evidence.^e

French aspirations in Siam were rudely checked by the deaths of Narai and his prime minister, but they were not extinguished and have come to the front again during the past century. English traders also visited Siam early in the seventeenth century. The period following the death of Narai in 1682 was more or less disturbed by civil war, changes in dynasty, and foreign invasions, until in 1767 the capital, Ayuthia, was destroyed by the Burmans. At this time of need a saviour arose for the Siamese in the person of a man called Phaya Takh, who was Chinese on his father's side, who routed the Burmans, brought the maritime provinces and Cambodia under his rule, and established his capital at Bangkok. But although he was an efficient ruler and succeeded in firmly consolidating his kingdom, he gave dissatisfaction on account of his pride and haughtiness, it even being claimed that he wished to receive divine honours as Buddha. He was overthrown and executed by his prime minister, who in 1782 founded the dynasty still in power. The fourth king of this dynasty, Mongkut, who came to the throne in 1851, was a remark-

able personage for the chief potentate of an eastern monarchy. He was an enlightened ruler, as well as a philosopher and a man devoted to science. He knew Latin and English, and took great pains to acquire a correct style of writing in the latter language. Amusing incidents are related of times when he routed out English-speaking missionaries, and once even the British consul, to consult them concerning some English phrase in the middle of the night. In Sir John Bowring's work on Siam is an appendix on the history of that country written by the king himself, and also a letter concerning his own dynasty, from which the following extract is made: "a "On the year of Christian era 1781, when two brother kings were sent to tranquil Cambodia, which was in distress or disturbance of rebellion, the King Phya Tarsing, marked 7,¹ remained here. He came mad or furious, saying he is Budh, etc., and put many persons of innocents to death, more than ten thousand men, and compelled the people to pay various amounts of money to royal treasure, with any lawful taxes and reasonable causes; so here great insurgents took place, who apprehended the mad king and put to death, and sent their mission to Cambodia, and invited two kings of war and of Northern Siam to return here for the crown and throne of whole Siam and its dependency.

"Our grandfather was enthroned and crowned in May, 1782, in name of 'Phra Budhyot fa chulatoke,' marked in book 8; his reign continued twenty-seven years; his demise took place on the year 1809, in which our father has succeeded him. His coronation took place on August, 1809; his reign continued happily fifteen years; his expiration took place in the year 1824, in month of July. Our elder brother, the late king, succeeded our royal father; his coronation took place on August, 1824. His name was Param Dkarwik rajah-dhiraj (proper Sanskrit), and in Siamese name Phra Nangklau chau yu Acca. His reign continued twenty-six years; his demise took place on 2nd April, 1851; then my succession of him concluded, and I was crowned on May 15th of that year."

The elder brother referred to was an illegitimate son, who usurped the throne and reigned until his death, the legitimate ruler in the mean while living in the priesthood. At Mongkut's accession in 1851 his younger brother was crowned as second king, and held that office until his death in 1865, when he was succeeded by his son, George Washington. The name given to the son is in a way indicative of the father's sympathies with western civilisation. He was even more remarkable than his elder brother, Mongkut, for his intelligence and general enlightenment, and associated freely with Europeans. His son, George Washington, was also a friend to the Europeans and was much liked by them. He held the position of secondary king until his death in 1885, since which time the office has ceased to exist.

During the reign of Mongkut treaties were made with England in 1855 and 1856, and also with the United States, France, Japan, and the other countries, opening up the commerce of Siam to foreign nations. The principle of extra territorialism was established, according to which foreigners are tried in their own country. Mongkut died in 1868, having overexerted himself in the cause of science by organising a grand expedition to witness an eclipse of the sun. He was succeeded by his son, the present ruler.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the peace of Siam was disturbed by France, owing to disputes concerning the boundary between Siam and the French province of Annam. The matter became so serious that in 1893 the French government sent two gunboats, which forced their way up

[¹ The numbers refer to those in the history of Siam by Bishop Pallegoix. The king here intended is the Phya Takh mentioned above.]

[1898-1902 A.D.]

the Menam to Bangkok. A treaty was finally concluded in October of the same year, according to which all Siamese territory east of the Mekong was ceded to France, and Siam was prohibited from having any forts within a distance of twenty-five kilometres from that river. France was to restore the Siamese port of Chan-ta-bun when the provisions of the treaty had been fulfilled, but she put off doing so on the pretext that Siam was not keeping order on her side the Mekong—which was naturally hard to do without forts or soldiers—and furthermore laid claim to the whole province of Luang Prabang, including the portion west of the Mekong. A new convention was signed in 1902, according to which France was to evacuate Chan-ta-bun in return for the cession of the provinces of Meluprey and Bassac and other territory to the extent of twenty thousand square kilometres. This convention did not meet the approval of the colonial party in France, which wants to annex the whole of Siam. The new treaty, as finally signed at Paris, leaves France practically in control of the whole Mekong valley. An important convention in regard to Siam was signed by France and England in 1896. This assured the independence of the central portion of Siam, including the rich basin of the Menam.

English influence is predominant in Siam. Besides the *wats*, or monastic schools, in which the teaching is mainly elementary, in the capital of Bangkok there are five governmental schools for boys and two for girls, in which the higher courses are conducted entirely in English, and boys of the nobility are frequently sent to England to be educated. The crown prince returned to Siam in 1902, after completing his studies at Oxford. In speaking of the king, Mr. Campbell, in his very interesting book, *Siam in the Twentieth Century*, says: "To those who have come under the charm of his remarkable personality, it is both invidious and difficult to give a just estimate of his character and actions, and the time has probably not yet arrived for doing so. But even though, like his father, he may have failed to fulfil completely the promise of his boyhood and youth, nevertheless his reign has been characterised on the whole by a spirit of liberality and enlightenment, and he is perhaps entitled to a place among the small band of progressive rulers that the east has produced."^a

FRENCH INDO-CHINA

French Indo-China forms the southernmost part of the Asiatic coast of the China Sea. It is situated between Siam and China, near the Malay Peninsula, the isles of the Sonde and the Philippines. Its capital, Saigon, is a distance of two days by boat from Singapore, four days from Batavia, three days from Manila and Hong-kong, six days from Shanghai, and only ten days from Yokohama, whereas thirty days separate it from Marseilles. French Indo-China, therefore, has geographically much more incentive to enter into relations with the ports of the Far East just mentioned than with those of France, and without the French official occupation it would be as foreign to France as are Siam and Malaysia.

French Indo-China is long, narrow in the centre, where it constitutes the central portion of the kingdom of Annam, and very much broadened out at the two ends, the upper one of which constitutes Tongking, while the lower is represented by Cochin China and Cambodia.

The territory of French Indo-China is traversed from north to south by a chain of mountains nearly parallel to the sea of China, which it approaches very closely in central Annam. The country is without doubt one of the

best watered districts in the world. The most important of its rivers is the Mekong, which rises in the upper part of the mountain range of Yunnan and empties into the China Sea at the peninsula of Cochin China, which it has formed from its alluvial deposits. In a straight line its course would measure more than two thousand kilometres. It is obstructed by rocks at many points, and only a limited portion of it is navigable.

The Great Lake has the general form of an elongated oval, narrowed at a point which connects the upper two-thirds with the lower third. Its total surface is not less than three hundred square kilometres, but its waters are sometimes rough enough to make navigation in small boats perilous. During the season when its waters are high it can be frequented by ships drawing from three to four metres, but during the dry season, from March to September, only the small native boats can navigate it. During the season of the low waters the lakes are covered with fishing-boats which get an enormous quantity of fish. These are salted, dried, and exported, not only to Cochin China but also to different parts of China. This fishing is carried on exclusively by Annamites.

Early History

The Annamites of to-day belong to the yellow race. They have all its ethnological characteristics, its language, customs, and political organisation. The history of Annam, moreover, like that of China, is impregnated with a multitude of legends which obscure it to such a degree that its first periods are wholly veiled in mystery. Several races have been thrown together in the territories of what is now Annam, and their deeds have been inextricably confused in the accounts preserved by native historians.

Everything seems to point to the fact that Annam was first peopled by men coming from the isles of the Pacific and belonging to the Malayan race. Later there was a collision of two main currents of immigration, one current formed by people of the Aryan race coming from India, across Burma and Siam; the other, by people of the yellow race coming down from the valleys of China. The Aryans coming from India took possession of Cambodia, Cochin China, and later of southern and central Annam, crowding back the primitive Malay populations into the mountains, where traces of them may still be found. In Cambodia and Cochin China they founded the Khmer Empire, the power and wealth of which is attested by the superb ruins of Angkor, and in Annam they established the kingdom of the Ciampas, the monuments of which recall those of Cambodia. The people of the yellow race coming from China founded first in Tongking and then in northern Annam the Annamite Empire, the first sovereigns of which are attributed by local legends to the imperial family of China.

According to Annamite legends, it seems probable that the colonists coming from China who settled among the primitive inhabitants of the country mixed with them instead of brutally crowding them out, and that their principal rôle was to group the tribes, till then isolated, into one nation more or less regularly organised. It is even probable that this empire was governed now by representatives of the yellow race, lately come, and then by members of the original communities. In fact, Annamite history relates that in the year 1100 B.C. the emperor of the country of Giao-Chi (Annam) having sent an embassy to China, the Chinese had to summon interpreters to read the letter of credit with which they were provided and to translate what they said.

[1850 A.D.]

The traditions of Annam show the country as involved in incessant struggles with China during more than ten centuries before our era, then as falling completely under the domination of the Celestial Empire towards the beginning of the Christian era, and from that time as subject to Chinese governors.

A series of rebellions, sometimes repressed, sometimes successful, marks the first centuries of the Christian era. It is during this period that Chinese literature and the teachings of Confucius replaced definitely in Annam the phonetic writing which it appears was peculiar to the Annamites. During this time also the people of the yellow race multiplied, and ended by occupying all the deltas and the most fertile plains of Tongking and of northern Annam.⁹

Until 907 A.D. Annam was governed by dynasties vassal to the Chinese Empire, and from that time until the tenth century by Chinese governors. At the beginning of that century the Annamese chiefs revolted, and after long wars finally established, in the fifteenth century, an autonomous rule, although they were still nominally under Chinese suzerainty. Cambodia threw off the Chinese yoke in 625, and even kept Siam in subjection for a short period. After the thirteenth century the kingdom began to decline, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries its territory was very much reduced by Siam and Cochin China. It was rescued from the former only to become a French protectorate in the nineteenth century.

Foreign Relations

The intercourse of Annam and Cambodia with western nations began in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese established a mission in Cambodia in 1553, but until the middle of the nineteenth century Europeans had little influence in the land. A Spanish Dominican missionary landed in Annam in 1596, and at about the same time Portuguese trading vessels visited these regions. The Dutch entered into commercial relations with Tongking in 1637, and afterwards English and French traders attempted to gain a footing in the country, but soon abandoned the attempt. The Dutch remained until 1700, when they were expelled by the Trinh, a dynasty which came into power in Tongking in 1545 owing to the impotency of the old ruling dynasty of the Lehs. The Lehs had ruled over Cochin China and Tongking since 1428, in which year the Chinese yoke had been thrown off.

In 1737 a new dynasty arose in Cochin China, that of the Tai-songs, which destroyed the Lehs, the Trinh, and the Naguyes. The sole survivor of this last dynasty, Naguyen Anh, took refuge with the French bishop of Adran, who obtained for him the support of Louis XVI. In 1802 Naguyen Anh, with the aid of the French, joined Tongking to his dominion, exterminated the Tai-songs, and was crowned emperor of Annam under the name Gia-long. The empire of Annam thus included the provinces Annam, Tongking, and Cochin China. Gia-long was well-disposed towards Europeans, and protected them throughout his reign, but under his son and successor Minh-mang they began to be persecuted.^a

In 1847, during the reign of Tieu Tri, occurred the first conflict between Annam and France; five Annamite corvettes which had threatened to attack the *Gloire* and the *Victorieuse*, French frigates commanded by Lapierre and Rigault de Genouilly, were destroyed in the bay of Turan. Tieu Tri died of grief. During the reign of Tu Duc [his successor] the persecution of mis-

sionaries became more violent; in 1851 and in 1852 the French missionaries Schaeffer and Bonnard were murdered by his order, and France protested. As her protests were not heeded, M. de Montigny, commander of the *Catinat*, destroyed one of the forts of Turan. In 1857 a Spanish bishop—M. Diaz—having been arrested and killed at Tongking, France and Spain united to obtain reparation for the violence done to their subjects and to the Christians of Annam. On August 31st, 1858, a body of Franco-Spaniards arrived at Turan, took possession of the forts, established themselves on the peninsula which bounds the entrance to the harbour on the south, and maintained themselves there in spite of the efforts of the Annamites to drive them out.⁹ By 1861 the three upper provinces of Cochin China were in the possession of the French, and in 1862 a treaty was signed with the king of Annam recognising the French control of Saigon, Mytho, and Bienhoa; by 1867 France had occupied three other provinces in southern Cochin China, and in 1874 a treaty was finally signed abandoning all six provinces to France.

The French, whose designs upon Tongking had been temporarily checked by war at home, began again to push their influence by force of arms, and although meeting with various reverses they finally made a few conquests, which encouraged them to send an ultimatum to Annam, demanding the observance of the treaty of 1874, and the protectorate over Annam, including Tongking. This was refused, and the French stormed Hué, forcing the king—the successor of Tu Duc—to sign a treaty recognising the French protectorate (1884). There now ensued the war between France and China concerning the protectorate over Tongking, which resulted in the treaty of 1885 establishing French authority over that province.

Cambodia became a protectorate of France in 1863; nominally it is still an absolute monarchy, but since the convention with France in 1884 the country is practically a French province. As in Siam at one period, there are two kings in Cambodia. The first, King Norodom, was crowned in 1860; the second is Prince Soudach Prea Maha.

After the convention of 1884 France entered on an aggressive policy of conquest which involved Annam and Tongking in civil war and rebellion. In 1886 Paul Bert was made governor-general, but died in the same year without having been able to counteract the evils of the military régime. It was not until 1891 that, with the appointment of M. de Lanessan as governor-general, order was restored to the disturbed provinces. In 1898 the political and financial unity of Indo-China was definitely established.^a

The government in its present form was organised by the decrees of October 17th and November 3rd to 12th, 1887, and by those of April 21st, 1891, and July 31st, 1898. Indo-China, financially and politically unified, is, as we have seen, placed under the authority of a governor-general, assisted by a superior council of Indo-China, which, reorganised by the decree of August 8th, 1898, is composed as follows: president, the governor-general; the general commanding as head of the troops; the rear-admiral commanding the naval squadron of the Far East; the lieutenant-governor of Cochin China; the resident superiors of Tongking, Annam, and Cambodia; a representative (appointed by the governor-general) of the government at Laos; the chief of the *contrôle financier*; the head of the judicial service of Indo-China; the superintendent of the customs and excise of Indo-China; the president of the colonial council of Indo-China; the presidents of the chambers of commerce of Saigon, Hanoi, and Haiphong; the presidents of the united chambers of commerce and agriculture of Annam and Cambodia; the presidents of chambers of agriculture; two influential natives, and the chief of the governor-

[1893-1906 A.D.]

general's cabinet. A "permanent commission" of the council has been formed. The superior council meets annually to receive the budget, which "must be accepted by the governor-general at a session of the superior council." It must also be consulted on the distribution of military credits, and on the credits to be devoted to public works.

The governor-general is also assisted by a "council of defence." The general services of the customs, justice, public works, agriculture, and commerce are placed directly in the hands of the governor-general. He presides over the council of ministers—*comat*—of Annam. The protected governments of Annam and Cambodia are under his control, and, in reality, under his command. He therefore exercises sovereign power throughout Indo-China. He is answerable to the minister of the colonies. There is a *contrôle financier* in Indo-China, dependent upon the ministry of the colonies. Its returns have to be communicated to the governor-general.

The town of Saigon is officially the capital of Indo-China. The superior council, however, does not necessarily sit at Saigon. It is annually convoked in the capital of one of the local governments, as Hanoi, Pnom-Penh, and Hué.^h

In August, 1907, Thanh Thai, king of Annam, was deposed because of his dissolute habits, and a regency was appointed under the direction of the French resident-general.^a



SOME MINOR STATES

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[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

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BOOK V

THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND JAPAN

CHINA

CHAPTER I

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILISATION

THE truly correct enjoy the emoluments of office;
 The truly correct stand in awe of heaven's decrees;
 The truly correct may become dukes and marquises;
 The truly correct practise virtue and uprightness;
 The truly correct cause fiends to submit and men to
 respect them;

The truly correct cause the people to be tranquil, and
 the country to be settled.

Hung-sin-tshuen.^b

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

FROM the eastern portion of the Asiatic plateau, with its sacred mountains of Heaven (Tian-Shan), to the border seas of the Pacific stretches the immeasurable empire of China; inclusive of its dependencies it exceeds in area and in population the whole continent of Europe. It consists of a high "transition," or terraced land, and a great, productive plain, intersected by mighty rivers (Hwangho and Yangtse-Kiang) and numerous canals. It is divided into two parts: China proper, cut up into eighteen provinces, and the territories added to it by conquest from time to time towards the north and west (Manchuria, Mongolia, Little Bokhara, Tibet). From the chain of high mountains in the west great arms stretch to the northeast and southeast, so

that the middle plain facing the sea is shut in on three sides by mountainous regions. In this extensive territory, decked with rich fields of wheat and rye, where the fragrant tea-plant blossoms and the silkworm spins his precious threads, where magnificent gardens display the finest fruits and the most beautiful flowers, where in the southern landscapes the palm and other ornamental trees—the orange, fig, chestnut, and pomegranate—rise in the clear air, where nature and heaven have brought together everything that might make human existence comfortable and full of pleasures, there has lived since unthinkable ages, in absolute seclusion from the rest of the world, a people of Mongolian descent. Their civilisation is peculiar and their national type very distinctly expressed in mind and body. From the most ancient writers we hear praise of the overflowing wealth of the land—its extensive cattle ranges, its agricultural products, its quantities of fine silk which formed one of the principal commercial resources of the country. They describe the Seres of the northwestern mountainous "Silk-land" (Serica) as a gentle, righteous, temperate people, loving quiet and a comfortable life, possessing large and wealthy cities, living in complete seclusion, and so scrupulously avoiding all association with other peoples that in their traffic with the Scythians, Parthians, and other neighbouring peoples, they laid down their wares in the desert and there received others in exchange, without direct communication. These are traits which still characterise the Chinese to-day, affording evidence of their primordial unchanging character.

The Chinese, the only people of Mongolian race that has developed beyond the half-wild condition of the nomadic life, may be placed at the beginning of history, because they have from the earliest times hung like a dried branch on the tree of civilisation, not exerting the slightest influence upon the growth of culture among the rest of mankind. China is a world by itself, not only in its human and national life, but also in the natural and industrial conditions of the country. The uniformity which we note with astonishment in the external form and anatomical structure of the people, in its customs and institutions, in its industries and manner of life, is reflected throughout the land itself in its animal and vegetable forms, its climate, and the cultivation of its soil. "In this land," says Ritter, "a people, isolated from the rest of the world like islanders, and egoistically lost in wonderment at itself, developed in singular manner a strong and sharply outlined national type. Within this type the individuality of the personal unit was to an extraordinary degree repressed."

But the condition of the country—its situation, shut off by mountains, seas, and the Chinese Wall, more than three hundred miles long—is not alone responsible for this uniform typical character; the Mongolian descent and the inherent tenacity of the people worked also in the same direction. As the Caucasian race is distinguished from other races, even in bodily structure, by its versatility of form and its variety of feature, so the Mongolian race is distinguished by uniformity of face and figure; and the same difference persists in the diverse mentality of each race. Nevertheless, the Chinese mark the boundary line in civilisation, beyond which the Mongolian race in its development has not progressed. "Nature and history have tried to show in them the utmost that can be made out of Mongolian civilisation." Chinese character bears the stamp of the inevitable; it has a tremendous power to transform into its own substance all foreign elements. No conqueror altered the life of the Chinese people or its political system.

The more ancient history of China, which can be drawn only from native sources, is obscure, untrustworthy, and imperfect. The Chinese lack all

sense of historical values. To the Chinaman, existing institutions and conditions represent eternal, immutable laws. To change them would be regarded as an impious interference with the lawful course of events in the life of the nation. For this reason progress does not find favour among them. According to the Chinese conception, humanity's task is to preserve the original state of things or to restore such customs as may have been done away with. History, therefore, records no development; it is only the anthropological department of natural science, and seeks to represent, while portraying the life of the state, laws as eternal and immutable as those with which astronomy explains the courses of the planets and the movements of the sun. They point to the ancient days as humanity's ideal. Only now and then, and for brief intervals, is this lifeless and rigid civilisation thrilled by some extraneous influence into vibratory motion.

CONFUCIUS (*ca.* 500 B.C.)

The Chinese character as it shows itself in religion, customs, and political life is referred back to the great sage and lawgiver, Kong-fu-tse (Confucius). The old institutions, teachings, and statutes which were introduced under the pious king Yao and other God-fearing rulers of the earliest times had fallen into disuse because of the carelessness, weakness, and viciousness of later emperors. Evil influences had created confusion and discord and the ancient happiness had been clouded. At that time Kong-fu-tse, a man who had grown up in poverty, who had entered deeply into the earlier history of China, and had felt painfully the degeneration of his time as compared with former excellence, became the restorer of the old laws and institutions. He started out with the principle that man is by nature virtuous, and that only good examples are necessary to make a whole people good. He set up the customs and conditions of ancient times and the actions and ways of living of the earlier generations as a mirror of virtuous life, and sought by collecting and arranging the traditions of the people in the writings of the *Kings* to awaken an understanding of right and virtue. Thus he became the founder of a system of doctrines that extended to all the activities of the people and controlled all intellectual and spiritual life. He himself carefully avoided all appearance of innovation. "My teaching," he said, "is that which our forefathers taught and handed down to us; I have added nothing and taken away nothing; I teach it in its original purity; it is unchangeable as the heaven itself from which it comes. I but scatter, like the tiller of the soil, the seed which I have received, unchanged, upon the earth."

Confucius lived from 550 to 479 B.C. At times he was honoured by emperors and rewarded with offices and honours, at others persecuted and driven into exile. Disciples eager for knowledge surrounded him everywhere and accepted from his lips lessons of wisdom and good sense. His name at all times was held in the greatest respect. His memory was honoured by memorial temples. His virtue and wisdom were held to be supernatural. His family was raised to the highest order of nobility. The teachings propounded by him and spread and explained by numerous disciples, especially by Meng-tse (*ca.* 360 B.C.) and Tshu-tse, the "prince of learning" (*ca.* 1150 A.D.), soon became the centre of the intellectual life of China. The most important work of Kong-fu-tse was the promulgation and restoration of the state and popular religion of which the fabled king Fe-hi is regarded as the

founder. This religion is still the dominant one, although the teaching of Lao-tse, and Buddhism, which had entered the country from India, attained some importance.

OFFICIAL RELIGION ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF CONFUCIUS

The Chinese postulate a twofold origin of all being, passive matter and active force, which are interdependent and of which neither can exist without the other. Primitive force (*Yang*) is symbolised by heaven, the creative, masculine principle; and primitive matter (*Yn*) by the earth, the receptive female principle. These come into relation with each other; primitive force acts on primitive matter, impels and shapes it. The product of this union is real being, the world. Since the primitive force revealing itself in heaven (*Tien*) is regarded as the higher power, worship of heaven with the sun and the stars occupies the first place in the beliefs of the people. Heaven with its methodic movement, its eternal order and beauty, which serve as a mirror to the human soul in its moral relations, is the real divinity of the Chinese scriptures. In the second rank is the earth, upon which the life of nature becomes manifest. Heaven is the universal force of life, acting unconsciously; it is the soul of the world. Consciousness of self and individual choice are the attributes of man alone, the third unit in the series of primitive beings. "Heaven and earth," says the Shu-king, "are the father and mother of all things; man alone among all beings has the understanding to discriminate." Man thus takes an intermediate place between higher and lower, between heaven and earth; and since the central point acts as the support and balancing weight of the universe, the eternal order depends upon man's holding fast to the centre. While man by his moral strength steadily maintains his self-won perfection, and as an industrious, order-producing factor, in common with heaven and earth, takes part in the creation and preservation of things, everything will remain in its proper equilibrium; but if man departs from his centre, if he loses moral balance, then the equilibrium of the universe is disturbed and disorderly powers break the eternal harmony.

Chinese religion is therefore, according to its philosophical contents, a natural religion without spiritual depth of thought. It derives its worth and its ethical significance only from its relation to the life of man. The religious conception of the Chinese is unable to grasp the idea of a spiritual personality, an all-powerful creator of heaven and of earth. Under the general conception of heaven, sun, moon, and stars, together with the blue plain of the sky, are worshipped as creative and world-producing forces; and when the Christian missionaries, deceived by the name *Shang-Ti*, "exalted ruler," and by the divine attributes of omniscience, highest love and wisdom, omnipotence, and the like, sought to recognise in Tien a personal god, a supreme being, and to fasten to this all the theistic ideas of Christianity, they soon became aware of their error. According to the Chinese conception the world has no beginning; the original beings, the source of all things—the blue firmament of heaven, and matter, making itself manifest in the earth—have existed through eternity. The notion of a primal spiritual principle, a supreme reason which has created the universe out of nothingness and that preserves it or permeates it, is unknown to the Chinese teachers of religion. Only with the later philosophers does an endeavour make its appearance to unite in a higher conception this divided duality. Unable, however, to produce the idea of an unconditioned spirit, they developed the idea of fate, "such

as looms up like a pale form of the mist in the background of all heathen religions behind the coloured figures of real belief." But the idea of fate is indefinite and lifeless; it is the dim conception of the activity of an inexplicable chance.

The Worship of Spirits

The formless ideas of the gods held by the Chinese sages were, however, too abstract, too lacking in appeal to the senses. The masses needed external, direct manifestations in order to visualise those things which it worshipped as divine. From this sprang the belief in "spirits," particularly that of "patron spirits," the worship of whom was prominent in the religious rites of the people. "The intuitive powers of the human heart," says Gützlaff, "are exercised in the deification of ancestors." The primal, divine cause, which most plainly manifests itself in the starry heavens, may show itself also in single phenomena. Thus not only the heavens and the earth are worshipped, but also the spirits of the stars, of the sun, of mountains and rivers, and above all the souls of dead men, especially of good emperors and virtuous ancestors. These are regarded as patron powers watching over special interests in life, over home and family. To them sacrifices and gifts are offered.

This belief in spirits therefore is associated with some notion as to the condition of the human soul after death. Concerning this important point, however, the doctrine of Kong-fu-tse did not attain clarity. Although, indeed, popular belief is mainly concerned with the souls of deceased virtuous persons, amongst whom Kong-fu-tse himself occupies the chief place, yet the conception of a heavenly world is absent from the Chinese religious beliefs. The reward of the virtuous after death consists in their being again made a part of heaven and living on earth in the memory of men. For this reason no world of heroes has been built up in the Chinese mind. "Lacking in imagination," we are told by Stühr, "the Chinese were not able to weave a rich world of legend about the lives of their gods and heroes, in which to unfold a wealth of ideas concerning the manifold aspects of life. Except for the ceremonial of the dead, in which honour is rendered to the souls of the deceased, Chinese religious worship is mere nature worship." The patron spirits are of three orders, to which they are assigned by diploma after a formal examination by the emperors.

Moral Teaching and Retribution

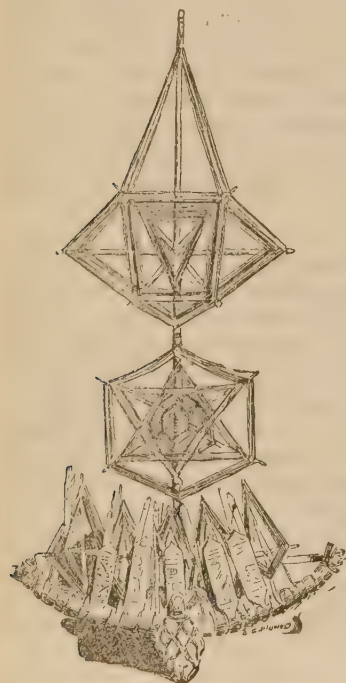
We have seen what high importance the doctrine of Kong-fu-tse assigns to man. He is the intermediate one of the primal beings; he is regarded as the "blossom" of nature. Though his body, like other natural substances, is only the product of an "ever circling primitive matter," yet primitive force is preponderant in him and manifests itself in the spirit, conscious of self. Because of this predominant force man carries within himself the fountain of all knowledge, all morality, and all virtue, and is therefore the highest in the order of created beings. In the mind of man the world presents itself in active orderliness and reasonableness. Therefore man, according to the teaching of Kong-fu-tse, is by nature good; reason living in him impels him to a voluntary choice of virtue and piety; in doubtful cases he is guided by the teachings and examples of former times. Since, however, the notion, according to which virtuous actions were represented as a necessity of nature without merit, or freedom of will, was contrary, when strictly applied, to

intuitive knowledge as well as to experience, the destructive course of this reasoning was cut short; the possibility of evil was admitted and its source placed in the material portion of man's nature. And thus belief in freedom of the will, a belief lying deep in popular consciousness, was saved and justified. But the exercise of free will can accomplish evil only; it disturbs and confuses the rational order and quiet working of the life of nature.

For the moral act Chinese religious doctrine has no room; silent resignation to the divine power manifesting itself in nature is the highest duty. A virtuous life for the Chinaman consists in yielding to the laws of the Celestial kingdom, for that kingdom appears to him as the earthly image of the well-ordered universe. He is to hold only to the "true mean," never to exchange

the "old man" for a new one, and is to keep himself from all excess. According to this conception retribution must take place on earth; every sin is a disordering of the universal harmony, a breaking through the laws of nature; out of sin must come harm for the individual as well as for the universe, whereas virtuous men are accompanied with good fortune. "If virtue is clear and pure," says the Shu-king, "then is man fortunate in all that he undertakes; but if it is obscured he is unhappy. Good and ill fortune are not bound to man, but both, sent from heaven, are dependent upon his virtue." For this reason Chinese religion consists chiefly of moral teachings and wise sayings for the earthly life. Of a retribution after life there is nowhere a word.

This direct sequence of sin and punishment lets also the natural evils, such as sickness, famine, flood, earthquake, etc., appear as the consequences of disturbance in the order of the universe due to the evil deeds of rulers and peoples; therefore the state is obliged to keep watch over morality just as it does over the obedience paid to civil laws. In the common interest it must punish sin and reward virtue in order to restore the disturbed equilibrium. The "commands of Heaven," which emperor and people must obey, are those laws of



EMBLEM FOR SCARING THE SKY
DEMONS

reason which everyone carries within himself. On this account much value is assigned in China to public opinion. It is looked upon as the surest indication of the intention of heaven, and the proverb, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, has its full significance. "What the peoples hold worthy of reward or of punishment," says the Shu-king, "indicates what heaven wishes to have punished or rewarded. There is a close relationship between heaven and the people." Since Chinese religion teaches no immortality, it can be held only as a comfortable concession to the desires of the people that, as was stated above, there is held out to them the prospect of a continuance after death as a reward for virtuous persons, especially to the emperors as the sons and representatives of heaven, and that the souls of ancestors are said to act as protecting spirits for their kin. There is nowhere any mention of the damnation of the bad. Man receives for his behaviour divine justice on earth.

The insipid and unpoetic nature of the Chinaman shows itself particularly in the poverty of his forms of worship and in the sterility of his religious life. No weekly holidays, no sacred feasts break into the monotonous similarity of the days. In restless activity the Chinaman spends his life, without pausing in his pursuit of industry and wealth, without suspending for a moment the struggle and grind of practical existence, to observe any religious festival that might uplift his soul, or to decorate his material business with a single flower of idealism. The Chinese people has no temples where it might pour forth its profounder feelings in rapt prayer before a higher power, or where by formal sacrificial acts it might indicate its voluntary submission; which it might adorn with works of art, the ideal beauties of an imagination filled with God.

It has only halls of recollection for its great men. It has no priest class to order and direct its religious life. All Chinamen are equally entitled and equally able to execute the insignificant religious ceremonies. Only for the sake of better discipline the forms of religious worship are conducted by the officials of the empire. For this reason, too, the national sacrifices at the four seasons are conducted by the emperors, that the blessing of heaven may descend upon the fruit-bearing earth. The "Middle Kingdom" is the "Kingdom of God." Prayer, therefore, is mere empty lip-service, for Chinese divinity has no ears to hear; sacrifice is only a shadow, a mere passionless suggestion of the magnificent religious offerings of antiquity. Even prophecy and the interpretation of signs, which has always played an important rôle in China, has been stripped of all higher dignity. It depends upon the observation and calculation of the phenomena of nature and of the sky; upon it are based the good and the bad days. It is an important task of the government to make known with exactness in a yearly official calendar all the phenomena of the heavens, especially all eclipses of the sun and moon.

The principal offering to heaven is made by the emperor himself as chief priest of the realm, "rather to proclaim his confidential oneness with it than to draw the supernatural over into the natural world." In addition to this nature-worship the emperor sacrifices also in the capital, in an unadorned temple, to the spirits of the ancestors of the royal family. When in later times the journeys became too difficult for the emperors all the sacrificial acts took place in this building.

CHINESE SECTS

In view of the indifference of the Chinese towards everything ideal and supernatural, their want of religious enthusiasm and force and their passionless resignation to reality and material existence, it was not difficult for foreign forms of belief to gain the privilege of existing by the side of the national religion and to find entrance and a home in the minds of some who longed for a loftier conception of life. Yet the religious systems transplanted from other countries, although they adapted themselves in time to the Chinese nature and peculiarities, could never secure general recognition. Their disciples remained a sect, regarded with indifference and tolerated so long as they did not seem dangerous to the existing political system, but they were without noticeable influence on the people as a whole. The doctrines which obtained the widest recognition bore the impress of the religious feeling of India; notably those of Tao, founded by Lao-tse and laid down in the sacred book Tao-te-king, and the religious system of Buddha, called Fo by the Chinese.

Buddhism

Buddhism, in spite of temporary persecution, gained numerous followers among the lower classes; but in China it had "lost the activity of life and had sunk into a turbid mixture with foreign elements" and into a mere system of outward observances. It was only of significance in that it furthered the cultivation of trees and plants, for the reason that the Buddhists, foregoing the bloody sacrifices of animals, "worshipped the pictures and relics of the founder of their religion by offerings of flowers and fragrance." Thus "temples, cloisters, and burial places were surrounded by gardens and ornamented with foreign trees and a carpet of many coloured variously shaped flowers."

The Tao Doctrine

Lao-tse endeavoured to unify Chinese dualism into a single primal existence (Tao) void of consciousness and purpose, and to conceive the manifold variety of things as held together by a single and supreme principle. At the same time he tried to satisfy that longing for immortality which lies deep in the human heart, by holding out to the wise and the virtuous the prospect of living on and of a final return to the primal being. As the only method of attaining this consummate wisdom he recommended, as did the holy penitents of India, the mortification of the flesh, the taming of all desires and passions, and flight out of the unreal world of manifold phenomena. Thus would man become master over the things of nature and would even obtain power over death. By means of the "drink of immortality" the "holy man" is able to break even the might of death. This mystic teaching in time gave rise to a widespread belief in magic and miracles, so that divination, magic arts, and incantation of spirits assumed a wide sway. The Tao sect was sometimes persecuted, sometimes tolerated and even honoured; several emperors, indeed, partook of the "drink of immortality."

Lao-tse taught, says Stuhr, "that heaven and earth were brought forth out of chaos. Chaos was preceded by a single being, silent and immeasurable, unchangeable and ever active. It is the mother of the universe, whose name is unknown, but she may be designated by the word Tao, reason or reasonably acting force. Man's existence is an image of the earth, the earth is an image of heaven, heaven an image of reason, reason an image of itself. Moral perfection consists in freedom from passions, that man may give himself over the more uninterruptedly to the contemplation of the harmony reigning in the universe. There is no greater sin than unrestrained desire and no greater misfortune than want of peace and the torturing unrest of the soul, which are consequences of the unrestrainedness of desire." Lao-tse, like the Brahmins of India, lived in solitude, and he taught the life of contemplation. The belief in miracles and magic, which sprang from the Tao system, reached its climax in the Shamanism of the peoples of the Altai. According to this doctrine it is in the power of the Shamans to conjure up spirits, to tame the elements, to produce health and disease, good and evil fortune; in short, to free man from the shackles of natural forces and to counteract evil spirits.

THE STATE

All Chinese life finds its support and centre in the state. In the state are united all intellectual activities. The state for the Chinaman is a creation of heaven, an essential factor in the harmony of the universe and therefore

the sum of reasonableness and perfection. Man has value only as a citizen of the state. Personal honour has little significance; official stations and functions alone determine a man's position and dignity. To be useful to the state is the highest employment of the Chinaman, and it is therefore the duty of the wise man to seek and accept government offices. The religious life is swallowed up in the life of the state; morality and piety are one with obedience to the laws of the state. These laws, which, according to the Chinese nation, were imparted to man in the sacred primeval period by the celestial rulers Fo-hi, Yao, and Shun, are of more importance than all human authority. They are not the product of the whim of an individual, but are the sum and substance of the divine rationality, the product of the mind of the whole people, and must therefore be obeyed no less by the emperor than by every subject.

The laws of China extend to all the relations of life; they determine the individual's share in the possession of the soil and the taxes to be paid to the state; they regulate the buying and selling of merchandise and determine measures, weights, and market prices; they regulate all life and activity, moral conduct as well as the forms of social convention, for they lay down laws concerning the behaviour of men towards men and of men towards animals and concerning duties towards parents and towards the aged. Nor do they fail to concern themselves with dress and the cut of the hair. Everything is regulated by traditional forms and habits, by precepts and ordinances. Freedom and individual choice, the sources of all true culture and morality, are unknown ideas. But this code of laws, which directs the Chinaman in all his movements, protects him on the other hand against wilfulness and oppression, because its authority is unlimited and no situation lies beyond its scope. In China there is only one natural distinction: emperor and people. All subjects are equal from their birth; there are no hereditary classes, no castes; only material possessions, not rank, are handed down from father to son. Not lineage, but knowledge, works, and conduct determine importance and dignity. Slavery and the eunuch system, the unlovely phenomena in the social life of China, did not exist in the most flourishing periods of the empire. Slavery came into being only as a consequence of increasing overpopulation and poverty; eunuchs were the result of oriental voluptuousness, degeneration, and polygamy.

"According to the old laws," says Wuttke, "the state is sole owner of the soil, and gives possession to the individual only by way of loan. Every father of a family receives a certain amount of arable land from which he gives to the state a tenth of the profits. In those cases where, at a greater distance from the industrial cities, the system of common property can be carried out, the following course is pursued: A rectangular-piece of land is divided up into nine equal squares which are managed by nine fathers of families. The middle (ninth) portion belongs to the state and is worked in common. The eight families form a closely united whole. They must assist one another in the planting of the fields, and in need and sickness; represent one another, etc. There is no tax to be rendered to the state except the income of that ninth section of land." If the owner leaves his land untilled, it can be taken from him by legal process. Only in the time of the violent emperor Shi-hoang-ti were the government lands turned into real hereditary and devisable property. Later attempts to replace the original conditions necessarily failed.

At first prisoners of war and criminals were compelled to take part in public works and in consequence were made slaves of the state, until, some

centuries before Christ, the custom originated of securing private slaves by purchase. Since then trade in human beings, whereby children, especially young girls, are frequently sold by their own parents, and poor people sell themselves into slavery, has flourished in spite of many prohibitions. Slaves, however, are protected by law against harshness and ill-treatment. Eunuchs were at first criminals and the relatives of criminals punished by mutilation; it was only in a later period that the class of eunuchs was formed. This class gained great influence, forming as it did the guard of the harems of the aristocracy, and being constantly employed by the imperial court. Its members often held the most important government offices and exerted a baneful influence by trickery and malignity. Already in the *Shu-king*, therefore, there are voiced laments over woman and eunuch rule.

It was a natural consequence of the great importance in which the state and the laws of the state were held that crimes against the government were subjected to severe and cruel punishments, while in other respects the Chinese legal system exhibits a mild and parental character. High treason was a crime also against heaven. In China, moreover, corporal punishments, which are inflicted on the high dignitaries and the notables, are less humiliating than they would be in other countries, because the sense of personal honour does not exist.

The whole life of the state in China is concentrated in the emperor. He is the "Son of Heaven," whose orders and laws must be obeyed like divine commandments and from whom originates all government. He is honoured as a god; before his altars incense is burned; everyone who approaches him must touch his forehead to the ground three times. But the emperor must by excellent qualities make himself worthy of these honours. He must in all things be guided by the laws, customs, and examples of ancient times; he must avoid all arbitrariness, and defer to public opinion; and as supreme judge he is expected not only to punish crime but to reward virtue. "The prince must himself have virtue," says the *Shu-king*, "then he may demand it in others; for to ordain goodness which is lacking to oneself is contradictory and unnatural." A vicious and foolish ruler according to Chinese notions is not entitled to reign over the "Middle Kingdom," since his faults and crimes necessarily pass over to the whole people. As the Son of Heaven, the emperor should reflect its light in his own moral actions; he should be the visible representation of the hidden power of heaven. Should he fail to meet these claims, should he take his own will instead of the eternal orders of heaven as guide to his actions, then the people are no longer in duty bound to render him obedience. For this reason the overthrow and destruction of Chinese dynasties is always brought about by the impious deeds and vices of the rulers. Since might and authority rest less in the person of the emperor than in his office, so the hereditary descent of the crown is not unqualifiedly necessary, but only advisable for the avoidance of quarrels. In the earliest times the emperors were elected. Women are excluded from the government.

Mandarins, Supervisors, and the Army

The administration of the Chinese Empire, with its innumerable cities, towns, and villages and its excessive population, rests upon an organisation carried out in the greatest detail with a strict centralisation and a hierarchy of officials, without any community-life or any trace of self-government. The provinces with their exactly bounded subdivisions are under the management of imperial officials, called, after a Portuguese word, *Mandarins*. These are

ranked in grades and are strictly isolated from the people, and as organs and servants of the Son of Heaven constitute the government. They must adopt the ancient laws and ordinances of the "celestial kingdom," which by thorough study they make their own, as the guiding principle of all their acts and judgments. Their studies are definitely prescribed, and strict examinations, many of which are held under the direct supervision of the emperor, insure thoroughness and proficiency. The responsibility of the mandarins, who are subjected to severe surveillance and control, is very great; the sacred writings enforce their exact observance of the ancient laws of the realm, even towards the emperor.

Since China is a citizen state, the civic mandarins outrank the military mandarins. The army consists of hired troops and militia. Military colonies which were kept employed both in agriculture and in the duties of war served to spread the Chinese dominion, to protect the boundaries, and to cultivate waste regions. Military service, however, never did suit the peaceable Chinese. Arms are a burden to them. And so the *Shu-king*, instead of courageous battle hymns, contains songs of lamentation over the lot of the soldier.

Besides the emperor and the mandarins there has existed from of old a corps of supervisors, men called ko-tao, who are like censors or ephors, and whose duty it is as guardians of the law of the realm, as the "conscience of the state," to insure a conservative government, in harmony with the sacred ordinances of heaven. They are representatives of the idea of the state, and hold a right of veto over the emperor and his counsellors. They are honoured by the people as protectors of the law and feared by officials. Not infrequently they have interfered in affairs of the court, and have protested against the crimes and vices of the emperors with the same sternness and with as little respect of persons as did the prophets against the kings of Israel.

"Only intelligence," says Wuttke, "not birth, qualifies for office. The emperor may have only such servants as bear within themselves the consciousness of the everlasting kingdom." State examinations are held in every official city in a hall dedicated to the memory of Kong-fu-tse; they are under the supervision of the authorities and scholars. The highest examinations are conducted by the emperor himself in his palace. For the further education of the officials monthly lectures are delivered on their duties and the laws.

In the army a strict military discipline is observed. Even the officers receive blows with the rod. The signal for the gathering of the army was even in ancient times given by fires on the mountains. The plaintive songs of the soldiers in the *Chinese Song-Book*, translated by Rückert, give evidence of the national dislike of war.



WIFE OF A MANDARIN

EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND THE FAMILY

The income of the state, obtained by high tolls and income taxes, is spent with fatherly care for the good of the people. In no way is the guardian-like administration, which endeavours to act in the interests of the people instead of using them as its tool, shown more conspicuously than in the institutions of public utility, in the magnificent magazines and hospitals, in the construction of roads and bridges, in the canals and the apparatus for the prevention of inundation. The solicitude of the government is not restricted to material life; schools, instruction in music, the whole educa-

tional system, indeed, is under governmental direction. Education has for its purpose, however, not the development of mental powers along lines of independent thought, not the natural upbuilding of the inner nature, but merely the imparting of ancestral knowledge. For this reason instruction consists chiefly in memorising the school-books prescribed by the government, and is particularly concerned, after the essential rudiments of knowledge have been acquired, with the inculcation of conventional morality, of civic virtue, obedience towards parents and the emperor, observance of the laws of the state, and of a life of quiet orderliness. Great stress is laid upon music. It is considered as an echo of the universal harmony which accustoms the soul to order and accord, and banishes passions and evil desires. The moral and civic laws are set to music and are taught in song. Besides the elementary schools, which are not wanting even in the smallest hamlets, there are many institutions for scientific training. But the rigid mechanism which shows itself in all the activities of Chinese life robs these studies of those results which mental culture when not thus restricted brings with it.



A MANDARIN

A people whose gaze has been directed towards the earth from its youth up necessarily looks upon labour as the chief aim of existence. Therefore the Chinese were at all times characterised by an ant-like activity and a never-tiring industry. But this activity is not spiritualised by thought. It consists only in skilful hand labour, in mechanical dexterity, in painstaking perseverances. Agriculture is looked upon as the oldest and most important occupation; it is the factor of orderliness and moral steadiness in the Chinese national and popular life. The emperor himself presides over it. Few lands can compare with China in horticulture. The extensive fields of grain and rice, the numberless gardens with magnificent flowers, ornamental and odoriferous climbing plants over shady arbours, the hill country laid out in terraces with excellent arrangements for drainage and for irrigation, the plains of blossoming tea and cotton, the rich orchards and groves, all bear witness to the perfection of the cultivation of the soil. Agriculture is the steady, unchangeable foundation of the Chinese state. By its introduction and culti-

vation the conquered neighbouring lands were more firmly united to the empire than would have been possible by methods of war. What the conquerors of the West tried to do with the sword, China attained more permanently and benevolently with the plough.

Besides the cultivation of grain and of tea, the production of silk is the pride of the nation and the source of great profit. Just as the emperor is the patron of agriculture, so the production of silk enjoys the particular care of the empress. She has in her room silkworms that she feeds with leaves from the imperial gardens. In silk-weaving, as in all other branches of industry, the practical skill and graceful dexterity of the Chinese is especially admirable. They surpassed all other nations in the fine weaving of various materials. Their artistic carvings in wood, ivory, and horn and their beautiful china have always won admiration as staples of trade. Silk paper for writing, gunpowder, and printing by means of wooden type, wood-cuts, and many other things were known to the Chinese many hundred years earlier than to the Europeans. But the spirit of development and progress is lacking, and the incentive which contact with foreign inventions and knowledge would afford. For this reason the Chinese after a time fell behind the western civilised countries in all those branches of industry which approach art and are perfected by mental activity. Mechanical activities depending upon manual skill and technical dexterity have been from the earliest times at a high stage of perfection. A great commerce such as the favourable position of the country and its wealth in products of all kinds would have encouraged was prevented by China's policy of isolation. Only at certain places on the coast were foreign trading vessels allowed to land and to load with the wares heaped up there.

The peculiar mental bent of the Chinese and their unique conception of existence come into view most plainly, and, perhaps, in the most advantageous light, in social intercourse and family life. Since man, according to the Chinese idea, is only a portion of the whole and has no worth or significance as a free personality, he can count on respect and recognition only when he adapts his behaviour to existing customs and laws, when he follows the high road of the traditional and the conventional, when he permits his individuality to be swallowed up in the universal. The individual is to distinguish himself in nothing. No alteration is allowed in clothing or fashion, which are prescribed by the state and have remained unchanged for thousands of years. Morality is only of the passive sort. To leave undone that which is evil and of harm to the community is more highly esteemed than the performance of virtue. Piety towards parents, obedience towards those in authority, love for relatives and friends, reverence and politeness in daily intercourse, are the chief duties of the Chinaman.

Marriage and the family as the "centre of the life of society" were worthily developed in China. The union of man and woman in the family is the image of the union of creative primitive force with receptive primitive matter, of the heavens with the earth, whence sprang the universe. Marriage is as old as the state. Fo-hi, who after the great flood erected the system of the state, was the founder also of marriage. This conception, moreover, raised woman in China from the subordinate position in which she appears among the rest of the peoples of ancient times. Though owing obedience to man and subject to him, yet she is held in great respect as an essential member of the family. Womanly virtue and self-sacrificing fidelity were frequently rewarded with triumphal arches. Still, woman, according to oriental custom, is restricted to the house and shut off from association with men, and little care is

expended on her education. Marriage as a divine ordinance is regarded by the Chinaman as an obligation. Only by marrying can he fulfil his destiny on earth. Polygamy is permitted but does not frequently occur. The bride is purchased from her parents by the bridegroom with a bridal gift. The grades of relationship in which intermarriage is prohibited are very far-reaching. The holiest tie in family life is the love of children for their parents, which, therefore, is again and again inculcated as the highest duty.

LEARNING, LITERATURE, ART

Science and knowledge make up the soul of Chinese official and popular life. The wise and the learned are the true statesmen, because only they have the faculty of comprehending the skilfully adjusted machinery of the state and of keeping it upon its unchangeable course. Only they are able to protect from upheaval the heaven-born organism of the national life. A peaceful people needs no heroes, but only wise administrators.

In order to preserve for subsequent generations the old traditions, wherein all lawful and enduring things have their origin, the Chinese in the grey dawn of prehistoric time invented certain signs and characters whereby they indicated certain ideas and words. On the basis of the very ancient Kua, a kind of hieroglyphic which is said to have originated with the mythical king Fo-hi, they built up an idea or picture-writing, whereof every sign indicated a particular conception, independent of the sound of the word and therefore applicable to every language. By means of combination, expansion, and symbolical representation of abstract conceptions, there developed from this primitive hieroglyphic the sign-writing in use to-day, made up of strangely formed characters or artificial ciphers. This is characterised by such an uncertainty, obscurity, and complexity of figures, that merely to learn to read it requires decades, and only the learned know thoroughly the written language. Words do not grow out of a combination of letters or out of a common dominant sound, but each word stands as a complete, indivisible whole. The total number of signs that may be used is about fifty thousand; of these not more than half are actually in use, and for ordinary written communication a knowledge of four thousand is enough. A similar stiffness and clumsiness is shown by the Chinese spoken language, which is no less difficult to understand; "on account of its rigidity it does not express the living thought," but only indicates.

Similar to the earliest speech of children, the Chinese language places single words, almost all of one syllable, beside one another without connection. It knows no organic, living development of a root word through derived forms, nothing of the multiplicity of variations of sounds or of affixes by means of which other languages are able to express a wealth of relations. "The same unchanged word according to the connection is sometimes noun, sometimes adjective, sometimes verb. There are no conjugations or declensions; of the verb there is only the substantive form, the infinitive. Tense cannot be expressed in the verb itself, but only by adding another word which indicates the time. Only intonation and position distinguish the meaning of a word as noun, verb, adjective, numeral, or even as preposition." For this reason, too, the Chinese use only short sentences, as every newly added word makes the difficulty of understanding greater.

Their whole language consists of less than five hundred monosyllabic root words, which by means of various intonations and pronunciations are raised to fourteen hundred and forty-five simple sounds used as words. From these

again, then, combinations of sounds arise. The grammatical relationships are indicated by means of particles. With so small a number of words there must necessarily exist great uncertainty and ambiguity, since the same word pronounced the same way often has different meanings. With those words most in use the number of meanings expressed by each runs up to thirty or forty. This ambiguity the Chinaman endeavours to remove by repetition and a manifold representation of the same thought. In spite of its awkwardness the oldest form of the language has been retained unchanged. The language of the *Kings* differs but little from that spoken to-day. "This system of speech with its curious form of writing," says Gützlaff, "is on the one hand a firm dividing wall against the presumption of foreigners, and on the other hand the great means of union whereby the people with its various dialects is held together and which makes possible a single government."

The literature of the Chinese is rich in lessons of practical shrewdness and well-regulated common sense, but is void of all imagination or depth of thought, all poetic inspiration or warmth of feeling. The most important literary work is made up of the *Kings*, the sacred books, collected and arranged by Kong-fu-tse [Confucius], which contain the earliest traditions of the life of the Chinese people. They consist in part of the three *Kings* proper, which, according to their contents, have come down from the time of the original fathers; and of a number of later writings, also held as sacred, and which were composed by Kong-fu-tse himself or by his favourite pupils. The *Kings* are divided into three parts: the *Y-king*, an obscure book, more perverted than elucidated by recent exegesis, and concerned with the phenomena of nature and moral reflections, the authorship of which is ascribed to Fo-hi, the founder of the realm; the *Shi-king*, the book of odes, a selection of old songs for the furtherance of morality and the enrichment of life, made by Kong-fu-tse himself; and the *Shi-king*, or annals of the realm. The national songs of the *Shi-king*, which belong to various ages and authors, are of very mixed contents. Some have for their purpose the spread of religious and moral sentiments; they lament in an elegiac manner the deterioration of old customs and virtues, praise the fortunate times of earlier generations, and express a longing for their restoration; others sing with lyric rapture of the joys of love and the pleasures of life, or burst forth in praise or criticism of the emperors and their



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government. In general there reigns in them a delicate morality and natural feeling. The most important of the sacred books is the *Shi-king*, the principal fountain of Chinese national life, and therefore held in high honour by the



CHINESE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

people. It contains, in addition to the most ancient history, beginning with Yao—intended to add dignity to the entire work—many moral and political reflections, maxims, and useful lessons for public and private life. After the destruction of the book by Shi-hoang-ti, the work remained, in spite of its later restoration, imperfect and full of gaps. Dating from various periods, it contains only a little more than half of the old work.

Among the rest of the writings accounted sacred, and sometimes designated by the name of *Kings*, the most important are: the *Li-ky*, the book of customs, ceremonies, and eternal conventions; and the four works compiled by Kong-fu-tse himself and his immediate disciples: *Tohio*, "the great lesson," *Tshung-thung*, "the certain mean," and *Luen-yue* and *Hi-tse*, in which is contained the total substance of the teach-

ings of Kong-fu-tse. In spite of the reverence with which the Chinese regard the sacred writings and the explanations and commentaries, composed by Meng-tse and Tshu-tse, yet they are not considered by them as infallible; of a supernatural inspiration they have no conception.

The scientific investigations of the Chinaman are in part directed to universal nature, especially to the star-sown heavens, and in part to the real life of the state and the people. To matters beyond the senses he does not aspire. The observation of nature and of the sky, in which divine existence manifests itself, is in his estimation the only road to truth and reason, and it is therefore a sacred duty. The science of astronomy was always pursued in China with special predilection. The emperors themselves took it up. The astronomers took the place of prophets and priests. This bent soon resulted in knowledge of the courses of the planets and the movements of heavenly bodies, in the calculation of the eclipses of the sun and moon, the division and determination of the cycles of the years and of the moon, and in the foundation of a definite chronology and of a well-ordered calendar. The emperor must be guided in governmental transactions by the constellations. The days when eclipses disturb the order of the heavens are observed with all sorts of peculiar ceremonies as days of mourning. External nature, too, with her five elements (water, fire, wood, metal, and soil), is the subject of scientific investigation and observation. Hence the early acquaintance of the Chinese with magnetism and the compass, with botany and the healing or harmful effects of herbs and roots upon the human body.

As in their study of nature, so too in their philosophical investigations, the Chinese direct their attention mainly towards the real and the established things. The examples and the rules of life laid down by their ancestors, together with knowledge of the material present, make up the substance of their wisdom, which, therefore, consists chiefly of practical observations, wise sayings, rules of life, and lessons in shrewdness. Even the worldly wisdom of the much-admired Tshu-hi, the Chinese Aristotle, which is recognised as the philosophy of the realm, is restricted to a dry moralising without depth, to maxims, and adages regarding every-day conduct. Lessons in virtue and worldly wisdom are the highest to which the Chinese mind is able to rise.

The Chinese love of nature furthered practical knowledge, agriculture, and industry, but it was unfavourable to art and poetry. The endeavour of the true artist to inform nature with spirit, to vivify dead matter by the action of the mind, to introduce the ideal into reality, is altogether foreign to the Chinese way of looking at things. "China has, therefore," says Wuttke, "a highly developed industrial activity, but a very slightly developed art, consisting of profuse ornamentation, but containing little beauty; they pursue a slavish imitation of nature to the uttermost detail, for the life of nature is for them in itself the ideal, but are incapable of an independent creation of the beautiful; anxious and minute exactness in copying takes the place of imaginative work. Even when their productions approach closest to art, they do not show free creative ability. Rules resting upon ancient tradition, laid down not by the artistic feeling, but for it, regulate as state laws the work of the artist. The rules of art are prescribed by the state just as are laws of construction for forges or canals. Art is no more allowed to make progress than is history."

Architecture is altogether in the service of practical life and has no inspiration or idealism. Temples are bare memorial halls; triumphal arches are prosaic monuments of record; dwelling houses are low and awkward, with sloping, hollowed-out roofs in the form of tents, made of yellow lacquered bricks. Only in structures of public utility, especially in bridges, have great things been done. On the other



CHINESE PAGODA

hand, Chinese towers, called Tha, do attain originality by expressing the odd character of the people. "These towers," says Kugler in his history of art, "rise upwards in numerous stories: each story is somewhat smaller than the one below it, each is provided with a multi-coloured roof, concave and sloping, and hung about with little bells, which tinkle merrily. The tiles of the roof are covered with a golden, glistening lacquer. The walls

are painted in many colours or inlaid with gleaming plates of porcelain. The porcelain tower of Nanking (built in the fifteenth century) is one of the most famous of this kind of building." Sculpture, as may be seen by numerous works of stone and porcelain, of metal and ivory, is remarkable for its external technical execution, but without any artistic feeling; so, too, it is with painting, on which the Chinese lavish much care. Held in the bonds of the prosaic and commonplace, they slavishly imitate reality and thus make their pictures mere "mirrored images of life." Simple objects of nature, flowers, birds, fish, and the like, are painted very neatly and with great exactness and splendour of colour; on the other hand, their human figures are lacking in movement and their faces in expression. Moreover, their pictures are without perspective and chiaroscuro. The science of music is not much more highly developed, although this has at all times enjoyed the favour of the government. Their music, which is produced by numberless instruments of manifold shapes, and clear, thin tones, is noisy, monotonous, and without inspiration. Notation was introduced only in recent times by the Jesuits; before that all tunes had to be learned by heart.

In a country where the inner life of man is without development, where the individual counts only as a fraction of the universal, there is no soil in which creative poetry can grow. How could a people that does not strive for ideals, for which commonplace reality holds everything that belongs to earthly happiness, find delight in creations of the imagination? Epic poetry with its lofty moral ideas is unknown to the Chinese, because they have no liking for heroic deeds; because to them the magnificent battle of man with fate appears as a sinful rebellion against the inevitability of nature; because they lack the world of religious myths, whence the epic draws its materials; because no heroic age forms the background of their history. No hero poem graces Chinese literature; tales and court stories, novels taken immediately from dull reality, representations and descriptions of social life, wearisome and long-drawn-out, without high morality or poetic inspiration, take the place of epic poetry.

Just as little can the drama flourish in China. A people that does not know real action or development cannot produce action in the drama, "the poetic image of the world's history." Dramatic poetry, therefore, consists only of stage pieces for the entertainment and amusement of the people. Only events transcribed from real life, only light plots and farces, written as pastimes for the audience, are found in the voluminous fiction of the stage. Dramatic art is held in even less esteem than is the art of epic poetry; the theatres, although much frequented, are without influence on the sentiment and culture of the nation. Dramatic poetry, which among the civilised European peoples is a temple of all that is great and ideal, is in China only the unpoetic image of real life, entirely without moral impulse.

Lyric poetry, however, which does not represent action, but thought and feeling, is not wanting in grace, loveliness, and noble sentiment, even though it lacks depth and power. Loveliest are the poems of the *Shi-king*. In general the didactic character is predominant in Chinese lyric poetry, and often the thought is associated with an image taken from nature, which in frequent repetition runs along beside the thought but is not united with it. Maxims and rules of life, in which the practical wisdom of the Chinaman so dearly likes to clothe itself, very frequently form much of the substance of this lyrical-didactic poetry. The highest aim of Chinese conduct, that of self-control and moderation, shows itself even in the poetry, in which strong feeling is avoided as carefully as is passion in real life. Hence coolness and calm

are the chief characteristics of their poetry. The matter-of-fact regularity and orderliness which restrain the Chinaman from too great an indulgence in the pleasures of the senses keep him, too, from all enthusiasm, extravagance, and wild dreaming.

"The country of Sina," says Herder, "is an embalmed mummy, painted over with hieroglyphics and spun about with silk; its inner circulation is like that of a hibernating animal. As the Sinese love immeasurably their gold tinsel and lacquer, the deftly painted lines of their crooked characters, and the jingle of pretty sayings, so the cultivation of their minds resembles this golden tinsel, this lacquer, these characters, and the clinking of their syllables. The gift of productive scholarship nature seems to have denied them, whereas she gives with a lavish hand that quick intelligence displayed in their little eyes, that cunning industry and finesse, that artistic talent for imitation in everything which their greed finds useful to them."^c





CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF CHINA

To insure a good end
You must make a good beginning ;
An error of a hair's breadth
May lead to a discrepancy of a thousand li.
Hung Lu-tsuen.ⁱ

EARLY DYNASTIES

THE immense antiquity of the world is amongst western nations a comparatively recent discovery ; but, although Chinese thinkers could not have based their theories on geological science, they seem at any rate to have grasped the probability that the human race must have taken more than six thousand years to develop a complicated social organisation.

The first tangible monarch is Hwang-ti, who reigned during the twenty-seventh century before the Christian era. He built roads, invented ships, and organised the empire into administrative departments.^b To his lady, Se-ling-she, is ascribed the honour of having first observed the silk produced by the worms, of having unravelled their cocoons, and of having worked the fine filaments into a web of cloth. The tomb of Hwang-ti is also preserved to this day in the province of Shensi.

With the reign of Yaou (2356 B.C.) Confucius takes up the strain, and though his narrative will not bear criticism it yet furnishes us with some historical data. The character of Yaou and his successor Shun have been the theme of every writer on history from the time of Confucius downwards. So strong was the force of the examples they set that the nation increased in size and prosperity. Yaou was succeeded by Shun, who for some years had shared with him the responsibilities of government. It was during this period that the "Great" Yu was employed to drain off the waters of the

[1818 B.C.-226 A.D.]

flood which had visited the north of China. As a reward for this and other services he was raised to the throne on the death of Shun. After him succeeded a number of rulers, each one less qualified to govern than the last, until one Kee (1818 B.C.) ascended the throne. In this man were combined all the worst vices of kings. The people rose against him, and having swept away all traces of him and his bloody house, they proclaimed the commencement of a new dynasty, to be called the Shang dynasty, and their leader, Tang, they named the first emperor of the new line (1766 B.C.).^c Of him the Chinese write that "he ruled the people gently, and abolished oppressions. In his days the seven years' drought occurred."

At the close of this dynasty, 1153 B.C., the tyrant Chow presided over the empire. The age of this individual agrees with that assigned in sacred history to Samson. The founders of the third dynasty are described as virtuous, patriotic, and brave. About this time, 1121 B.C., foreign ambassadors came, from the modern Cochin China, to court; on returning they missed their way, when the prime minister furnished them with a "south-pointing chariot," by means of which they reached their own country. Thus we see that the polarity of the needle was known and applied to useful purposes in China at that early period. In the twenty-first year of the emperor Ling, of the third dynasty, 549 B.C., Confucius was born.

A little more than two hundred years before the Christian era China became subject to a fourth dynasty, called Tsin. The ruler of Tsin conceived the insane idea of establishing a dynasty which should extend from the beginning to the end of time. With this view he collected and burned all the records of previous ages, and buried alive four hundred and sixty learned men, wishing to make posterity believe that the dominion of the world commenced with himself. The object of obliterating all remembrance of antiquity was, however, defeated by the subsequent discovery of the books of Confucius, and the intention of perpetuating his rule was frustrated by the demise of his son, whereupon his dynasty became extinct. During the lifetime of this monarch the famous Chinese Wall was erected, in order to keep out the Tatars, who then infested the northern frontier. Almost every third man was drafted throughout the empire for the accomplishment of this undertaking.

Since the days of Tsin a succession of dynasties has swayed the destinies of China, among the most celebrated of which are Han, Tang, Sung, and Ming, with the two Tatar dynasties Yuen and Tsing. The dynasty Han, lasting from 205 B.C. to 226 A.D., is distinguished for the military prowess and courage at that time displayed; hence the Chinese are still fond of calling themselves



CHINESE SOLDIER

sons of Han. After the downfall of this race of kings six smaller dynasties followed, of which little remarkable is recorded. During the Tang dynasty, from 620 to 906 A.D., learning was extensively cultivated, and the literary examinations were then first established. Between the ages of Tang and Sung five smaller dynasties intervened, during which period printing was invented by one Fung-taou, 924 A.D., while the practice of binding the feet of women appears to have commenced about the same time. At the close of the Sung dynasty, 1275 A.D., Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, visited China. While the Mongolian Tatars had possession of China the grand canal was dug, and the Yellow River was brought back to its former bed, by which means much land was brought under cultivation and former inundations prevented. Under the reign of the Ming dynasty, from 1368 A.D. to 1643 A.D., the Portuguese visited China, and settled themselves at Macao.^d

Tsung-ching was the last emperor of the Ming dynasty. In his reign rebel bands began to assume the proportion of armies. Out of this seething mass of insubordination two leaders showed themselves conspicuously. These were Le Tsze-ching and Shang Ko-he. They divided the empire between them, and agreed that Shang should take possession of Szechuen and Hukwang, and that Le should make himself master of Honan. Bent on this mission Le besieged Kaifung-fu, the capital of the province, and so long and closely did he beleaguer it that in the consequent famine human flesh was regularly sold in the market. At length an imperial force came to raise the siege; fearful of meeting Le's army in the field, they cut through the dikes of the Yellow River, "China's Sorrow," and flooded the whole country, including the city. The rebels escaped to the mountains, but upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants perished in the flood (1642). Fu Le determined to attack Peking. A treacherous eunuch opened the gates to him, on being informed of which the emperor committed suicide. When the news of this disaster reached the general commanding on the frontier of Manchu Tatory, he concluded a peace with the Manchus, and invited them to dispossess the rebel Le Tsze-ching. The Manchus entered China, and after defeating a rebel army, they marched towards Peking. Le Tsze-ching, after having set fire to the imperial palace, evacuated the city, but was overtaken and his force was completely routed.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY

The object for which the Manchus had been introduced into the empire having been accomplished, the Chinese wished them to retire, but they declared themselves unwilling to leave it, and having taken possession of Peking they proclaimed the ninth son of Teen-ning emperor of China, under the title of Shun-che, and adopted the name of Ta-tsing, or "Great pure," for the dynasty (1644). Meanwhile the Tatar army appeared at the walls. But there was no need for them to use force. The gates were thrown open, and they took possession of the city. As the Tatars entered the city the emperor left it, and finally threw himself into the Yang-tse Kiang and was drowned. Thus ended the Ming dynasty, and the empire passed again under a foreign yoke.

All accounts agree in stating that the Manchu conquerors are descendants of a branch of the family which gave the Kin dynasty to the north of China. The accession to the throne of the emperor Shun-che did not at first restore peace to the country. The adherents of the Ming dynasty defended themselves vigorously but unsuccessfully against the invaders. About this time

[1644-1820 A.D.]

Koxinga [the son of a pirate who had won political power and had then been murdered], having driven the Dutch out of Formosa, established himself as king and held possession of the island until the reign of Kang-he, when he resigned in favour of the imperial government. Gradually opposition to the new régime became weaker and weaker, and the shaved head with the pig-tail—the symbol of Tatar sovereignty—became more and more universally adopted. Little is known of Shun-che, but he appears to have taken a great interest in science. When he was gathered to his fathers (1661), Kang-he, his son, reigned in his stead. The dictionary of the Chinese language, published under his superintendence, proves him to have been as great a scholar as his conquests show him to have been famous as a general. He died in 1721. Under his rule Tibet was added to the empire, which extended from the Siberian frontier to Cochin China, and from the China Sea to Turkestan. Almost the only national misfortune that visited China while he sat upon the throne was an earthquake at Peking, in which four hundred thousand people are said to have perished. Kang-he was succeeded by Yung-ching. He died in 1735, and Keen-lung, his son, reigned in his stead.

Keen-lung and Kea-king

This monarch despised the conciliatory measures by which his father had maintained peace with his neighbours. On but a slight provocation he marched an army into Ili, which he converted into a Chinese province, and he afterwards added eastern Turkestan to the far-reaching territories of China. During his reign it was that the Mohammedan standard was first raised in Kansu. But the Mussulmans were unable to stand against the imperial troops. Keen-lung wrote incessantly, and did much to promote the cause of literature by collecting libraries and republishing works of value. His war against the Ghurkas was one of the most successful of his military undertakings. His generals marched seventy thousand men into Nepal to within sixty miles of the British frontiers, and having subjugated the Ghurkas they received the submission of the Nepalese, and acquired an additional hold over Tibet (1792). In 1795 Keen-lung abdicated in favour of his fifteenth son, who adopted the title of Kea-king as the style of his reign.

During the reign of Keen-lung the relations of the East India Company with his government had been the reverse of satisfactory. The British government consequently determined to send an embassy to the court of Peking, and Lord Macartney was chosen to represent George III on the occasion. But the concessions he sought for his countrymen were not accorded to him. Kea-king's reign, which extended over a period of five-and-twenty years, was disturbed and disastrous. The condition of the foreign merchants at Canton had in no wise improved. The mandarins were as exacting and unjust as ever, and in order to set matters on a better footing the British government despatched a second ambassador in the person of Lord Amherst to Peking in 1816. However, he declined to perform the kowtow, and was consequently dismissed from the palace on the same day on which he arrived. Kea-king died in the year 1820, leaving a disturbed country and a disaffected people.^c

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE TAIPING REBELLION

It now becomes requisite to glance at the condition of the people about the period when the Taiping rebellion began to spread, and for this purpose it will be sufficient to embrace the events of the preceding twenty years.

In a letter written in 1833 by one of the Roman Catholic missionaries from Kiangsi, it is stated that, so great was the general destitution in the province, the people were selling their wives and children, and many were living on the bark of trees. In the following year an earthquake in Honan destroyed ninety-five villages.

During the years 1839-40-41 the whole province of Szechuen, the largest in the empire, became the theatre of misery and anarchy. The war with Great Britain, which began in 1841, did not tend to improve matters. The circumstances which led to this war had their origin in the changes brought

about by the expiry of the East India Company's charter. Trade relations with China were always comparatively satisfactory, provided that no other element was introduced into them, which was the case during the long succession of years that witnessed the commercial reign of the East India Company; but in the year 1834 their charter ceased, and the British merchants and other residents became represented by a commissioner appointed by the home government, and from this time there ensued a series of misunderstandings and annoyances, partly caused by the opium traffic, but principally through the non-recognition on the part of the Chinese of the political position held by the com-



A KOREAN BOOKMAKER

missioner. It was considered advisable by the British government to send a powerful force to bring the Chinese to a due comprehension of England's power, and to place her commerce upon a permanent basis.

The result of this war was most disastrous to the Tatar power. The Chinese government, seeing at last the hopeless nature of the struggle, proposed to come to terms, and a treaty was signed in September, 1842. The treaty gave the English permission to trade freely at the five ports of Shanghai, Ningpo, Fuhchow, Amoy, and Canton, ceded the island of Hong-Kong, and indemnified England for the expenses of the war with a sum equalling £4,200,000. Nothing could have so much opened the eyes of the Chinese to the weakness of their Manchu rulers as this war.

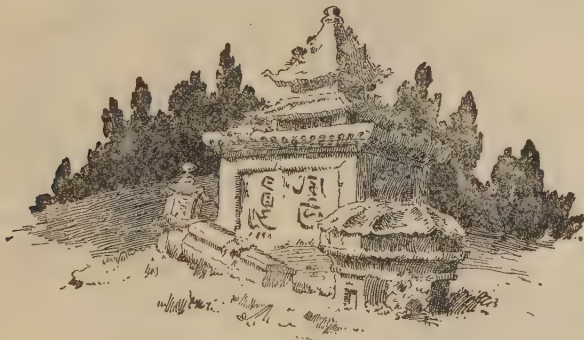
HUNG-SIU-TSUEN

Whatever may be the opinions held with regard to the Taipings, their creeds, and their actions, there can be no doubt that their leader, Hung-siu-tsuen, was sincere in his own belief. The only way of accounting for his actions is by acknowledging him to be true to his own convictions.^e He was a disappointed literatus. He did not fail once, but many times, to qualify for the civil service. Hard study, bitter disappointment, and strained circumstances combined to undermine his constitution and shake his reason. Becoming cataleptic, he saw in one of his trances a strange vision, which, being repeated several times, persuaded him that destiny had great things in store for him. While under the bewildering influence of these visions some Christian tracts fell into his hands, and, on reading them, sudden illumination came to him. He found stories there of men caught up to heaven, where

[1842-1853 A.D.]

vital truths were made clear to them, and of others who, conversing face to face with God on mountain-tops, returned with a gospel for their fellows. Nor did he find anything to indicate that a human being in the nineteenth century would be guilty of blasphemy did he imagine himself the object of divine favour such as had been vouchsafed to human beings in earlier eras. What he did find, as he supposed, was that the Bible enabled him to interpret his vision. He became a convert to Christianity, such as he found it in the tracts which had come into his hands. As to the nature of his Christianity, however, there are differences of opinion.

He cannot be said to have at first adopted the rôle of general religious propagandism. By slow processes, a little band of believers drew together, and their union was cemented by community of suffering, for iconoclastic zeal betrayed them into acts that drew down upon them the vengeance of the law. Fortuitous events precipitated the crisis. The religious clan established by Hung and his co-workers served as a rallying-point for many *hakkas* [quasi-gipsies] who had been driven from their temporary settlements, and thus the Shang-ti worshippers—for so they called themselves—ultimately became objects of hostility to the landowners of the province, to the followers of Buddhism and Taoism, and to the civil authorities. Driven by these circumstances into open rebellion, they commenced a movement which ultimately swept throughout nearly the whole empire, costing the lives of millions of people, pushing the Manchu dynasty to the verge of ruin, keep-



CHINESE BURYING-PLACE

ing the realm in a ferment for fourteen years, and ultimately betraying England and France into a course which, if it be finally declared erroneous, can never be too much regretted.

THE PROGRESS OF TAIPING POWER; THE TRIADS

Within three years from the time of raising their standard the *Taiping* forces obtained possession of Nanking, the southern capital of China, the city under whose walls the first foreign treaty had been signed eleven years previously. Eleven years had now elapsed since the conclusion of the Nanking treaty. British trade with China was beginning to assume considerable dimensions. Hong-Kong promised to become a valuable possession, and Shanghai showed signs of growing into a prosperous settlement. The *Taiping*s could no longer be ignored, especially as the commanding position they

[1853 A.D.]

had gained on China's great waterway gave them power to obstruct a large part of the supplies of tea and silk which formed the chief staples of the export trade. England, therefore, had to consider her attitude towards the insurgents, and the result of her reflection was that, a month after the establishment (March, 1853) of the Taiping ruler's court at Nanking—for Hung was now a monarch with the title of "Heavenly King" (tien-wang)—Sir George Bonham proceeded to that city from Hong-Kong in H.B.M.S. *Hermes*. His excellency, who, as governor of Hong-Kong, represented Great Britain in China, was received with cordiality by the leaders of the rebels. At first there was a moment's hesitation while religious beliefs were compared, but



CHINESE CASTLE

so soon as the Taipings had assured themselves that the essentials of their newly adopted faith were identical with those of their visitors' creed, relations of amity were at once established. The English were made free of the whole city, were assured that the Taipings desired nothing better than the most intimate intercourse, and were treated with unvarying kindness during the five days of their sojourn. Her Britannic majesty's government, speaking through its representative, Sir George Bonham, declared to the Taiping chief that England would remain perfectly neutral.

Beyond Nanking the Taipings made no substantial progress northward. In the interests of their cause they should have marched at once upon Peking. Had they done so, the fall of the Manchu dynasty could scarcely have been averted. Their leader proposed to himself the less formidable though still

[1853 A.D.]

immense enterprise of subduing that moiety of the empire which lies southward of the Yangtse. Li, an ex-charcoal-seller, now styled the "Loyal King," was, however, placed at the head of a small body of seven thousand men, with general orders to operate on the northern bank of the Yangtse. This intrepid commander, whose name deserves a place beside those of the great captains of the world, crossed the river in May, 1853, and deliberately set his face towards Peking. He accomplished a march which was one of the most extraordinary achievements on record. But Li's splendid effort failed, and the failure may be said to have saved the Manchu dynasty.

In the same year (1853) the Triads [a secret society] rose in rebellion. Their original impulse to make common cause with the Taipings had been checked partly by a difference of political aim, partly by a divergence of religious views. But when the "Heavenly King" established himself in Nanking, his brilliant successes incited the Triads to renewed action. Desiring at all events to share in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, they attacked Amoy and Shanghai, and, having captured the two cities, tendered their allegiance to the Taiping leader. With him, however, religion seems to have been as potent as ambition. The co-operation of the Triads must have strengthened him materially, yet he declined to accept it unless they, on their side, agreed to accept Christianity such as he and his followers professed. But the Triads, failing immediate support, were driven from Amoy and Shanghai. As to Amoy, nothing need be noted except that, after holding the place for three months the Triads evacuated it (November, 1853), and the imperialist forces, marching in, perpetrated a wholesale butchery.

FOREIGN INTERESTS IN SHANGHAI

At Shanghai the Triads, unaided by the Taipings, found themselves presently besieged by a Manchu army. At that time there were two settlements at Shanghai; one occupied chiefly by Anglo-Saxons, the other by the French, the latter being in comparatively close proximity to the walled city where the Triads had established themselves. This local division did not imply any open discord between the various nationalities. The French have always shown a disposition to develop along independent lines in the Far East. At Shanghai they obeyed that instinct, and secured a special settlement of their own. They had not come to the aid of England in her struggle to open China to foreign trade, yet they insisted on regarding as a "concession" the area set apart for their use in Shanghai, and this self-asserted title of ownership has never been seriously challenged by China. Between the British and the Americans some little friction occurred as to their respective rights of occupation, but they ultimately settled down in friendly union, and, in obedience to England's policy of extending to all occidental states an absolutely equal share in every privilege obtained by her diplomacy or won by her arms, the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Shanghai opened its door without discrimination of race, and rapidly became a great centre of commerce and progress. The only direction in which English land-fever showed itself was in the determination to have a race-course and a cricket-ground. Consul Alcock, a gravely sedate person, was shocked at the aggressive tactlessness of his compatriots when they demanded a three-mile race-course at the newly opened port on the Yangtse. But his countrymen carried their point. On this race-course the imperialist forces encamped when they invested Shanghai in 1853, seeking to recover the walled city from the Triads. At that time the sympathies of

the Anglo-Saxons were with the insurgents. The governor of Hong-Kong, having just visited Nanking, had brought back most attractive reports of the friendly demeanour of the Taipings. Moreover, foreigners had free access to the walled city occupied by the Triads, and foreign missionaries could preach to large and attentive audiences there. Hence, when the imperialist forces encamped on the race-course, when they set up rifle-targets in such a position as to endanger the lives of foreigners, and when they allowed their own anti-foreign feeling to be occasionally translated into acts of violence on the part of individual "braves," the situation seemed to the British and the Americans to have become intolerable. The consuls of the aggrieved nationalities notified the Chinese general that he must remove his camp at once, and that failure to comply would be followed by an armed attack the same day. The Chinese commander-in-chief probably viewed this threat as a jest. Generals do not, at a few hours' notice, move encampments of several thousands



IN THE ENVIRONS OF SOOCHOW-FU

of soldiers posted in pursuance of a strategical purpose. He saw that to make good their menace the consuls could not muster more than a handful of mariners, together with, perhaps, a few merchant-soldiers and some civilian volunteers. However, the consuls marshalled their army of three hundred men, and rushed, as it seemed, to their destruction. But the Chinese made practically no resistance. It was not their cue to fight. A great issue depended on the course adopted by the Manchu general. He chose the right course for his government, though probably the wrong one in the interests of human progress—removed his troops from the race-course and placated his intrepid assailants.

THE CUSTOMS SERVICE

France was not the only power that found itself advantaged at the close of the seventeen months (September, 1853, to February, 1855) comprised in the Triads' tenure of Shanghai. Hers was a territorial gain which has never profited her materially. But England and America owed to the trouble two results, one of which proved of incalculable benefit to China herself, as well as

[1853-1854 A.D.]

to every nation trading with her, and without the other Shanghai would have lacked the autonomic sentiment which has contributed materially to its well-being. A tentative scheme of municipal government had been drafted in 1845, but it proved quite inadequate to meet the requirements of the disturbed time in 1853, when tens of thousands of Chinese refugees sought shelter and security within the limits of the foreign settlement. The system was therefore largely extended, and, at the same time, the small foreign community undertook the duty of self-defence by forming a volunteer corps, which then and on many subsequent occasions contributed much to the security of the settlement. But the signal outcome of the crisis was the organisation of a customs service under foreign supervision. No one could have clearly foreseen that the



CHINESE TRADING-SHIP

customs officials would ultimately become China's diplomatic agents, fiscal and financial advisers, scientific assistants, and public advocates; that they would, in short, be far more to her than all the Jesuits had been. That remarkable development of functions was not a natural outcome of the system, but rather a most improbable consequence of the ability of the men attracted to its ranks. From the moment when a number of Europeans and Americans were permitted to become servants of China and to collect for her a principal part of her revenues under an arrangement conceived and proposed by foreign governments, from that moment her Manchu rulers might consider themselves taken under foreign guardianship. If the Peking statesmen themselves did not understand something of the incalculable advantages thus conferred on them, they must have been temporarily visited by a sudden lapse of habitual astuteness. The knell of the Taiping cause may truly be said to have sounded in 1854.^f

THE COLLAPSE OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

The decade 1854-64 witnessed low-water mark in the political fortunes of the Manchu dynasty. In the northwest a Mohammedan rebellion broke out in the province of Kan-su. This was followed by a revolt of the whole of the central Asian tribes, which for two thousand years had more or less acknowledged the imperial sway. To add to these misfortunes, and even when they were at their height, the Chinese government embroiled itself in a foreign war. Redress being refused for long-standing grievances, a combined British and French expedition was sent to operate in the north. The emperor fled to Mongolia, Peking was surrendered, and terms of peace were dictated within the walls of the capital (October 24th, 1860).

This last calamity, which might have seemed to some the worst of all, was in reality the salvation of the country. The foreign powers had gone there for the sole purpose of establishing fair and equitable terms of trade—terms which would be just as advantageous to the people of China as to themselves. The treaty having once been made with the imperial government, it was their interest to uphold its authority, and to see a speedy end to the forces of anarchy and disorder. No sooner, therefore, had the war with China been finished than Great Britain and France proceeded to lend the Chinese active assistance. The services of General Gordon at this juncture are too well known to need further mention. With the first of his victories the tide began to turn, and from that time fortune smiled on the imperial arms. By degrees the Taiping rebellion was crushed; indeed, the movement had for some years been collapsing through internal decay, and with the fall of Nanking, in 1864, it finally disappeared. The next ten years (1864-74) witnessed a general revival of the strength of the empire.

THE ACCESSION OF KWANG SU

Kwang Su acceded to the throne in January, 1875. He was not then four years old, and his accession attracted little notice outside of China, as the supreme power continued to be vested in the two dowager empresses whose long regency had been only nominally determined in favour of the emperor Tung Chi when the latter attained his majority in 1873—the empress Tsu An, principal wife of the emperor Hsien Fung, and the empress Tsu Tsi, secondary wife of the same emperor, and mother of the emperor Tung Chi. The emperor Tung Chi succumbed to an ominously brief and mysterious illness. The dowager empresses solved the question of the succession by placing Kwang Su on the throne, a measure which was not only in itself arbitrary, but also in direct conflict with one of the most sacred of Chinese traditions. The solemn rites of ancestor-worship, incumbent on every Chinaman, and, above all, upon the emperor, can be properly performed only by a member of a younger generation than those whom it is his duty to honour. The emperor Kwang Su, being a son of Prince Chun, brother to the emperor Hsien Fung, and thus first cousin to the emperor Tung Chi, was not therefore qualified to offer up the customary sacrifices before the ancestral tablets of his predecessors. The accession of an infant in the place of Tung Chi achieved, however, for the time being what was doubtless the paramount object of the policy of the two empresses, namely, their undisturbed tenure of the regency, in which the junior empress Tsu Tsi, a woman of unquestionable ability and boundless ambition, had gradually become the predominant partner.

1875-1877 A.D.]

MURDER OF MR. MARGARY

The first question that occupied the attention of the government under the new reign nearly led to a war with Great Britain. The Indian government was desirous of seeing the old trade relations between Burma and the south-west provinces, which had been interrupted by the Yunnan rebellion, re-established, and for that purpose proposed to send a mission across the frontier into China. The Peking government assented and issued passports for the party. Mr. A. R. Margary, a young and promising member of the China consular service, was told off to accompany the expedition, which was under the command of Colonel Browne. Mr. Margary was treacherously murdered by Chinese, and almost simultaneously an attack was made on the expedition by armed forces wearing Chinese uniform (January, 1875). Colonel Browne with difficulty made his way back to Bhamo, and the expedition was abandoned.

Demands were made on the Peking government for a thorough inquiry on the spot in the presence of British officers. The Chinese reply was that the murder and the attack were alike the work of irresponsible savages. Enough evidence was collected on the Burma side to show that the orders for the attack emanated from the provincial government of Yunnan, if not from higher quarters. After infinite shuffling and delay an imperial commission was despatched to hold an inquiry. The trial proved an absolute farce. Eleven half-naked savages were produced as the culprits, and the only evidence tendered was such as had manifestly been manufactured for the purpose. The British officials protested and withdrew from the burlesque. The trial, however, proceeded, and the eleven hillmen were sentenced to death. With this it was hoped the British sense of justice would be satisfied. Sir Thomas Wade, then British minister at Peking, promptly declared that if this report were published or acted on he would at once haul down his flag, rightly deeming that such a reparation was a greater insult than the original offence.

Tedious negotiations followed, which more than once threatened to end in a rupture, but finally an arrangement was come to on the basis of guarantees for the future, rather than vengeance for the past. The arrangement was embodied in the Chefoo convention, dated September 13th, 1876. The terms of the settlement comprised: (1) a mission of apology from China to the British court; (2) the promulgation throughout the length and breadth of the empire of an imperial proclamation, setting out the right of foreigners to travel under passport, and the obligation of the authorities to protect them; and (3) the payment of an indemnity. The convention comprised besides a number of clauses which, though meant to improve commercial relations, were severely criticised by the mercantile communities. The stipulation most objected to was one by which the Chinese government were debarred from levying *likin* within the area of the foreign concessions, thereby implying, it was argued, the recognition of the right to levy it *ad libitum* elsewhere. Ratification of this article was refused by the British government, and additional articles were subsequently signed in London relative to the collection of *likin* on Indian opium and other matters.

IMPERIAL CONSOLIDATION

By degrees the emperor's authority was established from the confines of Kan-su to Kashgar and Yarkand, and Chinese garrisons were stationed in touch with the Russian outposts in the region of the Pamirs (December, 1877).

There remained only the northeastern province of Kuldja, occupied by Russia, but under a promise made in 1871 to restore it when China was in a position to maintain order. This promise Russia was now called upon to redeem. She showed no desire to comply with the request. China despatched Chung-how, a Manchu of the highest rank, who had been notoriously concerned in the Tientsin massacre of 1871, to St. Petersburg to negotiate a settlement. A document was signed (September, 1879), termed the Treaty of Livadia, whereby China recovered a considerable portion of the disputed territory, on her paying to Russia 5,000,000 rubles as the cost of occupation.

The treaty was, however, received with a storm of indignation in China. Li Hung Chang and Tso Tsung-tang took up the cry. Chung-how was placed under arrest as soon as he returned. Memorials poured in from all sides denouncing the treaty and its author. Foremost amongst these was one by Chang Chih-tung, then occupying a subordinate post in the Hanlin, and who afterwards became the most distinguished of the viceroys. Its publication raised him at once into eminence. Prince Chun, the emperor's father, came into prominence at this juncture as an advocate for war. Li Hung Chang, though he had been one of the first to raise the storm, became alarmed at the near prospect of war, for which he well knew China was unprepared. A visit from General Gordon, and the sound, though probably unpalatable, advice which he gave, weighed in the same direction. It was decided to send the Marquis Tseng, who in the mean time had become minister in London, to Russia to negotiate a new treaty. He avoided his predecessor's mistakes, and produced a treaty which, though not very materially different from the old, inasmuch as it still left Russia in possession of part of the Ili valley, was universally accepted. This was ratified August 19th, 1881.

THE TRIBUTARY STATES; KOREA AND JAPAN

The Chinese government could now contemplate with satisfaction the complete recovery of the whole extensive dominions which had at any time owned the imperial sway. The regions directly administered by the officers of the emperor extended from the borders of Siberia on the north to Annam and Burma on the south, and from the Pacific Ocean on the east to Kashgar and Yarkand on the west. But even that did not complete the tale, for outside these boundaries there was a fringe of tributary nations which still kept up the ancient forms of allegiance, and which more or less acknowledged the dominion of the central kingdom. Most of China's subsequent misfortunes have been in connection with one or other of these tributary states. The principal tributary nations then were Korea, Luchiu, Annam, Burma, and Nepal. The dynastic records enumerate several others, including even England, Lord Macartney's mission of 1793 having been gravely described as bringing tribute, but these were more or less accidental. The tie which bound these states to their suzerain was of the loosest description. China accepted their homage with calm superiority, but conceived herself to be under no reciprocal obligation.

Such was the attitude which China still maintained when foreign nations first began to come into contact with these tributary states. She did not recognise that the position of suzerain involved responsibilities as well as rights, and to this non-perception are to be attributed all the vagaries of her diplomacy and the complications in which she became involved. Korea was the first of the dependencies to come into notice. In 1866 some Roman

[1866-1894 A.D.]

Catholic missionaries were murdered, and about the same time an American vessel was burned in one of the rivers and her crew murdered. China refused satisfaction, both to France and America, and suffered reprisals to be made on Korea without protest. America and Japan both desired to conclude commercial treaties for the opening up of Korea, and proposed to negotiate with China. China refused and referred them to the Korean government direct, saying she was not wont to interfere in the affairs of her vassal states. As a result Japan concluded a treaty in 1876, in which the independence of Korea was expressly recognised. This was allowed to pass without protest, but as other nations proceeded to conclude treaties on the same terms China began to perceive her mistake, and endeavoured to tack on to each a declaration by the king that he was in fact a tributary—a declaration, however, which was quietly ignored.

Japan was the only power with which controversy immediately arose. In 1882 a faction fight, which had long been smouldering, broke out, headed by the king's father, the Tai Won Kun, in the course of which the Japanese legation was attacked and the whole Japanese colony had to flee for their lives. China sent troops, and by adroitly kidnapping the Tai Won Kun, order was for a time restored. The Japanese legation was replaced, but under the protection of a strong body of Japanese troops. Further revolutions and riots followed, in which the troops of the two countries took sides, and there was imminent danger of war. To obviate this risk, it was agreed in 1885 between Count Ito and Li Hung Chang that both sides should withdraw their troops, the king being advised to engage officers of a third state to put his army on such a footing as would maintain order, and each undertook to give the other notice, should it be found necessary to send troops again. In this way a *modus vivendi* was established which lasted till the events which preceded the outbreak of war in 1894. Chinese influence continued predominant, but the unhappy kingdom was constantly disturbed by faction.

CONSTRUCTION IN THE INTERIOR

We can glance only briefly at the domestic affairs of China during the period 1875-82. The years 1877-78 were marked by a famine in Shansi and Shantung, which for duration and intensity has probably never been equalled. The Russian scare had taught the Chinese the value of telegraphs, and in 1881 the first line was laid from Tientsin to Shanghai. Further construction was continued without intermission from this date. A beginning also was made in naval affairs.

In 1881 the senior regent, the empress Tsu An, was carried off by a sudden attack of heart disease, and the empress Tsu Tsi remained in undivided possession of the supreme power during the remainder of the emperor Kwang Su's minority. Li Hung Chang, firmly established at Tientsin, within easy reach of the capital, as viceroy of the home province of Chih-li and superintendent of northern trade, enjoyed a large share of his imperial mistress's favour.

TONGKING AND HANOI

By a treaty made between France and Annam in 1874, the Red River, or Songkoi, was opened to trade together with the cities of Haiphong and Hanoi. The object of the French was then, as it is now, to find a trade route

to Yunnan and Szechuen from a base of their own, and it was hoped the Red River would furnish such a route. Tongking at the time, however, was infested with bands of pirates and cutthroats, conspicuous among them being an organisation called the Black Flags. The Annamese government undertook by the treaty to restore order, and France had promised help. Some years having passed without any improvement, France, which meanwhile had kept a small guard at Haiphong, sent reinforcements (1882), nominally to assist the Annamese troops in putting an end to disorder. The Annamese officials, however, declined to receive them as friends, opposed their progress, and the expedition took the form of a military occupation.

China meanwhile began to take alarm at the near approach of a strong military power to her southern frontier. When the treaty of 1874, which gave France trading privileges, was communicated to her, she seems to have treated it with indifference. Now, however, she began to protest, claiming that Annam was a vassal state and under her protection. France took no notice of the protest; she found, however, that she had undertaken a very serious task in trying to put down the forces of disorder in Tongking. The Black Flags were, it was believed, being aided by money and arms from China, and as time went on, her troops were more and more being confronted with regular Chinese soldiers.

Operations continued with more or less success during the winter and spring of 1883-84. Both sides, however, were desirous of an arrangement, and in May, 1884, a convention was signed between Li Hung Chang and a Captain Fournier, who had been commissioned *ad hoc*, whereby China agreed to withdraw her garrisons and to open her frontiers to trade, France agreeing, on her part, to respect the fiction of Chinese suzerainty, and guarantee the frontier from attack by brigands. The arrangement was satisfactory to both sides, but it was completely frustrated by a series of misunderstandings which led to a renewal of hostilities. The French fleet attacked and destroyed with impunity the forts which were built to guard the entrance to the Min River, and could offer no resistance to a force coming from the rear. After this exploit the French fleet left the mainland and continued its reprisals on the coast of Formosa. Keelung, a treaty port, was bombarded and taken, October 4th. A similar attempt, however, on the neighbouring port of Tamsui was unsuccessful. The fleet thereafter confined itself to a semi-blockade of the island, which was prolonged into 1885, but led to no practical results.

By way of bringing pressure on the Chinese government, the French at this time declared rice contraband of war, in order to stop the supplies going forward to the capital by sea. Even this, though raising an interesting point in international law, had no practical effect. Meanwhile the Chinese had been greatly emboldened by the successful defence of Tamsui, and the failure of the French to push home such successes as they had gained. Preparations on a great scale were made to continue the war. The new-born native press from this time forward began to count as a factor in the situation. Troops were massed on the frontier of Tongking, and the French forces which had pushed their way as far as the border were compelled by overwhelming masses of the enemy to fall back on their base in the delta of the river. Negotiations for peace, however, which had been for some time in progress through the mediation of Sir Robert Hart, were at this juncture happily concluded (April, 1885), and the French cabinet was thereby relieved from a very embarrassing situation. The terms were practically those of the Fournier convention of the year before, the demand for an indemnity having been quietly dropped.

[1885-1890 A.D.]

The Moral Results of the Struggle

China, on the whole, came out of the struggle with greatly increased prestige. She had tried conclusions with a first-class European power and had held her own. Incorrect conclusions as to the military strength of China were consequently drawn, not merely by the Chinese themselves—which was excusable—but by European and even British authorities, who ought to have been better informed. China was lulled into a false security which proved disastrous when the day of trial came. A new department was created for the control of naval affairs, at the head of which was placed Prince Chun, father of the emperor, who since the downfall of Prince Kung in 1884 had been taking a more and more prominent part in public affairs. A tour made by Prince Chun in the spring of 1886, in the course of which he visited Port Arthur and Chifu, escorted by the fleet, attracted much attention, as being the first time that a prince so near the throne had emerged from palace seclusion and exchanged friendly visits with foreign admirals and other representatives.

ANTI-FOREIGN AGITATIONS

From 1885 to 1894 the political history of China does not call for extended notice. Two incidents, however, must be recorded, the first being the conclusion of a convention between Great Britain and China, in which the latter undertook to recognise British sovereignty in Burma, to delimit the frontier, and to promote overland trade intercourse between the two countries. Great Britain, on the other hand, consented to the continuance of the customary decennial tribute mission to be despatched by the "highest authority in Burma," the members, however, to be Burmese, and she also consented not to press a mission which the Indian government was proposing to send to Tibet and to which China had agreed. The recognition of Chinese suzerainty implied in the sending a tribute mission was sharply criticised, but in point of fact it has never been acted on and is now forgotten. The other incident was the temporary occupation of Port Hamilton by the British fleet (May, 1885). Rumours of Russian intrigues in Korea, coupled with recent proceedings in Afghanistan, made it appear desirable that Great Britain should have a naval base farther north than Hong-Kong. For this purpose a small group of islands at the southern point of the peninsula of Korea, forming the harbour known as Port Hamilton, was occupied. Objections, however, were raised by the Chinese government to their continued occupation, and Great Britain expressed her willingness to withdraw on receiving sufficient guarantees against their cession to any other power. A trilateral agreement was thereupon come to, by which Russia bound herself to China to respect the integrity of Korean territory, and Great Britain thereupon agreed to evacuate Port Hamilton, which was carried out in February, 1887.

In 1890 occurred an event which, though seemingly insignificant, marks a turning-point in Chinese history, *viz.*, the resignation of Admiral Lang from the command of the Chinese fleet. One of the lessons which the Chinese government seemed to have learned from the French war was the recognition of the value of a strong fleet. A really efficient squadron had been got together and put under the joint command of Admiral Ting and his British colleague Admiral Lang. By tact and judgment the latter had so far avoided directly raising the question of who was really chief. Order and discipline were well maintained, and both men and officers were steadily improving

in the knowledge of their profession. During a temporary absence of Admiral Ting, however, the Chinese second in command claimed the right to take charge—a claim which Admiral Lang naturally resented. The question was referred to Li Hung Chang, who decided against Admiral Lang, whereupon the latter, feeling that his authority to maintain discipline was gone, threw up his commission. His resignation was accepted, and he left, never to return. From this point the fleet on which so much depended began to deteriorate. What the dismissal of Admiral Lang cost her was soon to be proved in the fatal battle of the Yalu.

Meanwhile rumours of risings and rebellions were prevalent. In 1891 there was a series of violent anti-foreign outbreaks. Many missionary establishments in the interior were destroyed. The agitation, however, gradually died out and things reverted to the normal condition. There appeared even a prospect of considerable railway development—the leading officials having at last come round to the opinion that railways might be beneficial, at least for strategic purposes.

WAR WITH JAPAN

We pass on to 1894, a year which was fraught with momentous consequences to China, inasmuch as it witnessed the outbreak of the Japanese war. In the spring the state of Korea began to attract attention. A series of chronic rebellions had baffled the authorities, and help from China was asked for. China responded; Japan replied by sending troops also, nominally to guard her legation. The rebellion was stamped out, and then China proposed that both sides should withdraw. Japan made a counter proposal that both should join in imposing such reforms on Korea as would prevent a recurrence of these internal dissensions. This, in turn, China refused. Again Japan retorted, denying the alleged suzerainty, and intimating that whether China joined or not she proposed to prosecute her schemes of reform, and would keep her troops there until the necessary guarantees had been obtained for the security of her trade. At the same time categorical schemes of civil and military reform were laid before the Korean government, and the Japanese force in Seoul was largely increased. By the beginning of July she had over ten thousand men there. The Chinese government thereupon proceeded to send more troops to reinforce General Yeh, who was stationed at Asan, a short distance south of Seoul.

The first battle was fought at Asan on the 27th of July. The Japanese attack was repulsed, but the Chinese evacuated their position during the night and retreated northward. A series of desultory skirmishes followed, but the only real stand the Chinese made was at Pieng-an. The division under General Tso offered a stubborn resistance till their leader was killed, when they turned and fled. The defeat became a rout, and left the road to China open to the victorious Japanese. Two days afterwards, on the 17th of September, the naval engagement of Yalu was fought. The Chinese fleet was hopelessly outmanœuvred by the Japanese and lost heavily. Five vessels were sunk, burned, or driven ashore. Night coming on, the Japanese drew off, and the remainder of the Chinese squadron was allowed to seek shelter in Port Arthur. They did not venture to put to sea again, and were captured or destroyed in the harbour of Wei-hai-wei in February of the following year. On land the Japanese continued their progress, crossed the Yalu River, and entered Chinese territory on October 24th. City after city fell into their hands, and Newchwang, a treaty port, was occupied on March 4th.

[1894-1895 A.D.]

Meanwhile a second Japanese army had landed on the Liaotung peninsula, and captured the naval stronghold of Port Arthur on November 22nd. A third expedition was launched against Wei-hai-wei, where the Chinese fleet had now sought refuge. On February 12th, 1895, the fortress and fleet were surrendered. Admiral Ting and the general commanding committed suicide.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki; European Intervention

Further resistance was hopeless, and negotiations were opened for peace. After two abortive missions, which the Japanese refused as being unprovided with sufficient powers, Li Hung Chang was sent as plenipotentiary, and on April 17th, 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. The terms included the cession of Liaotung peninsula, then in actual occupation by the Japanese troops, the cession of the island of Formosa, an indemnity of H. taels 200,000,000 (about £30,000,000), and various commercial privileges.

The signature of this treaty brought the European powers on the scene. It had been for some time the avowed ambition of Russia to obtain an ice-free port as an outlet to her Siberian possessions—an ambition which was considered by British statesmen as not unreasonable. It did not, therefore, at all suit her purposes to see the rising power of Japan seated along the gulf of Liaotung, and by implication commanding the whole of the coast-line of Korea. Even before proceeding to Shimonoseki, Li Hung Chang is believed to have received assurances from Russia that she would not allow any cession of territory in that region to become operative. At any rate, in the interval between the signature and the ratification of the treaty, invitations were addressed by Russia to the great powers to intervene with a view to its modification on the ground of the disturbance of the balance of power and the menace to China which the occupation of Port Arthur by the Japanese would involve. France and Germany accepted the invitation; Great Britain declined. In the end the three powers brought such pressure to bear on Japan that she gave up the whole of her continental acquisitions, retaining only the island of Formosa. The indemnity was on the other hand increased by H. taels 30,000,000.

For the time the integrity of China seemed to be preserved, and Russia, France, and Germany could pose as her friends. Great Britain, who had taken no hand in the retrocession, was looked on with coldness, and China even bore her a grudge because she had not at an early period stepped in and put a stop to the war. Li Hung Chang, who had had his honours restored, was personally grateful to Russia for having extricated him from a very awkward position, and cherished the general grudge against England in an unusual degree, a state of mind of which Russia is believed to have taken full advantage during that statesman's sojourn at the Russian court as special representative of the Chinese emperor at the czar's coronation.

Ample evidence was indeed soon forthcoming that Russia and France had not been quite disinterested in rescuing Chinese territory from the Japanese grasp, for each began to claim a reward as evidence of the imperial gratitude. Russia obtained the right to carry the Siberian railway, which for the past four or five years she had been pressing on with eagerness, across Chinese territory from Stretensk to Vladivostok, thus avoiding a long détour, besides giving a grasp on northern Manchuria. France obtained, by a convention dated June 20th, 1895, a rectification of frontier in the Mekong valley and certain railway and mining rights in Kiangsi and Yunnan. Both powers obtained concessions of land at Hankow for the purposes of a settle-

ment. Russia was said to have negotiated also a secret treaty, frequently described as the "Cassini Convention," but more probably signed by Li Hung Chang at Moscow, giving her the right in certain contingencies to Port Arthur which was to be refortified with Russian assistance. And by way of further securing her hold, Russia guaranteed a four-per-cent. loan of £15,000,000 issued in Paris to enable China to pay off the first instalment of the Japanese indemnity.

MEKONG VALLEY DISPUTE

The convention between France and China of June 20th, 1895, brought China into sharp conflict with Great Britain, and gave rise to important negotiations. China, having by the Burma convention of 1886 agreed to



SOUTH GATE, CITY OF TING-HAI, CHINA

recognise British sovereignty over Burma, her quondam feudatory, also agreed to a delimitation of boundaries at the proper time. Effect was given to this last stipulation by a subsequent convention concluded in London (March 1st, 1894), which traced the boundary line from the Shan states on the west as far as the Mekong river on the east. In the Mekong valley there were two semi-independent native territories over which suzerainty had been claimed in times gone by both by the kings of Ava and by the Chinese emperors. These territories were named Meng Lun and Kiang Hung—the latter lying partly on one side and partly on the other of the Mekong river, south of the point where it issues from Chinese territory. The boundary line was so drawn as to leave both these territories to China, but in consideration of the fact that Great Britain was surrendering to China territory over which she might claim sovereignty as successor to the kings of Ava, and in respect of which sovereign rights had in point of fact been recently exercised, it was stipulated that China should not alienate any portion of these territories to any other power without the previous consent of Great Britain. The power contemplated, though not named, was France, who by a treaty with

[1895-1898 A.D.]

Siam, concluded in 1893, had pushed the boundary of her Annamese possessions up to the left bank of the Mekong, and it was desired to interpose this particular territory as a sort of buffer, so as to avoid any conflict of French and British interests in this remote and difficult region.

This object was frustrated by the convention between France and China of 1895. Yielding to French pressure, and regardless of the undertaking she had entered into with Great Britain, China so drew the boundary line as to cede to France that portion of the territory of Kiang Hung which lay on the left bank of the Mekong. Compensation was demanded from China for this breach of faith, and at the same time negotiations were entered into with France for the better determining of the interests of the two countries in Siam and the territories lying between Siam and the Chinese frontier. These resulted in a joint declaration by the governments of France and Great Britain, dated January 15th, 1896, by which it was agreed, as regards boundary, that the Mekong from the point of its confluence with the Nam Huok northwards as far as the Chinese frontier should be the dividing line between the possessions or spheres of influence of the two powers. It was agreed also that any commercial privileges obtained by either power in Yunnan or Szechuen should be open to the subjects of the other. The negotiations with China resulted in a further agreement, dated February 4th, 1897, whereby considerable modifications in favour of Great Britain were made in the Burma boundary drawn by the 1894 convention. The net result of these various conventions is that from the gulf of Tongking westwards, as far as the Mekong, the French Annamese possessions are coterminous with the southern frontier of China, and from the Mekong as far as the confines of Assam the British-Burmese possessions are coterminous with the southwestern frontier. In the middle, where the possessions meet, the Mekong, from the frontier of China down to the northern boundary of Siam, is the dividing line.

KIAOCHOW, PORT ARTHUR, WEI-HAI-WEI

While Russia and France were profiting by what they were pleased to call the generosity of China, Germany alone had so far received no reward for her share in compelling the retrocession of Liaotung; but in November, 1897, she proceeded to help herself by seizing the bay of Kiaochow in the province of Shantung. The act was done ostensibly in order to compel satisfaction for the murder of two German missionaries, but it soon was found that she was determined to hold the place in any event. A cession was ultimately made by way of a lease for a term of ninety-nine years—Germany to have full territorial jurisdiction during the continuance of the lease, with liberty to erect fortifications, build docks, and exercise all the rights of sovereignty.

In December the Russian fleet was sent to winter in Port Arthur, and though this was at first described as a temporary measure, its object was speedily disclosed by a request made in January, 1898, by the Russian ambassador in London, that two British cruisers, then also anchored at Port Arthur, should be withdrawn "in order to avoid friction in the Russian sphere of influence." They left shortly afterwards, and their departure in the circumstances was regarded as a blow to Great Britain's prestige in the Far East. In March the Russian government peremptorily demanded a lease of Port Arthur and the adjoining anchorage of Ta-lien-wan—a demand which China could not resist without foreign support. After an acrimonious corre-

spondence with the Russian government Great Britain acquiesced in the *fait accompli*. The Russian occupation of Port Arthur was immediately followed by a concession to build a line of railway from that point northwards to connect with the Siberian trunk line in north Manchuria. As a counterpoise to the growth of Russian influence in the north, Great Britain obtained a lease of Wei-hai-wei, and formally took possession of it on its evacuation by the Japanese troops in May, 1898.

"OPEN DOOR" AND "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE"

After much hesitation the Chinese government had at last resolved to permit the construction of railways with foreign capital. A keen competition thereupon ensued between syndicates of different nationalities. Germany had insisted upon obtaining as part of the Kiaochow settlement certain preferential railway and mining rights in the province of Shantung. France had previously obtained a similar recognition for the southern provinces of Kwangsi and Yunnan, and Russia indicated clearly that she considered Manchuria as her particular field of exploitation. Great Britain, though intimating her preference for the "open door" policy, yet found herself compelled to fall in with the general movement towards what became known as the "spheres of influence" policy, and claimed the Yangtse valley as her particular sphere. This she did by the somewhat negative method of obtaining from the Chinese government a declaration that no part of the Yangtse valley should be alienated to any foreign power.

A more formal recognition of the claim, as far as railway enterprise was concerned, was embodied in an agreement (April 28th, 1899) between Great Britain and Russia, and communicated to the Chinese government, whereby the Russian government agreed not to seek for any concessions within the Yangtse valley, including all the provinces bordering on the great river, together with Chekiang and Honan, the British government entering into a similar undertaking in regard to the Chinese dominions north of the Great Wall. (A supplementary exchange of notes of the same date excepted from the scope of this agreement the Shan-hai-kwan-Newchwang extension, which had already been conceded to the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank.) A similar promise of non-alienation in respect of the province of Fuhkien was made to the Japanese government (April, 1898), which thus ear-marked that province as the Japanese sphere.

As a general partition seemed thus to be in progress, the Italian government stepped in and applied for a lease of a coaling station at Sanmun, on the coast of Chekiang, together with a grant of railway and mining rights in that province. The manner in which the request was put forward gave offence to the yamen, and a blunt refusal was returned. The incident gave rise to much feeling both in Peking and Rome. The Italian minister was recalled, but his successor fared no better. China, apprehending a repetition of the Kiaochow incident, sent orders to the local troops to resist a landing if such should be attempted on the part of the Italian men-of-war. No landing, however, was attempted, and though negotiations were continued the demand has not been further pressed.

In 1899 Talienwan and Kiaochow were respectively thrown open by Russia and Germany to foreign trade, and, encouraged by these measures the United States government initiated in September of the same year a correspondence with the great European powers and Japan, with a view to

[1898-1900 A.D.]

securing their definite adhesion to the "open door" policy. The British government gave an unqualified approval to the American proposal, and the replies of the other powers, though more guarded, were accepted at Washington as satisfactory.

A further and more definite step towards securing the maintenance of the "open door" in China was the agreement concluded in October, 1900, between the British and German governments. The signatories, by the first two articles, agreed to endeavour to keep the ports on the rivers and littoral free and open to international trade and economic activity, and to uphold this rule for all Chinese territory as far as (*wo* in the German counterpart) they could exercise influence; not to use the existing complications to obtain territorial advantages in Chinese dominions, and to seek to maintain undiminished the territorial condition of the Chinese Empire. By a third article they reserved their right to come to a preliminary understanding for the protection of their interests in China, should any other power use those complications to obtain such territorial advantages under any form whatever. On the submission of the agreement under the fourth and last article to the powers interested, Austria, France, Italy, and Japan accepted its principles without express reservation—Japan first requesting and obtaining assurances that she signed on the same footing as an original signatory. The United States accepted the first two articles, but expressed no opinion on the third. Russia construed the first as limited to ports actually open in regions where the two signatories exercise "their" influence, and favourably entertained it in that sense, ignoring the reference to other forms of economic activity. She fully accepted the second, and observed that in the contingency contemplated by the third she would modify her attitude according to circumstances.

Meanwhile negotiations carried on by the British minister at Peking during 1898 resulted in the grant of very important privileges to foreign commerce. The payment of the second instalment of the Japanese indemnity was becoming due, and it was much discussed how and on what terms China would be able to raise the amount. The Russian government, as has been stated, had made China a loan of the sum required for the first portion of the indemnity, *viz.*, £15,000,000, taking a charge on the customs revenue as security. The British government was urged to make a like loan of £16,000,000 both as a matter of friendship to China and as a counterpoise to the Russian influence. An arrangement was come to accordingly, on very favourable terms financially to the Chinese, but at the last moment they drew back, being overawed, as they said, from further action, by the threatening attitude of Russia.

Taking advantage of the position which this refusal gave him, the British minister obtained from the Tsung-li-Yamen, besides the declaration as to the non-alienation of the Yangtse valley above mentioned, an undertaking to throw the whole of the inland waterways open to steam traffic. The Chinese government at the same time undertook that the post of inspector-general of customs should always be held by an Englishman so long as the trade of Great Britain was greater than that of any other nation. Minor concessions were also made, such as the opening of new ports, but the opening of the waterways is by far the greatest advance that has been made since 1860. The privilege is hampered as yet by the obstruction of the *likin* service, but as the Chinese have applied for a general revision of the treaty tariffs it may be presumed that the occasion will be used to put the inland revenue tariff on a more satisfactory footing.

RAILWAY CONCESSIONS

The Chinese government had been generally disposed to railway construction since the conclusion of the Japanese war, but hoped to be able to retain the control in their own hands. The masterful methods of Russia and Germany had obliged them to surrender this control so far as concerned Manchuria and Shantung, the lines in which were left to be financed and worked by the powers interested. In the Yangtse valley, Sheng, the director-general of railways, had been negotiating with several competing syndicates, playing one off against the other to force better terms. One of these was a Franco-Belgian syndicate, which was endeavouring to obtain the trunk line from Hankow to Peking. A British company was tendering for the same work, and as the line lay mainly within the British sphere it was considered not unreasonable to expect it should be given to the latter. At a critical moment, however, the French and Russian ministers intervened, and practically forced the yamen to grant a contract in favour of the Franco-Belgian company. The yamen had only a few days before explicitly promised the British minister that the contract should not be ratified without his having an opportunity of seeing it.

As a penalty for this breach of faith, and as a set-off to the Franco-Belgian line, the British minister required the immediate grant of all the railway concessions for which British syndicates were then negotiating, and on terms not inferior to those granted to the Belgian line. In this way all the lines in the lower Yangtse, as also the Shansi Mining Companies' lines, were secured. A contract for a trunk line from Canton to Hankow was negotiated in the latter part of the same year (1898) by an American company, which completed the list for the time being.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

There can indeed be little doubt that the powers, engrossed in the diplomatic conflicts of which Peking was the centre, had entirely underrated the reactionary forces gradually mustering for a final struggle against the aggressive spirit of western civilisation. The lamentable consequences of administrative corruption and incompetence, and the superiority of foreign methods which had been amply illustrated by the Japanese war, had at first produced a considerable impression not only upon the more enlightened commercial classes, but even upon many of the younger members of the official classes in China. The dowager-empress, who, in spite of the emperor Kwang Su having nominally attained his majority, had retained practical control of the supreme power until the conflict with Japan, had been held, not unjustly, to blame for the disasters of the war, and even before its conclusion the young emperor was adjured by some of the most responsible among his own subjects to shake himself free from the baneful restraint of "petticoat government," and himself take the helm.

In the following years a reform movement, undoubtedly genuine, though opinions differ as to the value of the popular support which it claimed, spread throughout the central and southern provinces of the empire. One of the most significant symptoms was the relatively large demand which suddenly arose for the translations of foreign works and similar publications in the Chinese language which philanthropic societies had been trying for some time

[1898 A.D.]

past to popularise, though hitherto with scant success. Chinese newspapers published in the treaty ports spread the ferment of new ideas far into the interior. Fifteen hundred young men of good family applied to enter the foreign university at Peking, and in some of the provincial towns the Chinese themselves subscribed towards the opening of foreign schools. Reform societies, which not infrequently enjoyed official countenance, sprang up in many of the large towns, and found numerous adherents amongst the younger *literati*.

Early in 1898 the emperor, who had gradually emancipated himself from the dowager-empress's control, summoned several of the reform leaders to Peking, and requested their advice with regard to the progressive measures which should be introduced into the government of the empire. Chief amongst these reformers was Kang Yu-wei, a Cantonese, whose scholarly attainments, combined with novel teachings, earned for him from his followers the title of the "modern sage." Of his more or less active sympathisers who had subsequently to suffer with him in the cause of reform, the most prominent was Chang Yin-huan a member of the grand council and of the Tsung-li Yamen, who had represented his sovereign at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897.

The Reform Edicts

It soon became evident that there was no more enthusiastic advocate of the new ideas than the emperor himself. Within a few months the vermilion pencil gave the imperial sanction to a succession of edicts which, had they been carried into effect, would have amounted to a revolution as far-reaching as that which had transformed Japan thirty years previously. The fossilised system of examinations for the public service was to be altogether superseded by a new schedule based on foreign learning, for the better promotion of which a number of temples were to be converted into schools for western education; a state department was to be created for the translation and dissemination of the standard works of western literature and science; even the scions of the ruling Manchu race were to be compelled to study foreign languages and travel abroad; and last, but not least, all useless offices both in Peking and in the provinces were to be abolished. A further edict was reported to be in contemplation, doing away with the *queue*, or pig-tail, which, originally imposed upon the Chinese by their Manchu conquerors as a badge of subjection, had gradually become the most characteristic and most cherished feature of the national dress.

Had China possessed a governing class imbued with similar enlightened patriotism to that which induced the Japanese daimios in 1869 to sacrifice their feudal rights in the interests of national regeneration, even the crude series of imperial edicts drawn up by Kang Yu-wei might have proved the starting-point of a new era. But the bureaucracy of China, which had battered for centuries on corruption and ignorance, had no taste for self-sacrifice. Other vested interests felt themselves equally threatened. The priests, whose temples were to be alienated; the military mandarins, who were led to believe that the army was going to be handed over to foreign instructors; and, above all, the imperial clansmen and bannermen, the eunuchs, and other hangers-on of the palace, whose existence was bound up with all the worst traditions of oriental misgovernment, were all equally alarmed, and behind them stood the whole latent force of popular superstition and an unreasoning and blind conservatism.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

The dowager-empress saw her opportunity. The Summer Palace, to which she had retired, had been for some time the centre of resistance to the new movement, and in the middle of September, 1898, a report became current that, in order to put an end to the obstruction which hampered his reform policy, the emperor intended to seize the person of the dowager-empress and have her deported into the interior. Some colour was given to this report by an official announcement that the emperor would hold a review of the foreign-drilled troops at Tientsin, and had summoned Yuan Shih-kai, their general, to Peking in order to confer with him on the necessary arrangements. But the reformers had neglected to secure the goodwill of the army, which was still entirely in the hands of the reactionaries.

During the night of the 20th of September the palace of the emperor was occupied by the soldiers, and on the following day Kwang Su, who was henceforth virtually a prisoner in the hands of the empress, was made to issue an edict restoring her regency. Kang Yu-wei, warned at the last moment by an urgent message from the emperor, succeeded in escaping, but many of the most prominent reformers were arrested, and six of them were promptly executed. The *Peking Gazette* announced a few days later that the emperor himself was dangerously ill, and his life might well have been despaired of had not the British minister represented in very emphatic terms the serious consequences which might ensue if anything happened to him. Drastic measures were, however, adopted to stamp out the reform movement in the provinces as well as in the capital. The reform edicts were cancelled, the reformers' associations were dissolved, their newspapers suppressed, and those who did not care to save themselves by a hasty recantation of their errors were imprisoned or proscribed. In October the reaction had already been accompanied by such a recrudescence of anti-foreign feeling that the foreign ministers at Peking had to bring up guards from the fleet for the protection of the legations, and to demand the removal from the capital of the disorderly Kansu soldiery which subsequently played so sinister a part in the troubles of June, 1900. But the unpleasant impression produced by these incidents was in a great measure removed by the demonstrative reception which the empress Tsu Tsi gave on October 15th to the wives of the foreign representatives—an international act of courtesy unprecedented in the annals of the Chinese court.

Manchu Ascendency

One of the most significant features of the *coup d'état* of 1898 was the decisive part played in it by the Manchus, whose ascendancy in the councils of the dowager-empress became more and more marked. Manchus were substituted for Chinamen in many of the higher offices of the state, and even Li Hung Chang's position was shaken. Though he was the only prominent Chinese statesman who had actively supported the empress, he was temporarily removed from the capital, under pretext of a special mission to inspect the course of the Yellow River in Shantung. The reactionary tide continued to rise throughout the year 1899, but it did not appear materially to affect the foreign relations of China.

On January 24th, 1900, the *Peking Gazette* published an imperial edict appointing as heir-presumptive to the throne Pu Chün, a son of Prince Tuan (himself son to Prince Tun and grandson to the emperor Tao-kwang), which

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was generally regarded in China as a preliminary step to the formal deposition of the emperor Kwang Su. Influential memorials from Chinese officials deprecating any such measure would seem to have deterred the empress from following up her original intention, but the choice of two rabid anti-foreign officials as tutors to Pu Chün, together with the prestige conferred upon Prince Tuan, one of the most reactionary of the Manchu princes, afforded a startling indication of the spirit which already prevailed in court circles.

THE BOXER MOVEMENT

A few weeks earlier the brutal murder of Mr. Brooks, an English missionary, in Shantung, had compelled attention to a popular movement which had been spreading rapidly throughout that province and the adjoining one of Chih-li with the connivance of certain high officials, if not under their direct patronage. The origin of the "Boxer" movement is obscure. Its name is derived from a literal translation of the Chinese designation, "The fist of righteous harmony." Like the kindred "Big Sword" society, it appears to have been in the first instance a secret association of malcontents chiefly drawn from the lower classes.

The Tsing dynasty was reaching what would seem to be the allotted span of Chinese dynasties. Whether the empress Tsu Tsi and her Manchu advisers had deliberately set themselves from the beginning to avert the danger by deflecting what might have been a revolutionary movement into anti-foreign channels, or whether with oriental heedlessness they had allowed it to grow until they were powerless to control it, they had unquestionably resolved to take it under their protection before the foreign representatives at Peking had realised its gravity. The outrages upon native Christians and the threats against foreigners generally went on increasing. The Boxers openly displayed on their banners the device: "Exterminate the foreigners and save the dynasty," yet the representatives of the powers were unable to obtain any effective measures against the so-called "rebels," or even a definite condemnation of their methods.

Diplomacy at Bay

Four months (January-April, 1900) were spent in futile interviews with the Tsung-li-Yamen. In May a number of Christian villages were destroyed and native converts massacred in the neighbourhood of the capital, and Favier, the venerable head of the Roman Catholic missions in China, described the situation as the gravest within his long memory. On the 2nd of June two English missionaries, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Norman, were murdered at Yung Ching, forty miles from Peking. The whole country was overrun with bands of Boxers, who tore up the railway and set fire to the stations at different points on the Peking-Tientsin line. Fortunately a mixed body of marines and blue-jackets of various nationalities had reached Peking on June 1st, for the protection of the legations. The whole city was in a state of turmoil. Prince Tuan and the Manchus generally, together with the Kansu soldiery under the notorious Tung-fu-hsiang, openly sided with the Boxers. The European residents and a large number of native converts took refuge in the British legation, where preparations were hastily made on all sides in view of a threatened attack. On the 11th the chancellor of the Japanese legation was murdered by Chinese soldiers.

On the night of the 13th most of the foreign buildings, churches, and mission houses in the eastern part of the Tatar city were pillaged and burned and hundreds of native Christians massacred. The work of destruction continued for days unchecked by any Chinese authority, and on June 20th the German minister, Baron von Ketteler, was murdered, and there is little doubt that the same fate had been prepared for all the other foreign representatives, who were expected to visit the yamen, as negotiations were proceeding with regard to a summons sent to them on the previous day to leave Peking within twenty-four hours. At 4 P.M. on the afternoon of the 20th the Chinese troops opened fire upon the legations, and the eight weeks' siege began which will remain memorable in history as one of the most splendid instances of what the heroism and intelligence of a handful of Europeans can achieve against Asiatic hordes.

The Action of the Powers

Meanwhile Peking had been completely cut off since the 14th from all communication with the outside world, and naval and military forces were being hurried up by all the powers to the gulf of Pechili. On June 10th Admiral Seymour had already left Tientsin with a mixed force of two thousand British, Russian, French, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Americans, and Japanese to repair the railway and restore communication with Peking. But his expedition met with unexpectedly severe resistance. Great anxiety prevailed for some days as to its fate, and no definite tidings of its whereabouts were received until it had fought its way back to within a day's march of Tientsin. When it reached Tientsin again on June 26th the British contingent of nine hundred and fifteen men had alone lost one hundred and twenty-four killed and wounded out of a total casualty list of sixty-two killed and two hundred and eighteen wounded.

The Chinese had in the mean time made a determined attack upon the foreign settlements at Tientsin, and communication between the city and the sea being also threatened, the allied admirals had demanded on the 16th the surrender of the Taku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho. The Chinese replied to the ultimatum by opening fire with great vigour during the following night, whereupon a flotilla of British, French, German, Japanese, and Russian gunboats bombarded the forts, which were captured by landing parties early on the 17th. The situation at Tientsin, nevertheless, continued precarious, and it was not till the arrival of considerable reinforcements that the troops of the allied powers were able to assume the offensive, taking the native city by storm on July 14th, at a cost, however, of over seven hundred killed and wounded. Even in this emergency international jealousy had grievously delayed the necessary concentration of forces. Three British brigades were ordered up from India, a few French colonial regiments were sent on from Saigon, the Americans detached a body of troops from the Philippines, the Russians despatched a brigade from Port Arthur, though their military resources were severely taxed by the simultaneous outbreak of hostilities in Manchuria, and preparations were made in Germany, France, and Italy to send out fresh contingents, the German force alone numbering over twenty thousand men.

But the situation required immediate action. No power was so favourably situated to take such action as Japan, and the British government, who had strongly urged her to act speedily and energetically, undertook at her request to sound the other powers with regard to her intervention. No definite objec-

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tion was raised, but the replies of Germany and Russia barely disguised their ill-humour. Great Britain herself went so far as to offer Japan the assistance of the British treasury, in case financial difficulties stood in the way, but on the same day on which this proposal was telegraphed to Tokio (July 6th) the Japanese government had decided to embark forthwith the two divisions which it had already mobilised. By the beginning of August one of the Indian brigades had also reached Tientsin, together with smaller reinforcements sent by the other powers, and thanks chiefly to the energetic counsels of the British commander, General Sir Alfred Gaselee, a relief column, numbering twenty thousand men, at last set out for Peking on August 4th, a British naval brigade having started up river the previous afternoon. It arrived within striking distance of Peking on the evening of the 13th. The Russians tried to steal a march upon the allies during the night, but were checked at the walls and suffered heavy losses. The Japanese attacked another point of the walls the next morning, but met with fierce opposition, whilst the Americans were delayed by getting entangled in the Russian line of advance. The British contingent was more fortunate, and, skilfully guided to an unguarded water-gate, General Gaselee and a party of Sikhs were the first to force their way with trifling loss through to the British legation. About 2 p.m. on the afternoon of August 14th the long siege was raised.

The Siege of the Legations

For nearly six weeks after the first interruption of communications no news reached the outside world from Peking except a few belated messages, smuggled through the Chinese lines by native runners, urging the imperative necessity of prompt relief. During the greater part of that period the foreign quarter was subjected to heavy rifle and artillery fire, and the continuous fighting at close quarters with the hordes of Chinese regulars, as well as Boxers, decimated the scanty ranks of the defenders. The supply of both ammunition and food was slender. But the heroism displayed by civilians and professional combatants alike was inexhaustible. Some of the legations were totally or partially destroyed. In their anxiety to burn out the British legation, the Chinese did not hesitate to set fire to the adjoining buildings of the hanlin, the ancient seat of Chinese classical learning and the storehouse of priceless literary treasures and state archives. The *ju*, or palace, of Prince Su, separated only by a canal from the British legation, formed the centre of the international position, and was held with indomitable valour by a small Japanese force under Colonel Sheba, assisted by a few Italian marines and volunteers of other nationalities and a number of Christian Chinese. The French legation on the extreme right and the section of the city wall held chiefly by Germans and Americans were also points of vital importance which had to bear the brunt of the Chinese attack.

Little is known as to what passed in the councils of the Chinese court during the siege. But there is reason to believe that throughout that period grave divergencies of opinion existed amongst the highest officials. The attack upon the legations appears to have received the sanction of the dowager-empress, acting upon the advice of Prince Tuan and the extreme Manchu party, at a grand council held during the night of June 18th-19th, upon receipt of the news of the capture of the Taku forts by the international forces. The emperor himself, as well as Prince Ching and a few other influential mandarins, strongly protested against the empress's decision, but it was acclaimed by the

vast majority of those present. The moderate party was probably not in a position to do more than act as a drag upon the more violent faction. Three members of the tsung-li-yamen were publicly executed for attempting to modify the terms of an imperial edict ordering the massacre of all foreigners throughout the provinces, and most of the Manchu nobles and high officials, and the eunuchs of the palace, who have played an important part in Chinese politics throughout the dowager-empress's tenure of power, were heart and soul with the Boxers. But it was noted by the defenders of the legations that Prince Ching's troops seldom took part, or only in a half-hearted way, in the fighting, which was chiefly conducted by Tung-fu-hsiang's soldiers and the Boxer levies. The modern artillery which the Chinese possessed was only spasmodically brought into play. Nor did any of the attacking parties ever show the fearlessness and determination which the Chinese had somewhat unexpectedly displayed on several occasions during the fighting at and around Tientsin.

Nevertheless, the position of the defenders at the end of the first four weeks of the siege had grown well-nigh desperate. Suddenly, just when things were looking blackest, on the 17th of July the Chinese ceased firing, and a sort of informal armistice secured a period of respite for the beleaguered Europeans. The capture of the native city of Tientsin by the allied forces had shaken the self-confidence of the Chinese authorities, who had hitherto not only countenanced but themselves directed the hostilities. By a curious coincidence, it was just at the time when the besiegers were relaxing their efforts that the intense anxiety of the civilised world with regard to the fate of the besieged reached its culminating point. Circumstantial accounts of the fall of the legations and the massacre of their inmates were circulated in Shanghai and telegraphed to Europe, and coupled with the despairing tone of the few messages which had been smuggled out of Peking in June—more especially Sir Robert Hart's message of June 24th—and with the admissions made by Chinese provincial officials, these reports found general credence. It was not till the following week that an authentic message received through the Chinese legation at Washington proved these fears to be premature.

Desultory fighting continued, and grave fears were entertained that the approach of the relief column would prove the signal for a desperate attempt to rush the legations before effectual assistance could reach them. The attempt was made, but failed. The relief, however, came not a day too soon. Of the small band of defenders, which, including civilian volunteers, had never mustered five hundred, sixty-five had been killed and one hundred and thirty-one wounded. Ammunition and provisions were almost at an end. Even more desperate was the situation at the Pei-tang, the Roman Catholic northern cathedral and mission house, where, with the help of a small body of French and Italian marines, Favier had organised an independent centre of resistance for his community of over three thousand souls. Their rations were absolutely exhausted when, on August 15th, a relief party was despatched to their assistance from the legations.

The ruin wrought in Peking during the two months' fighting was appalling. Apart from the wholesale destruction of foreign property in the Tatar city, and of Chinese as well as European buildings in the vicinity of the legations, the wealthiest part of the Chinese city had been laid in ashes. The retribution which overtook Peking after its capture by the international forces was terrible. Order was, however, gradually restored, first in the Japanese and then in the British and American quarters, though several months elapsed before there was any real revival of native confidence.

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The Flight of the Chinese Court

So unexpected had been the rapid and victorious advance of the allies that the dowager-empress with the emperor and the rest of the court did not actually leave Peking until the day after the legations had been relieved. But the northern and western portions of the Tatar city had not yet been occupied, and the fugitives made good their escape on the afternoon of the 15th in the direction of the Western Hills. When the allies some days later marched through the Forbidden City, they found only a few eunuchs and subordinate officials in charge of the imperial apartments.

At the end of September Field-Marshal Count von Waldersee, with a German expeditionary force of over twenty thousand men, arrived to assume the supreme command conferred upon him with the more or less willing assent of the other powers. As a matter of fact, his authority was never practically recognised by either the French or the American commanders, and was only effectively exercised over the British and the small Italian and Austrian contingents. A large portion of the Japanese troops was shipped back to Japan soon after the relief of the legations, and the bulk of the Russian forces was withdrawn into Manchuria. There were indeed no longer any important military operations to be carried out. After a few punitive expeditions had been sent to Paoting-fu and other districts in the neighbourhood of Peking, where exceptionally brutal outrages had been committed during the summer, the duties of the foreign troops were henceforth chiefly in the nature of police work. The Germans arrived too late to take any part in the relief of Peking. The removal by the Germans of the ancient astronomical instruments from Peking was condemned even in the German press as an act of unjustifiable vandalism. Towards the end of February, 1901, preparations were made at the German headquarters for an extensive forward movement in the direction of Singanfu, but it was ultimately abandoned, owing to the refusal of the other powers, and more especially of Great Britain and Japan, to countenance such an adventurous enterprise.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Great anxiety prevailed as to the effect of the flight of the Chinese court in other parts of the empire. The anti-foreign movement had not spread much beyond the northern provinces, in which it had had the open support of the throne and of the highest provincial officials. But amongst British and Americans alone, over two hundred defenceless foreigners had fallen victims to the treachery of high-placed mandarins. The Roman Catholic missionaries and communities throughout the north had met, or been threatened, with the same fate, and sporadic outbreaks such as that which had occurred at Suchan, south of the Yangtse, showed that there were explosive materials scattered all over the empire. In the Yangtse valley order had been maintained by the energy of the viceroys of Nanking and Wu-chang, who had acted throughout the critical period in loyal co-operation with the British consuls and naval commanders. After some hesitation, an Indian brigade, followed by French, German, and Japanese contingents, had been landed at Shanghai for the protection of the settlements, and though the viceroy, Liu Kun-yi, had welcomed British support, and even invited the joint occupation of the Yangtse forts by British and Chinese troops, the appearance of other European forces in the Yangtse valley was viewed with great suspicion. In the south

there were serious symptoms of unrest, especially after Li Hung Chang had left Canton for the north, in obedience, as he alleged at the time, to an imperial edict which, there is reason to believe, he invented for the occasion.

The Chinese court, after one or two intermediate halts, had retired to Singan-fu, one of the ancient capitals of the empire, situated in the inaccessible province of Shen-si. The influence of the ultra-reactionaries, headed by Prince Tuan and General Tung-fu-hsiang, still dominated its councils, although edicts, illusory if genuine, were from time to time stated to have been issued for the punishment of some of the leading officials concerned in the anti-foreign outrages, and credentials were sent to Prince Ching and to Li Hung Chang, who, after waiting for some weeks upon events at Shanghai, had proceeded to Peking, authorising them to treat with the powers for the re-establishment of friendly relations.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN AGREEMENT

On October 16th the Anglo-German agreement was signed. Germany would seem to have been chiefly actuated by the desire to forestall any isolated action on the part of Great Britain in the Yangtse valley. The German government a few months later openly denied that the agreement applied to Manchuria, in spite of the contrary opinion entertained by the British government. It has given Germany a claim to a footing in the Yangtse valley which it is difficult to reconcile with the policy propounded by British ministers when they published the Yangtse "assurance," obtained in 1898 from the tsung-li-yamen. In one of his statements to the Reichstag, the imperial chancellor referred to the Anglo-German agreement as "the Yangtse agreement," and that designation has ever since been universally adopted in Germany.

The Negotiations

The conferences held between the foreign ministers in the Chinese capital had constantly to be supplemented by references to their governments and by prolonged correspondence between the different cabinets. While for various reasons Russia, Japan, and the United States were inclined to treat China with great indulgence, Germany insisted upon the signal punishment of the guilty officials, and in this she had the support not only of the other members of the Triple Alliance, whose interests in China were only of secondary importance, but also of Great Britain, and to some extent even of France, the protector of the Roman Catholic church in the eastern countries.

It was not until after months of laborious negotiations that an agreement was finally arrived at with regard to the general tenor of the demands to be formally made upon the Chinese government. They were embodied in a joint note signed by all the foreign ministers on December 20th and 21st, 1900. The preamble announced that the allied powers consented to accede to China's petition for peace on "irrevocable conditions" therein stated. These were substantially as follows: Honourable reparation for the murder of Baron von Ketteler and of M. Sugiyama was to be made in a specified form, and expiatory monuments were to be erected in cemeteries where foreign tombs had been desecrated. "The most severe punishment befitting their crimes" was to be inflicted on the personages designated by the decree of September 21st, and also upon others to be designated later by the foreign ministers, and the official examinations were to be suspended in the cities where foreigners had been

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murdered or ill-treated. An equitable indemnity, guaranteed by financial measures acceptable to the powers, was to be paid to states, societies, and individuals, including Chinese who had suffered because of their employment by foreigners, but not including Chinese Christians who had suffered only on account of their faith. The importation or manufacture of arms or *matériel* was to be forbidden; permanent legation guards were to be maintained at Peking, and the diplomatic quarter was to be fortified, while communication with the sea was to be secured by a foreign military occupation of the strategic points and by the demolition of the Chinese forts, including the Taku forts, between the capital and the coast. Proclamations were to be posted throughout China for two years, threatening death to the members of anti-foreign societies, and recording the punishment of the ringleaders in the late outrages; and the viceroys, governors, and provincial officials were to be declared by imperial edict responsible, on pain of immediate dismissal and perpetual disability to hold office, for anti-foreign outbreaks or violations of treaty within their jurisdictions. China was to facilitate commercial relations by negotiating a revision of the commercial treaties. The tsung-li-yamen was to be reformed, and the ceremonial for the reception of foreign ministers modified as the powers should demand. Compliance with these terms was declared to be a condition precedent to the arrangement of a time limit to the occupation of Peking and of the provinces by foreign troops.

The Manchurian Convention

Under instructions from the court, the Chinese plenipotentiaries affixed their signatures on January 14th, 1901, to a protocol, by which China pledged herself to accept these terms in principle, and the conference of ministers then proceeded to discuss the definite form in which compliance with them was to be exacted. No attempt was made to raise the question of the dowager-empress's responsibility for the anti-foreign movement, as Russia had from the first set her face against the introduction of what she euphemistically termed "the dynastic question." But even with regard to the punishment of officials whose guilt was beyond dispute, grave divergencies arose between the powers. The death penalty was ultimately waived in the case even of such conspicuous offenders as Prince Tuan and Tung-fu-hsiang, but the notorious Yü Hsien and two others were decapitated by the Chinese, and three other metropolitan officials were ordered to commit suicide, whilst upon others sentences of banishment, imprisonment, and degradation were passed, in accordance with a list drawn up by the foreign representatives.

The question of the punishment of provincial officials responsible for the massacre of scores of defenceless men, women, and children was unfortunately reserved for separate treatment, and when it came up for discussion, it became impossible to preserve even the semblance of unanimity, the Russian minister at once taking issue with his colleagues, although he had originally pledged himself as formally as the others to the principle. Count Lamsdorff frankly told the British ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia took no interest in missionaries, and as the foreigners massacred in the provinces belonged mostly to that class, she declined to join in the action of the other powers. Fortunately the rest of the powers, including even Japan, who, as a non-Christian state, might have been excused for adopting the same attitude as Russia, preserved a united front, and though the satisfaction ultimately obtained was not altogether adequate, the list of punishments proposed by the British minister, Sir Ernest Satow, was presented to the Chinese plenipo-

tentiaries with the signatures of all the foreign representatives except the Russian.

The real explanation of Russia's cynical secession from the concert of powers on this important issue must be sought in her anxiety to conciliate the Chinese in view of the separate negotiations in which she was at the same time engaged with China in respect of Manchuria. When the Boxer movement was at its height at the end of June, 1900, the Chinese authorities in Manchuria had wantonly declared war against Russia, and for a moment a great wave of panic seems to have swept over the Russian administration, civil and military, in the adjoining provinces. The reprisals exercised by the Russians were proportionately fierce. The massacre at Blagovestchensk, where five thousand Chinese were flung into the Amur by the Cossacks, was only one incident in the reign of terror by which the Russians sought to restore their power and their prestige. The resistance of the Chinese troops was soon overcome, and Russian forces overran the whole province, occupying even the treaty port of New-Chwang.

The Russian government officially repudiated all responsibility for the proclamations issued by General Gribski and others, foreshadowing, if not actually proclaiming, the annexation of Chinese territory to the Russian empire. But Russia was clearly bent on seizing the opportunity for securing a permanent hold upon Manchuria. In December, 1900, a preliminary agreement was made between M. Korostovetz, the Russian administrator-general, and Tseng, the Tatar general at Mukden, by which the civil and military administration of the whole province was virtually placed under Russian control. In February, 1901, negotiations were opened between the Russian government and the Chinese minister at St. Petersburg for the conclusion of a formal convention of a still more comprehensive character. The Russian government refused to disclose its terms, but the draft prepared by the Russian foreign office was informally communicated through Chinese channels to the British and other friendly governments.

In return for the restoration to China of a certain measure of civil authority in Manchuria, Russia was to be confirmed in the possession of exclusive military, civil, and commercial rights, constituting in all but name a protectorate, and she was also to acquire preferential rights over all the outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire bordering on the Russian dominions in Asia. The clauses relating to Chinese Turkestan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, and Mongolia were subsequently stated to have been dropped, but the convention nevertheless provoked considerable opposition both in foreign countries and amongst the Chinese themselves. On April 3rd the Russian government issued a circular note to the powers, stating that, as the generous intentions of Russia had been misconstrued, she withdrew the proposed convention.

The Peace Protocol

The work of the conference at Peking, which had been temporarily disturbed by these complications, was then resumed, and soon reached a stage which brought the possibility of an early evacuation within the range of discussion. Early in April Count von Waldersee invited all the foreign commanders to meet him and discuss the feasibility of a partial withdrawal of troops. The question of indemnities, however, gave rise to renewed friction. Each power drew up its own claim, and whilst Great Britain, the United States, and Japan displayed great moderation, other powers, especially Germany and Italy, put in claims which were strangely out of proportion to the services

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rendered by their military and naval forces. It was at last settled that China should pay altogether an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, to be secured (1) on the unhypothecated balance of the customs revenue administered by the imperial maritime customs, the impost duties being raised forthwith to an effective 5 per cent. basis; (2) on the revenues of the "native" customs in the treaty ports; (3) on the total revenues of the salt gabelle. Finally, after more than sixty plenary conferences and innumerable meetings of sub-committees had been held by the diplomatists in Peking, the peace protocol was drawn up in a form which satisfied all the Powers as well as the Chinese court. The formal signature was, however, delayed by a fresh difficulty concerning Prince Chun's penitential mission to Berlin. The prince, an amiable and enlightened youth, half-brother to the emperor, had reached Basle, towards the end of August on his way to Germany, when he was suddenly informed that he and his suite would be expected to perform *katow* before the German emperor. The prince resented this unexpected demand, and referred the matter to his home government for instructions. The Chinese court appear to have remained obdurate, and the German government perceived the mistake that had been made in exacting from the Chinese prince a form of homage which Western diplomacy had for more than a century refused to yield to the Son of Heaven, on the ground that it was barbarous and degrading. The point was waived, and Prince Chun was received in solemn audience by the Emperor William at Potsdam on September 4th. Three days later, on the 7th of September, the peace protocol was signed at Peking by the two Chinese plenipotentiaries and the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, the United States, Japan, Austria Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Spain.

In accordance with the terms of the protocol, all the foreign troops, except the legation guards, were withdrawn from Peking on September 17th, and by September 22d from the rest of Chi-li, with the exception of the garrisons at the different points specified by the treaty along the lines of communication. On the 7th of October it was announced that the Chinese court had left Si-nghan-fu on its way back to the northern capital. A month later (November 7th) Li Hung Chang died at Peking. His death removed, if not the greatest of Chinese statesmen, at any rate the one who had enjoyed a larger share of the empress-dowager's confidence, and who had figured in the eyes of the outside world more prominently than any other during that long chapter of wasted opportunities which had opened for the Chinese empire after the suppression of the great Taiping rebellion, and which was brought to a close by the Boxer movement, the international occupation of Peking, and the peace protocol of 1901.

With this settlement a new era opened. What it will produce none can venture to foretell. On the one hand, the Powers had been induced to display great leniency with regard to the punishment of the court and the high officials implicated in the anti-foreign outrages of 1900; and on the other, the pecuniary compensation they exacted was calculated to weigh heavily on the Chinese people, and on the innocent not less than on the guilty. In the north of China the excesses committed by some of the foreign contingents unquestionably lowered the reputation of all the Powers collectively notwithstanding the high standard of discipline maintained by the British, American, and Japanese forces, and by the later French contingent sent out direct from France. It must be noted also, that amongst progressive Chinese officials a widespread feeling of disappointment prevailed that the Powers should have failed to avail themselves of the opportunity to insist upon the intro-

duction of administrative reforms into China. The necessity of such reforms had been more widely realized by the Chinese themselves during the crisis than at any previous moment in the history of China, and several high officials, like the Yangste viceroys, the viceroy of Canton, and the governor of Shantung, Yuen Shih-kai—one of the ablest of the young Chinese mandarins—repeatedly memorialized the throne in this sense. Imperial edicts were from time to time issued from Si-nghan-fu announcing important reforms, especially in the system of education and qualification for the public service, but their value remained speculative so long as most of the appointments made by the court continued to be bestowed upon members of the old reactionary party.⁹

CHINA DURING THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The punitive expedition undertaken by the Powers at the time of the Boxer uprising gave rise to complications which ultimately resulted in the humiliation of one of these Powers. In the course of the operations against the Boxers the Russians occupied Manchuria, and, when peace was restored neglected to evacuate that province. Both China and Japan protested; Russia made repeated promises, but not only failed to carry them out but even began encroachments upon Korea. Finding at last that Russia was playing a double game and that she had no intention of retiring, Japan, believing her own safety at stake, declared war against Russia in February, 1904.

This war, an extended account of which will be found in the section on Japan, was watched with the closest attention by the Chinese. Public sympathy was openly with Japan, more especially when the Japanese government assured the government at Peking that Japan "was waging the war not for the purpose of conquest but solely in defence of her legitimate rights and interests, and consequently that the Imperial government has no intention to acquire territory as a result of the conflict at the expense of China." Nevertheless, the Chinese government immediately after the opening of hostilities issued a proclamation of neutrality. In order to make her neutrality more effective, the great neutral Powers, at the suggestion of John Hay, the American Secretary of State, called upon the two belligerents to restrict the war, so far as Chinese territory was concerned, to Manchuria. To this both agreed, but neither kept the promise in the fullest sense, and throughout the war there was grave danger that China might become involved in it. At the beginning of hostilities the Russian gunboat *Mandjur*, which was lying at Shanghai, refused for a long time either to quit the harbor or to disarm, but finally did the latter. Likewise, after the naval battle of August 10th, 1904, the Russian cruiser *Askold* and the destroyer *Grosvoi* took refuge in the same port, and for a considerable time refused to disarm, but finally complied. After the same battle another destroyer, the *Rechitelni*, took refuge at Chefoo, and there was seized by the Japanese. On land, also, Russian troops and perhaps the Japanese were more than once guilty in their operations of crossing the boundary between China and Manchuria. The Chinese government was too weak to resist these violations of her neutrality, nor did she do more than protest when the Russians set up at their consulate at Chefoo a wireless telegraphy station by means of which they were able to keep up communication with the beleaguered town of Port Arthur.

[1905-1906 A.D.]

THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR UPON CHINA

The outcome of the war appears to have been of even greater advantage to China than to Japan. It served to check the Russian designs upon northern China; and by revealing the unexpected strength of the Japanese and the equally unexpected weakness of Russia, it also served to postpone indefinitely what a few years ago was regarded as possible and perhaps even probable, namely, the partition of China among the various European powers. Because of these great services rendered by the island kingdom, China was more willing to transfer to Japan the Russian leases to the Port Arthur peninsula and the Manchurian railway. These matters were arranged in a treaty which was signed in December, 1905.

The war appears to have rendered still another service to China by stimulating a desire among her citizens to imitate Japan in her efforts to acquire some of the ways of Western civilisation. Keen observers claim to discern an unwonted activity in China. "China for the Chinese" is the cry—in other words, an end of exploitation and spoliation by anybody, and the building up of such a national power and spirit as will enable the Chinese themselves to develop their country and hold their own among the nations. Such an ambition has been awakened partly by the success of Japan, partly by the restriction of Chinese immigration to other countries; but most of all, perhaps, by the defeat of Russia's grabbing policy and the now necessary holding aloof of other European nations from the same game. The Chinese are asking themselves, too, why the Japanese should exploit their commerce and industry. Why should they not develop themselves and make the profit? They have been from immemorial times better merchants than the Japanese. Why should they not learn the use of modern industrial methods and machinery? It is conceivable that by such a study of modern military, educational, commercial, and industrial methods as some of the leaders in China are now making, the nation may in time be modernised by the Chinese as Japan has been by the Japanese." As signs of the change which they believe to be impending the observers referred to above point to the fact that a modern army, drilled by Japanese officers, has been formed; that the empress dowager has adopted reform ideas; that a commission, which in February, 1906, reached the United States, has been sent out to study the institutions of the Western nations; and to the fact that reforms of various sorts are being attempted. As an illustration of the quickness with which the Chinese can, when they try, master Western ways of accomplishing results, a recent instance is in point. During the year 1905, as a protest against certain harsh features of the American exclusion acts, the Chinese instituted a boycott of American goods, with the result that a sentiment was created in America in favor of a modification of the obnoxious acts.

Should China indeed enter the path which Japan has so successfully trodden, the part she would be able to play in the world's affairs is well-nigh inconceivable. The area of the empire as a whole amounts to 4,376,400 square miles, or almost one and a half times that of Europe. The natural resources of this vast territory are generally supposed to be superior to those of any other one country, with the possible exception of the United States. A large part of the soil is exceedingly fertile and produces a great variety of agricultural products. All of the eighteen provinces contain deposits of coal; in eastern Shansi there is a field of anthracite which covers an area of about 13,500 square miles, and in southeastern Hunan deposits of anthracite and bituminous

coal cover an area of about 21,700 square miles. Iron ores are also abundant and in some places they occur in close proximity to deposits of anthracite. Petroleum, tin, lead, silver, antimony, gold, and other minerals occur in various parts of the empire. The total population amounts to about 426,000,000, or about five times that of the United States, and of this population 407,000,000 are concentrated in the 1,532,420 square miles of China proper. Among this vast population education of a certain type is very generally diffused, though higher education is confined to a special literary class. Although not so warlike as the Japanese, the Chinese have shown themselves good soldiers when led by capable officers such as General Gordon. In some of the arts of peace, and particularly in commercial lines, they are superior to the Japanese; and in general intelligence they are also considered by many to be superior to their island neighbours. In fact, an American historian who recently spent some months in the Far East has gone so far as to say that in general intelligence the average Chinaman is superior to the average man of any other country. With such resources and such a population, what might China not accomplish if she were to adopt the industrial machinery by which the Western races have harnessed the powers of Nature?

That there will be any immediate deep-reaching change in the underlying character of Chinese civilisation is not probable—the inertia of such a vast population is too great for us to expect such a sweeping change; but that the Chinese will in the near future adopt more and more of the military and of the mechanical or manufacturing side of the civilisation of the West is practically certain. By so doing they will render themselves able to resist the European policy of “benevolent assimilation,” and preserve their own civilisation. There are those even in the Occident who believe that this is a consummation to be desired. Not all nations need be moulded in the same form of civilisation, and the attempt to force all into that of Europe is not necessarily productive of the happiest results.

Towards the end of 1905 two commissions left China for the purpose of studying the political, social, and industrial institutions of the United States and Europe; and in September, 1907, commissioners were appointed to proceed to Great Britain, Germany, and Japan to study the constitutional systems of these countries. The custom of sending Chinese students abroad for study has been revived. As a protest against the American treatment of Chinese, a stringent boycott of American goods was instituted in 1905. Much progress has been made towards establishing and drilling a modern army. In September, 1906, an imperial edict was issued providing for the extinction of the use of opium in ten years, and the edict is being carried out vigorously. In 1906-1907 a severe famine that resulted in the death of many thousands occurred in the province of Kiang-Su in central China. By the middle of April, 1907, the Russians and Japanese had completely evacuated Manchuria in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Portsmouth, only retaining a few railroad guards. In October of the same year a uniform system of weights and measures was decreed throughout the empire; and the provinces were commanded to erect adequate legislative buildings and the governors to select temporary representatives preliminary to the institution of constitutional government.^a



CHAPTER III

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK

By CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY

ETHNOLOGY has failed to identify the inhabitants of Japan with any other race occidental or oriental. That they migrated from the adjacent continent is not doubtful, but from what part of it there are no conclusive evidences. Their own perception of the fact that an imperial people should have a recognised origin seems to have been inspired by the perusal of Chinese history. China taught them the art of reading and supplied them with their first literature—the only foreign literature they possessed during fourteen centuries. Therefore, since they were without any traditions as to their own *provenance*, and since Chinese annals showed them the need of such traditions, they naturally went to these annals for aid in their perplexity, and finding recorded therein a faith that islands inhabited by immortals lay somewhere in the eastern ocean and had been earnestly sought for by ancient sovereigns and philosophers of the Middle Kingdom, they seemed to have identified their country with these islands, ascribed to their primeval ancestors a divine origin, and called Japan “sacred.” A cluster of picturesque myths gradually grew up to embellish this theory, and ultimately becoming the basis of the national religion—*Shinto* (the way of the deities)—continues to command reverence to-day, the lower orders not venturing to scrutinise them, the upper recognising their political value.

It is probable that the Japanese are a mixed race. Among them are to be found Mongolian types and Malayan types, the former constituting the patricians of the nation, the latter the plebeians. There appear to have been two or more tides of Mongoloid immigration. They gradually swept over the islands, driving before them a people (the *Ainu*) who had come from Siberia and who had themselves been preceded in some very remote era by colonists (the *Koro-pok-guru*, or pit-dwellers) from the same place. There are evidences that the earliest Mongoloid immigrants, though standing on a plane considerably above the general level of contemporary Asiatic civilisation, were still in the bronze age, whereas the advent of the second group carried the nation suddenly into the iron age, with corresponding development of industrial capacity in other directions. The two streams did not flow from different sources; they were not distinct races but widely separated effluents from the same parent river. Where that river had its fount there is no clear indication, but it is evident that during the centuries between the first and

second Mongoloid migrations the mother country had far excelled its original offshoot, so that with the advent of the second band of colonists the condition of the Japanese underwent marked change. So far as can be discerned from the scant indications available, the newcomers did not force their civilisation upon their predecessors. The latter, even at that early era, seem to have been guided by the eclectic instincts that inform the whole history of the Japanese; they accepted the new readily because they recognised its merits. But the south-Asian immigrants, the Malayan adventurers, when they reached the southern island of the Japanese group—borne thither on the bosom of the "Black Tide" (*Kuro-shiwo*), which sweeps northward from the Philippines—commenced a career of conquest and overthrew the Mongoloid colonies established on the main island. Such, at any rate, is the sequence of events as suggested by tradition. Yet amongst the Japanese of the present day the supremacy of the northern or Mongoloid type appears to have been immemorially established. Perhaps the explanation is that although the onset of the impetuous southerners was at first irresistible, they ultimately coalesced with the tribes they had conquered, and in the end the principle of natural selection replaced the vanquished on their due plane of eminence. Whatever may be the truth as to these points, the Japanese with whom written history deals—history dating from the seventh century of the Christian era—were a united family of Mongoloids and Malays, having for sole enemies the aboriginal Ainu.

The Ainu, as described by tradition, were a flat-faced, heavy-jawed, hirsute people, belonging to a very low order of humanity. They burrowed in the ground for shelter; they recognised no distinctions of sex in apparel or of consanguinity in intercourse; they clad themselves in skins, drank blood, were insensible to benefits and perpetually resentful of injuries, used stone implements, and never ceased to resist the civilised immigrants. Their present representatives, a few thousands residing in the northern island of Ezo, whither they were gradually driven, are timid, gentle, submissive folk, retaining few if any of the faculties essential to survival in a racial struggle, incapable of progress, indifferent to improvement, and presenting a more and more vivid contrast to the energetic, intelligent, and ambitious Japanese.

These latter, on the contrary, whether history or tradition be consulted, stood on a high plane of civilisation already at the commencement of the Christian era; high, that is to say, by comparison with any contemporary nation except the Chinese. They had iron swords and spears and iron-tipped arrows; wore helmets and breastplates of the same metal; used peaked saddles, snaffle bits, European-like stirrups and horse-trappings having ornaments of *repoussé* iron covered with sheets of gilt or silvered copper; dressed themselves in a loosely fitting tunic of woven stuff confined at the waist by a girdle and in loose trousers reaching nearly to the feet; had for ornaments necklaces of silver, or glass beads; finger-rings of silver, copper, bronze, or iron, plated with precious metal; buttons, metal armlets, bands or plates of gilt copper which were fastened to the tunic; ear-rings and tiaras of gold. Their food consisted of fish, flesh, and cereals. They drank some kind of fermented liquor. Their household utensils were of baked pottery. They believed in a future state; worshipped ancestors, did not practise idolatry, and were remarkably clean in their habits.

The term "family" correctly describes the early colony of Japanese. Its head was rather a military patriarch than an autocratic ruler, and the administrative offices were divided among his principal followers as hereditary rights. Thus there grew up gradually a large official aristocracy, consisting

[200-600 A.D.]

first of individuals, then of families, and finally of clans, with the inevitable result that certain clans asserted their supremacy and usurped the functions of sovereignty, though never failing to recognise its nominal source. That feature meets the student in every page of Japanese history; the theory of the sovereign's supremacy is uniformly recognised, but the exercise of sovereign power is in the hands of an oligarchy.

It was not until the third century that the interval between Chinese and Japanese civilisation began to be bridged by the advent of a number of Chinese immigrants, and the effect upon the manners and customs of the nation did not show conspicuously until Buddhism, three hundred years later, brought to the people a noble creed to replace the meagre cult of *Shinto*, and opened to them, at the same time, a hitherto unimagined mine of literature and art. Buddhism certainly owed much of its rapidly acquired vogue in Japan to the strenuous patronage of occupants of the throne, especially emotional empresses; but even though imperially opposed it could scarcely have failed to win converts, for it found the Japanese with a material civilisation conspicuously superior to their rudimentary morality, and it offered to them a wealth of refinement which appealed irresistibly to their æsthetic instincts. Nothing, indeed, could have been more striking than the contrast that *Shinto* and Buddhism presented to their adherents: the former cold, inornate, severe; the latter glorious in its massive and magnificent temples, its majestic images, its gorgeous paraphernalia, its rich sacerdotal vestments, and the picturesque solemnity of its services. Japan accepted Buddhism as the faith of civilised Asia; accepted it more for the sake of the converts it had won and the outward attractions it possessed than for the sake of her own conversion or the beauty of the foreign faith's ethics. One great obstruction to the propagandism of the Indian creed should have been that it preached the supremacy of a new god and took no cognisance whatever of the divinities from whom the Japanese claimed descent. In short, it asked the occupants of the Japanese throne to patronise a faith which seemed to annul their own sovereign title. Yet during nearly a century and a half this anomaly attracted no practical attention, and when it did become a burning question, a clever Buddhist priest averted polemics by declaring that all the members of the *Shinto* pantheon were incarnations of Buddha. It is impossible to reconcile these events with the idea that any theory about celestial lineage had become a cardinal tradition in Japan prior to the advent of Buddhism, and there is here another warrant for concluding that the political aspects of *Shinto* were developed simultaneously with the compilation of the nation's first historical annals at the close of the sixth century, and that they did not immediately assume paramount importance.

Already in the fourth century, that is to say, some two hundred years before the coming of Buddhism, there had been a wave of Chinese and Korean immigration into Japan, which brought with it many adjuncts of material civilisation, such as the science of canal-cutting as well as of road-making, and improved methods of sericulture and silk-weaving. Buddhism supplemented these in numerous directions, and the Japanese showed themselves perfectly receptive. They adopted everything good unhesitatingly. Wholesale changes resulted. The administration was remodelled on Chinese lines; the codes of official and social etiquette were recast in accordance with Chinese practice; cities were built after Chinese plans; literature and art were virtually created by Chinese influence; costumes took Chinese shapes; and Chinese standards of taste were accepted as final. The term "a nation of imitators" would have applied to the Japanese of those early centuries

with greater justice than it applies to-day. But the Japanese did not imitate China more closely than all western Europe imitated Greece and Rome. Indeed, as between these two phases of history the credit for originality must be conceded to the Japanese; for whereas occidental Europe, during many centuries, failed to excel its models, Japanese artists, in the course of two cycles, surpassed their originals so greatly and added such a strong impress of their own genius that modern critics have found difficulty in tracing the stages of the evolution. It was so even with Buddhism itself. In its transmission through the Japanese mind the foreign faith took many bright colours. Death ceased to be a passage to mere non-existence and became the entrance to actual beatitude. The ascetic selfishness of the contemplative disciple was exchanged for a career of active charity. The endless chain of cause and effect was shortened to a single link. The conception of one supreme all-merciful being forced itself into prominence. The gulf of social and political distinctions that yawned so widely between the patrician and the plebeian, and all the other unsightlinesses of the world, became subjective *cédela* destined to disappear at the first touch of moral light.

But these modifications of Buddhism were the product not only of many centuries but also of circumstances which, as they lie at the root of the nation's history, must be studied.

In the earliest times to which authentic annals extend, the crown had the right of eminent domain, and during the era of patriarchal government large tracts of land were bestowed by the sovereign upon the great families who discharged administrative duties and held hereditary offices. Among the heads of these families sharp struggles for political supremacy took place from time to time, and one after another they grasped the reality of governing power, leaving its shadow only to the sovereign, between whom and the nation they interposed an atmosphere of sacred seclusion. Many abuses naturally disfigured such a system. The lower orders, who tilled the ground or engaged in manufacturing industry, fell to a status little better than that of serfs, nearly all the products of their toil being appropriated to defray the outlays of the oligarchy. By study, first, of the ethics of Confucianism and Buddhism, and, secondly, of Chinese civilisation, this unsatisfactory state of affairs was revolutionised, and in the middle of the seventh century, the last of the usurping clans having been broken, Japan's earliest system of centralised government under an actually ruling emperor was inaugurated. Its existence as a practical fact did not extend beyond a cycle, but that brief interval sufficed to work large changes. One of these was that all lands throughout the country were resumed by the crown, and were then redistributed on the principle that every unit of the nation had a natural title to the usufruct of the soil. It was an excellent system, well thought out and wisely organised, but having an exotic philosophy for basis, it soon felt the influence of tendencies which, after a thousand years of cumulative operation, were not likely to be eradicated in a few decades by any new civilisation. Ranks, hereditary and official, had to be considered in the new allotment, and thus the foundations were again laid for large estates in provincial districts. Soon, too, the old strife recommenced between rival clans, and ultimately one, the Fujiwara, gained an ascendancy which remained almost unchallenged during three centuries.

Nevertheless, the imperial capital long continued to be the source of power and authority, provincial affairs being administered by governors who received their appointments from Kioto and retained them for a set term of years only. At that time social castes had not yet come into existence,

[900-1600 A.D.]

except in the sense that all who could trace their descent from the original oligarchs, the sons of the deities, belonged to a special class, while the bulk of the nation was broadly divided into "nobles" and "ignobles," the latter consisting of persons pledged to some form of servitude, whether by voluntary contract or by sentence of a law-court; the former of persons not labouring under any such disadvantage. Events, however, now began to create a situation that defied the control of the central government. It has been shown that before the arrival of the Mongoloid and Malayan colonists the islands were inhabited by men of Siberian origin, the Ainu, who belonged to a lower type of humanity. Such of these as lived in the immediate vicinity of the new colony were speedily dispossessed. But in proportion as they were pushed farther north the aborigines clung with greater tenacity to the soil, and since the central authorities lacked military machinery for conducting campaigns in remote parts of the country, it became necessary to organise local soldiery. Further, by way of reward for driving out these aborigines, the lands taken from them were conferred on their conquerors as tax-free estates, and thus there sprang into existence the two basic elements of a military feudalism, territorial magnates owing their authority to the sword, and territorial troops obedient to that authority.

Nor were these provincial magnates men originally of inferior rank, so that their assumption of independent power might have seemed anomalous. They were princes of the blood who, having laid aside their princely titles, received family names for the purposes of their new functions. Only two of these families need be mentioned, for they wholly overshadow all others. They are the Taira and the Minamoto. The Taira can scarcely be classed with the founders of military feudalism. It is true that they deposed the Fujiwara clan from its three centuries of supremacy in Kioto, and that they stripped the sovereign of all executive power. But the same facts stood on record in the case of the Fujiwara themselves and of their predecessors, for strife of clans and usurpation of governing authority were no novelties in the history of Japan. The innovation made by the Taira was that they established their ascendancy by the sword, whereas the Fujiwara had relied on court influence alone. And by the sword, after a brief tenure of power, the Taira themselves were overthrown, giving place, in the twelfth century, to the Minamoto, who thenceforth, with brief intervals, exercised administrative sway until the middle of the nineteenth century, the imperial court continuing always to be the nominal source of authority, though stripped of all its reality. It is also to be noted that the Taira did not devise any special title to represent their autocracy, nor did they remove the seat of executive authority to any great distance from Kioto. These things stand in the record of the Minamoto, whose chieftain was called *shogun* (generalissimo), and whose capital was first at Kamakura, some three hundred miles from Kioto, and ultimately still farther north at Yedo (now Tokio). A feature that assisted decentralisation of administrative power was the granting of tax-free estates, as noted above. The estates themselves did not much affect the central government's revenue, since they were generally in regions where taxes had not previously been collected. But their indirect influence was considerable, inasmuch as their owners were able to offer land on terms that attracted thither multitudes of the heavily taxed peasants from other regions.

One important outcome of feudalism was the division of the nation into four classes: military men, agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen (*shi-no-ko-sho*). That the idea of this classification came originally from China there can be no question, but its practical application in Japan is clearly traceable to

the fact that such of the peasants as had special physical qualities were drafted into the local soldiery, and thus gradually a stigma of inferiority attached to those who, continuing to till the ground, were inferentially less highly endowed. No claim of racial superiority can be asserted on behalf of the samurai, as the military men called themselves. They were essentially a part of the people of Japan, differentiated by accident, not by nature. That the artisan ranked higher than the trader was because artists were included among artisans, and because the functions of production have always seemed more honourable in eastern eyes than the functions of barter. It may perhaps be asserted of Japanese samurai, agriculturists and artisans alike, that they all excelled in honesty and in freedom from sordid motives. The samurai, setting out from the simple principle that life must always be held at the service of a liege, gradually elaborated a code of military ethics (*bushido*) having for bases the sanctity of a promise and the superiority of death to dishonour; a code which produced extraordinary displays of devotion, loyalty, and courage. The farmer, who stood next on the social scale and who knew that from his own class the samurai had originally been drafted, took pride in reducing to a minimum the ethical interval between himself and the soldier. The artisan held firmly to the faith that any concession to sordid instincts must be fatal to the successful exercise of the constructive arts. Only the tradesman lacked high ideals. He understood the value of credit and developed a system of confidence which could not have coexisted with any large practice of chicanery; but except as an instrument for cementing combinations or organising trusts he does not seem to have appreciated the uses of honesty.

Of the seven centuries that comprise the life of military feudalism in Japan, more than four witnessed an almost continuous succession of civil wars. The country became an arena where every man fought for his own hand. With monotonous iteration the same feature presented itself, delegated authority rebelling against its source. Circumstances belied their proverbial faculty of creating men to deal with them until the sixteenth century, when a triumvirate of great captains and statesmen saved Japan from permanent division into a number of principalities. These illustrious leaders were Oda Nobunaga, Hashiba Hideyoshi (commonly called the *Taiko*), and Tokugawa Iy yasu. The work of each supplemented that of the other, but neither their qualities nor their achievements can be spoken of here. Iy yasu founded the Tokugawa dynasty of shoguns who had their court in Yedo, whence, during more than two centuries and a half, they ruled a nation that enjoyed unbroken peace.

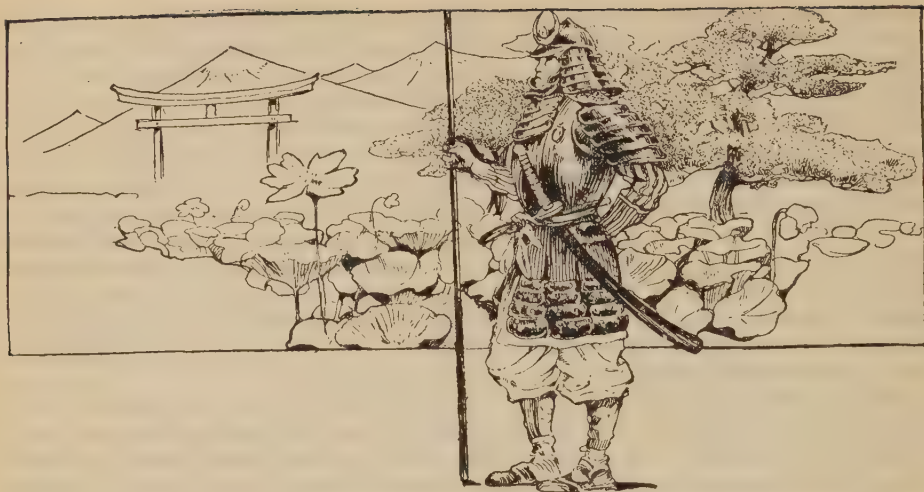
One of the most important incidents of the era was the inauguration of foreign intercourse in the sixteenth century, and the accompanying advent of Christianity, the sequel of which events was that Japan, segregating herself from the outer world, incurred the reproach of being an unprogressive, illiberal country. History, as it is now disclosed, dispels that delusion. The facts are that on the first arrival of foreign ships the Japanese welcomed them heartily. Instead of betraying a disposition to restrict the comings and goings of Western traders, Japan quickly recognised the benefits of over-sea commerce and engaged in it with enthusiasm. Portuguese ships were made free to visit any part of the realm. To the Dutch and the English, later visitors, similar liberty was granted, nor was there any imposition of onerous taxes or duties. Yet, eighty-seven years after this auspicious inauguration of trade and intercourse, Japan reversed her policy, adopted an exclusive attitude, substituted distrust and aversion for the confidence and amity of her previous

[1600-1850 A.D.]

mood, and asserted her right of isolation with unrelenting imperiousness. What factor was responsible for this remarkable change? Christianity. Close upon the footsteps of the pioneers of trade came the propagandists of Christianity, the Christianity of mediæval Europe. They, too, were received hospitably and they won converts. But the mood ultimately educated by the conduct of these propagandists differed widely from the mood they found on their coming. The fact has to be closely noted. If the Portuguese and Spanish apostles of the Nazarene, together with their Japanese disciples, fell victims at the last to the wrath of the nation whose heart they had come to win, the cause is to be sought in their own intolerance, in their own merciless bigotry, in their own intrigues and in those of their foreign rivals, rather than in any innate prejudice or conservatism of the Japanese. They taught to Japan the intolerance she subsequently displayed towards themselves, and they provoked its display by their own imprudence.

Nor should it be forgotten that these representatives of Europe who visited Japan in the sixteenth century had nothing to offer her in the way of a higher civilisation. From her point of view they were rude, truculent, debauched men, essentially dirty in their habits, overbearing in their methods, greedy of gain, and deficient in most of the graces of life. Chinese civilisation had been accepted with open arms eight centuries previously for the sake of its manifest excellences. European civilisation, as represented by self-seeking tradesmen, rough mariners, and propagandists of a mercilessly fanatic religion, deterred by its superficial inferiorities. Two admirable adjuncts alone it offered—firearms and the science of military fortification—both of which the Japanese appropriated eagerly.

Under the Tokugawa administration, established by Iy yasu, the third of the great triumvirate mentioned above as Japan's saviours, the country enjoyed peace for two centuries and a half. There was much progress, but it was in the nature of improvement rather than of innovation. Living entirely removed from that international friction under which the Occident's inventive genius burst so often into bright flame, the Japanese were content to develop along the lines of their old civilisation. But suddenly in the middle of the nineteenth century the West revealed itself to them again. Some glimpses of the great world that lay beyond their own sun-bathed shores had been caught by Japanese students looking through the narrow window of the Dutch factory at Deshima; and the Tokugawa rulers having outlived their prestige and their power, intrigues to overthrow them had long been in the air. But neither the vague perceptions of students nor the aspirations of politicians would have quickly materialised had not Americans and Europeans come, and first by forcing open Japan's doors, secondly by inflicting crushing yet conspicuously easy defeats on her two greatest feudatories, showed her beyond all doubt that she lay at the mercy of the nations she had ignored and that her only protection was to be sought in mimicry.



CHAPTER IV

OLD JAPAN

THE most interesting portion of Japanese history is that of the rise and fall in the Middle Ages of the warlike families which in turn seized the power and overawed the crown. Of these the Taira clan stands pre-eminent, though much of its history is mixed up with that of its rival, the Minamoto clan. The two came first into notice in the tenth century, and quickly increased in influence and strength. It would appear, indeed, that the court strove to play off the one against the other, being moved by fear that the power of either might become too great. Thus, if one of the Taira rebelled, the Minamoto were authorised by the emperor to subdue him; while, if any members of the latter clan proved unruly, the Taira were only too glad to obtain an imperial commission to proceed against them. This gave rise to incessant intrigue and frequent bloodshed, ending at last, in the middle of the twelfth century, in open warfare. Taira no Kiyomori was at that time the head of his clan; he was a man of unscrupulous character and unbounded ambition, and constantly strove to secure offices at court for himself, his family, and his adherents. In 1156-59 severe fighting took place at the capital between the rival clans, each side striving to obtain possession of the person of the sovereign in order to give some colour of right to its actions. In 1159 Kiyomori eventually triumphed, and the sword of the executioner ruthlessly completed the measure of his success in the field. Nearly the whole of the Minamoto chiefs were cut off—among them being Yoshitomo, the head of the clan. A boy named Yoritomo, the third son of Yoshitomo, was, however, spared through the intercession of Kiyomori's stepmother; and Yoshitsuné, also Yoshitomo's son by a concubine, was, with his mother and two brothers, permitted to live. Yoritomo and his half-brother Yoshitsuné were destined eventually to avenge

[1180-1219 A.D.]

the death of their kinsmen and completely to overthrow the Taira house, but this did not take place till thirty years later. In the mean time Kiyomori's power waxed greater and greater; he was himself appointed daijō-daijin (prime minister), and he married his daughter to the emperor Takakura, whom, in 1180, he forced to abdicate in favour of the heir-apparent, who was Kiyomori's own grandson. After raising his family to the highest pinnacle of pride and power, Kiyomori died in 1181, and retribution speedily overtook the surviving members of his clan. The once almost annihilated Minamoto clan, headed by Yoritomo, mustered their forces in the Kuan-to and other eastern regions for a final attempt to recover their former influence. Marching westwards under the command of Yoshitsuné, they started on one grand series of triumphs, terminating (1185) in a crowning victory in a sea-fight off Dannoura, near Shimonoseki, in the province of Choshuu. The overthrow of the Taira family was complete; the greater number perished in the battle, and many were either drowned or delivered over to the executioner. The emperor himself (Antoku, eighty-second of his line), then only in the seventh year of his age, was drowned, with other members of the imperial house. The Taira supremacy here came to an end, having existed during the reigns of nine emperors.

The period of the Minamoto supremacy lasted from this time until the year 1219. Yoritomo was the leading spirit, as his sons Yoriyē and Sanétomo, who succeeded him in turn, did not in any way attain to special fame. Having secured himself against molestation from the Taira, Yoritomo directed his efforts systematically to the consolidation of his power in the East. Commencing from the Kuan-to, he soon overawed the whole of the northern provinces, and also extended what was virtually his dominion to the westwards in the direction of Kioto. Kamakura, a town on the seashore in the province of Sagami, an old seat of the Minamoto family, was made his metropolis. The site of this town faces the sea, and is completely shut in on the rear by a semicircular ridge of steep hills, through which narrow cuttings or passes lead to the country beyond. Under Yoritomo Kamakura prospered and increased in size and importance; a large palace was built, barracks were erected, and it became the capital of the east of Japan. In the year 1192 the emperor Takahira (also known as Go-Toba no In) issued a decree creating Yoritomo Sei-i-tai-shogun (literally, "barbarian-subjugating generalissimo") and despatched an imperial envoy from Kioto to Kamakura to invest him with the office. He and each *shogun* who came after him were thus nominated commanders-in-chief, holding the office by order of and investment from the emperor, to preserve peace and tranquillity on the eastern marches of Japan. This has given rise, in numerous works on Japan published by different authors (Doctor Kämpfer among them), to the common assertion that Japan possessed two emperors—the one "spiritual," residing at Kioto, and the other "temporal," residing at Kamakura and afterwards at Yedo. This idea, though entirely erroneous, is not unnatural; for, although each successive shogun owned allegiance to the emperor and was invested by the latter, still his own position as supreme head of the military organisation of the country and his influence over the powerful territorial nobles made him *de facto* almost the equal of a sovereign in his own right. This condition of affairs continued until the revolution of 1868, when the shogun's power was shattered, the military domination swept away, and the mikado reinstated in his early position of supreme authority. Yoritomo's two sons Yoriyē and Sanétomo were in turn invested with the office of shogun; they both dwelt at Kamakura. In 1219 Sanétomo was killed by Yoriyē's son, in revenge

for the supposed murder of Yoriiyé himself, and as he died without issue, the main line of the Minamoto family thus came to an end.

Upon this commenced the supremacy of the Hojo family, who had for years been adherents of the Minamotos. The heirs of the latter having failed, the office of shogun was conferred upon different members of the illustrious house of Fujiwara, who all resided at Kamakura. The military administration, however, was invariably in the hands of the Hojos, who acted as regents of the shogun; their supremacy lasted from 1225 to 1333 through what are commonly called the "seven generations of the Hojo family." The event of principal importance during this period was the repulse of the Mongol invasion, which occurred in the year 1281. Kublai Khan, founder of the Yuen dynasty in China, had for some years back repeatedly sent to demand submission from Japan, but this being refused about ten thousand of his troops attacked Tsushima and Oki in 1274. This expedition was repulsed, and some envoys despatched to Japan in 1275, and also in 1279, were decapitated by the regent, Hojo no Tokimuné. Exasperated at this defiance, the Mongol chief collected a mighty armament, which was despatched to Japan in 1281. The numbers of this invading force are by Japanese writers estimated at no less than one hundred thousand Chinese, Mongol, and Korean troops. They descended upon the coast of Kiusiu, where several engagements were fought; eventually a severe storm destroyed and dispersed the fleet, and the Japanese, taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, vigorously attacked and completely annihilated the invaders, of whom but three are said to have escaped to tell the tale. It is not surprising that no further attempt to conquer Japan should have been made by the Mongols. In 1331, towards the close of the Hojo supremacy, the succession to the crown was disputed, and from that time until 1392 there existed two courts, known as the northern and the southern; in the latter year, however, the southern dynasty (established at the town of Nara, near Kioto) handed over the regalia to the emperor Go Komatsu, who from that time was recognised as the legitimate mikado. During the period of anarchy and civil war that took place in this century, Kamakura was attacked and destroyed, in 1333, by Nitta Yoshisada, head of a family descended from the Minamoto clan. The rule of the Hojos was thus terminated, and by 1338 the family had well-nigh disappeared.

During the confusion and disturbance created by the contest between the rival courts, and also throughout the whole of the fifteenth century, Japan was devastated by fire and sword in civil wars of the most terrible description. Several families endeavoured in succession to acquire the supremacy, but none were able to wield it long. The dynasty of shogun (the Ashikaga line) proved bad rulers, and though the families of Nitta, Uyésugi, and others came prominently into notice, they were unable to pacify the whole empire. In the early part of the sixteenth century what was termed the "later Hojo" family arose in the Kuan-to, and for "four generations" established their chief seat at the town of Odawara, in the province of Sagami, immediately to the east of the Hakone hills. At this time, too, lived the famous generals Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hidéyoshi. The latter is perhaps best known to Europeans as the Taiko Hidéyoshi, or simply as Taiko-sama, "my lord the Taiko." Taiko, it may here be remarked, is not a name (as commonly supposed), but a title, and signifies literally "great lord." Another common error is to speak of Hidéyoshi as the shogun; he never held that office. The sixteenth century also saw the first persecutions directed against the native Christians; the religion had been introduced by the Portuguese in 1549, when

[1586-1868 A.D.]

Xavier first came to Japan. In 1586 Ota Nobunaga was assassinated, and the taiko succeeded him in the chief military power. In 1590 the family of the "later Hojo" was overthrown by him, and the town of Odawara taken. Hidéyoshi then bestowed upon his general Tokugawa Iyéyasu the eight provinces of the Kuan-to, at the same time directing him to take up his residence at Yedo, which was at that period a town of very small importance. Hidéyoshi died in 1594.

The Tokugawa dynasty lasted from the appointment of Iyéyasu to the office of shogun in 1603 until the resignation of the last shogun, Yoshinobu (usually called Keiki) in 1867. This dynasty comprised fifteen generations of the family, and is undoubtedly the most important throughout the whole of Japanese history. Iyéyasu was a consummate politician as well as a successful general, and to him the powerful territorial nobles (*daimiô*) throughout the whole country speedily submitted, some from motives of personal interest, and others under compulsion after a crowning victory obtained over them by the Tokugawa chief at Sékigahara, on the confines of the provinces of Mino and Omi, in 1600. This famous battle completely established the supremacy of Iyéyasu, and his rule was gladly accepted by the country as putting an end to the scenes of bloodshed and anarchy from which all classes had so severely suffered for well-nigh two centuries back. Under this dynasty of shogun Yedo became a large and populous city, as the presence of their court gave a grand impetus to trade and manufactures of all kinds. The attendants of the mikado at Kioto were the old *kugé*, or court nobles, descended from cadet branches of the imperial line; they were, as a rule, of anything but ample means, yet their rank and prestige received full recognition from all classes. The court of the shogun at Yedo was, on the contrary, mainly composed of men who were more noted for their territorial possessions and influence than for ancient lineage, for skill in warlike accomplishments rather than in literature and art. This court of Yedo was formed from the territorial nobles (*daimiô*), the petty nobility of the Tokugawa clan (called *hatamoto*), and lower attendants, etc., known as *goké-nin*. The *hatamoto* were originally no less than eighty thousand in number, and were in fact the soldiers composing the victorious army of Iyéyasu and ennobled by him; they resided continuously in Yedo, very rarely even visiting their country fiefs. The *daimiô*, on the other hand, were forced to attend in Yedo only at certain stated intervals, varying considerably in different cases, and spent the rest of their time at their castle-towns in the provinces—their wives and families remaining behind in Yedo, virtually as hostages for the good behaviour of the heads of their respective clans. The feudal system was thus introduced by Iyéyasu, but he was too wary to force his yoke in a precipitate manner upon the great nobles. He gathered around him his own immediate adherents, upon whom he conferred the more important positions of trust (notably in regard to the garrisoning of a cordon of minor strongholds around his own castle at Yedo). It was, however, reserved for his grandson Iyémitsu (1623-1650) to complete the system thus inaugurated; by the latter the nobles were treated solely as feudal vassals, and many very stringent regulations for their guidance and direction were put into force. A similar course was adopted by the successors of Iyémitsu, and this system prevailed until the fall of the Tokugawa dynasty in 1868. Under their rule, however, Japan enjoyed the benefit of almost uninterrupted peace for more than two hundred and fifty years; the burden imposed by them was only cast off after fifteen members of the clan had succeeded to the chieftainship.^b

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The first account of Japan given by any European writer is found in the works of Marco Polo, who remained for seventeen years (1275-1292) at the court of Kublai Khan, and describes an expedition undertaken by that ruler against Japan which ended in failure.^a

"Zipangu," says Marco Polo, "is an island in the eastern ocean situated at the distance of about fifteen hundred miles from the mainland, or coast of Manji.¹ It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilised in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power, and governed only by their own kings. They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible; but as the king does not allow of its being exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or, more properly, churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, considerably thick; and the windows, also, have golden ornaments. So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace that it is impossible to convey an idea of them. In this island there are pearls, also, in large quantities, of a pink colour, round in shape, and of great size, equal in value to white pearls, or even exceeding them. It is customary with one part of the inhabitants to bury their dead, and with another part to burn them. The former have a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. There are also found there a number of precious stones."^d

Europeans began to visit the island in the sixteenth century. Portuguese trading vessels came first in 1542, and in 1549 the Jesuit missionary Xavier with two companions landed in Satsuma and were at first well received by the king, although afterwards a royal edict forbade the acceptance of the new doctrine, and Xavier went to Hirado, where he met with more success, probably because the marked respect shown by the Portuguese there to the priest convinced the prince of that province that Xavier was a man of much influence at home. As is pointed out by Messrs. Murdoch and Yamagata *e* in their *History of Japan*:

"The simple fact was that in matters of religion the average intelligent Japanese among the upper class was an indifferentist—a Laodicean or a Gallio who cared for none of these things. To him a new religion was of far less consequence or interest than a new sauce would have been to an Englishman of the time of Voltaire. His attitude towards it, in fact, is exceedingly well indicated by Nobunaga's reply to those who questioned him about the advisability of admitting Christianity into his dominions—that the establishment of one more sect in a country counting some thirty-odd sects already could not be a matter of any real consequence. On the other hand, to any new product or new notion in the sphere of practical utility and to the advantage the country might draw from it, the Japanese mind was then, as it is now, keenly alive and alert. Hence every Japanese princelet was eager to see the Portuguese ships in his harbours, but he wished them to bring him guns and

¹ The true distance is about five hundred miles; but, possibly, by miles Marco Polo may have intended Chinese *li*, of which there are nearly three in our mile.

[1542-1549 A.D.]

gunpowder, not crosses and missals—merchants, and not priests, unless these latter could teach his subjects something of real practical consequence.”^a

JAPAN AS SEEN BY THE PORTUGUESE

Japan, as found by the Portuguese, embraced three large islands, besides many smaller ones. Ximo (or Kiusiu), the most southern and western of the group, and the one with which the Portuguese first became acquainted, is separated at the north by a narrow strait from the much larger island of Nippon,¹ forming with its western portion a right angle, within which the third and much smaller island of Shikoku is included. These islands were found to be divided into sixty-six separate governments, or kingdoms, of which Nippon contained fifty-three, Kiusiu nine, and Shikoku four—the numerous smaller islands being reckoned as appurtenant to one or another of the three larger ones. These kingdoms, grouped into eight, or rather nine, larger divisions, and subdivided into principalities of which, in all, there were not less than six hundred, had originally (at least such was the Japanese tradition) been provinces of a consolidated empire; but by degrees and by dint of civil wars, by which the islands had been, and still were, very much distracted, they had reached, at the period of the Portuguese discovery, a state of almost complete independence. Indeed, several of the kingdoms, like that of Figen, in the west part of Kiusiu, had still further disintegrated into independent principalities.

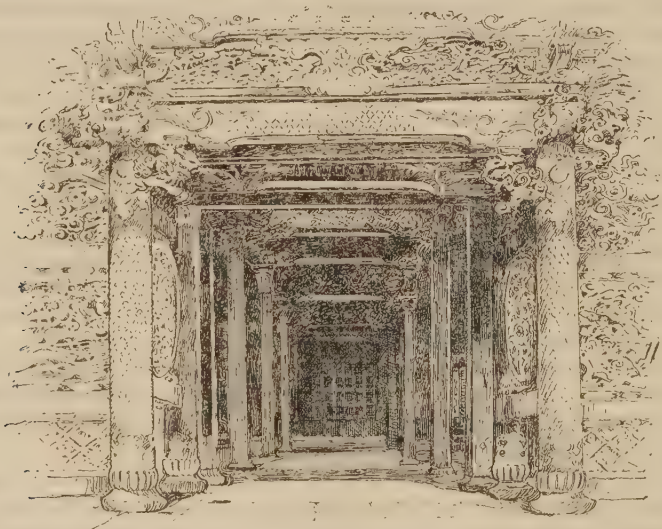
It still frequently happened, however, that several provinces were united under one ruler; and such was especially the case with five central provinces of Nippon, including the great cities of Miako (Kioto), Ozaka, and Sakai, which five provinces formed the patrimony of a prince, who bore the title of *Kubo-Sama*—sama meaning lord, and kubo general or commander. This title the Portuguese rendered into emperor, and it was almost precisely equivalent to the original sense of the *Imperator* of the Romans, though still more exactly corresponding to Cromwell's title Lord-General.

This kubo-sama, or shogun, as he was otherwise called, was acknowledged by all the other princes as in some respect their superior and head. The other rulers of provinces bore the title of Sougo or Jacata, which the Portuguese rendered by the term king. Reserving to themselves, as their personal domain, a good half of the whole extent of their territories, these chiefs divided the rest among certain great vassals, called Tono, Conisu, or Kounidaimio, who were bound to military service in proportion to the extent of the lands which they held; which lands, after reserving a portion for their private domain, these nobles distributed in their turn to other inferior lords, called Joriki, who held of them upon similar conditions of military service, and who had still beneath them, upon the same footing, a class of military vassals and tenants, called Dosiu, and corresponding to the men-at-arms of the feudal times of Europe. The actual cultivators of the lands—as had also been, and still to a considerable extent was, the case in feudal Europe—were in the condition of serfs.

Thus it happened that, as in feudal Europe, so in Japan, great armies might be very suddenly raised; and war being the chief employment of the superior classes, and the only occupation, that of the priesthood excepted, esteemed honourable, the whole country was in a constant state of turbulence and commotion.

[¹ A name commonly, but incorrectly, used for the main island of Japan. The Japanese apply the name Nippon or Dai-Nippon to the entire empire.]

All the classes above enumerated, except the last, enjoyed the highly prized honour of wearing two swords. One sword was worn by certain inferior officials; but merchants, traders, and artisans were confounded, as to this matter, with the peasants, not being permitted to wear any. The revenue of the princes and other proprietors was, and still is, reckoned in *koku* or *kokf* of rice, each of three sacks, or bales, each bale containing (according to Titsingh) thirty-three and one-third gantings—the universal Japanese measure for all articles, liquid or dry—and weighing from eighty-two to eighty-three katties, or somewhat more than a hundred of our pounds. Ten thousand *kokf* make a *man-kokf*, in which the revenues of the great princes are reckoned. The distinction of rank was very strictly observed, being even ingrained into the language. Inferiors, being seated on their heels, according to the Japanese fashion, testified their respect for their superiors by laying the palms



ENTRANCE TO A SHOGUN'S TOMB, TOKIO

of their hands on the floor and bending their bodies so low that their foreheads almost touched the ground, in which position they remained for some seconds. This is called the *kitu*. The superior responded by laying the palms of his hands upon his knees and nodding or bowing, more or less low, according to the rank of the other party.

As to everything that required powers of analysis, or the capacity of taking general views, the Portuguese missionaries were but poor observers; yet they could not but perceive in the *dairi* the surviving shadow, and, indeed, in the earlier days of the missions, something more than a mere shadow, of a still more ancient form of government, in which the civil and ecclesiastical authority had both been united under one head.

The *dairi*, *vo*, or *mikado*, as he was otherwise designated, had for his residence the northeast quarter of *Miako* (a great city, not far from the centre of *Nippon*, but nearest the southern shore). This quarter was of vast extent, surrounded by a wall, with a ditch and rampart, by which it was separated from the rest of the city. In the midst of this fortified place, in a vast palace, easily distinguished from a distance by the height of its tower, the *dairi* dwelt,

[1542-1600 A.D.]

with his empress or chief wife; his other eleven wives had adjoining palaces in a circle around, outside of which were the dwellings of his chamberlains and other officers.

All the revenue drawn from the city of Miako and its dependencies was appropriated to their support, to which the kubo-sama added a further sum from his treasury. He himself treated the dairi with as much ceremonious respect and semi-worship as the British prime minister bestows upon the British queen. He paid an annual visit to the court of the dairi in great state, and with all the carriage of an inferior, but took care to maintain a garrison at Miako, or its neighbourhood, sufficient to repress any attempt on the part of the dairi or his partisans to re-establish the old order of things—an idea which, when the islands first became known to the Portuguese, seems not yet to have been entirely abandoned.

The whole court of the dairi, and all the inhabitants of the quarter of Miako in which he dwelt, consisted of persons who plumed themselves upon the idea of being, like the dairi himself, descended from Tensio Dai-Dsin, the first of the demigods, and who in consequence looked down, like the Indian Brahmans, upon all the rest of the nation as an inferior race, distinguishing themselves as *kuge*, and all the rest of the nation as *gege*. These *kuge*, who may be conjectured to have once formed a class resembling the old Roman patricians, all wore a particular dress, by which was indicated not only their character as members of that order, but, by the length of their sashes, the particular rank which they held in it; a distinction the more necessary, since, as generally happens with these aristocracies of birth, many of the members were in a state of poverty, and obliged to support themselves by various handicrafts.

Of the magnificence of the court of the dairi, and of the ceremonials of it, the missionaries reported many stories, chiefly, of course, on the credit of hearsay. It was said that the dairi was never allowed to breathe the common air, nor his foot to touch the ground; that he never wore the same garment twice, nor ate a second time from the same dishes, which, after each meal, were carefully broken — for should any other person attempt to dine from them he would infallibly perish by an inflammation of the throat. Nor could anyone who attempted to wear the dairi's cast-off garments, without his permission, escape a similar punishment. The dairi, as we are told, was in ancient times obliged to seat himself every morning on his throne, with the crown on his head, and there to hold himself immovable for several hours like a statue. This immobility, it was imagined, was an augury of the tranquillity of the empire; and if he happened to move ever so little, or even to turn his eyes, war, famine, fire, or pestilence was expected soon to afflict the unhappy province towards which he had squinted. But as the country was thus kept in a state of perpetual agitation, the happy substitute was finally hit upon of placing the crown upon the throne without the dairi—a more fixed immobility being thus assured; and, as Kämpfer drily observes, one doubtless producing much the same good effects.

At the time of the arrival of Xavier in Japan the throne of the dairi was filled by Gonara, the hundred and sixth, according to the Japanese chronicles, in the order of succession; while the throne of the kubo-sama was occupied by Josi Far, who was succeeded the next year by his son, Josi Tir, the twenty-fourth of these officers, according to the Japanese, since their assumption of sovereign power in the person of Joritomo, 1185 A.D.

One might have expected from the Portuguese missionaries a pretty exact account of the various creeds and sects of Japan, or, at least, of the two leading

religions between which the great bulk of the people were divided; instead of which they confound perpetually the ministers of the two religions under the common name of bonzes, taking very little pains to distinguish between two systems both of which they regarded as equally false and pernicious. Their attention, indeed, seems to have been principally fixed on the new religion, that of Buddha, or Fo, of which the adherents were by far the most numerous, and the hierarchy the most compact and formidable, presenting, in its organisation and practices (with, however, on some points a very different set of doctrines), a most singular counterpart to the Catholic church—a similarity which the missionaries could only explain by the theory of a diabolical imitation; and which some subsequent Catholic writers have been inclined to ascribe, upon very unsatisfactory grounds, to the ancient labours of Armenian and Nestorian missionaries, being extremely unwilling to admit what seems, however, very probable, if not, indeed, certain—little attention has as yet been given to this interesting inquiry—that some leading ideas of the Catholic church have been derived from Buddhist sources, whose missionaries, while penetrating, as we know they did, to the East, and converting entire nations, may well be supposed not to have been without their influence also on the West.

Notwithstanding, however, the general prevalence, at the time when Japan first became known to Europeans, of the doctrine of Buddha—of which there would seem to have been quite a number of distinct observances, not unlike the different orders of monks and friars in the Catholic church—it appears, as well from the memoirs of the Jesuit missionaries as from more exact and subsequent observations made by residents in the Dutch service, that there also existed another and more ancient religious system, with which the person and authority of the dairi had been and still were closely identified. This system was known as the religion of Shinto, or of the Kami—a name given not only to the seven mythological personages, or celestial gods, who compose the first Japanese dynasty, and to the five demigods, or terrestrial gods, who compose the second (two dynasties which, as in the similar mythology of the Egyptians and Hindus, were imagined to have extended through immense and incomprehensible ages preceding the era of Syn-Mu), but including also the whole series of the dairi, who traced their descent from the first of the demigods, and who, though regarded during their lives as mere men, yet at their deaths underwent, as in the case of the Roman Cæsars, a regular apotheosis, by which they were added to the number of the Kami, or Sin—words both of which had the same signification, namely, inhabitants of heaven. A like apotheosis was also extended to all who had seemed to deserve it by their sanctity, their miracles, or their great benefactions.

The Kami of the first dynasty, the seven superior gods, being regarded as too elevated above the earth to concern themselves in what is passing on it, the chief object of the worship of the adherents of this ancient system was the goddess Tensio Dai-Dsin, already mentioned as the first of the demigods, and the supposed progenitor of the dairi, and of the whole order of the Kuge. Of this Tensio Dai-Dsin, and of her heroic and miraculous deeds, a great many fables were in circulation. Even those who had quitted the ancient religion to embrace the new sects paid a sort of worship to the pretended mother of the Japanese nation, and there was not a considerable city in the empire in which there was not a temple to her honour. On the other hand, the religion of the Kami, by its doctrine of the apotheosis of all great saints and great heroes, gave, like the old pagan religions, a hospitable reception to all new gods, so that even the rival demigod, Buddha, came to be regarded by many as iden-

[1542-1600 A.D.]

tical with Tensio Dai-Dsin—a circumstance which will serve to explain the great intermixture of religious ideas found in Japan, and the alleged fact, very remarkable if true, that, till after the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries, religious persecutions had never been known there.

Each of these numerous demigods was supposed by the adherents of the religion of Shinto to preside over a special paradise of his own; this one in the air, that one at the bottom of the sea, one in the moon and another in the sun, and so on; and each devotee, choosing his god according to the paradise that pleased him best, spared no pains to gain admission into it. For what St. Paul had said of the Athenians might, according to the missionaries, be applied with equal truth to the Japanese; they were excessively superstitious, and this superstition had so multiplied temples that there was scarcely a city in which, counting all the smaller chapels, the number did not seem at least equal to that of the most pious Catholic countries.

The temples of the Shinto religion, called *mias*, were and still are—for in this respect no change has taken place—ordinarily built upon eminences, in retired spots, at a distance from bustle and business, surrounded by groves and approached by a grand avenue having a gate of stone or wood, and bearing a tablet or door-plate of a foot and a half square, which announces in gilded letters the name of the Kami to whom the temple is consecrated. These exterior appendages would seem to foretell a considerable structure; but within there is usually found only a wretched little building of wood, half hid among trees and shrubbery, about eighteen feet in length, breadth, and height, all its dimensions being equal, and with only a single grated window, through which the interior may be seen empty, or containing merely a mirror of polished metal, set in a frame of braided straw or hung about with fringes of white paper. Just within the entrance of the enclosure stands a basin of water, by washing in which the worshippers may purify themselves. Beside the temple is a great chest for the reception of alms, partly by which, and partly by an allowance from the dairi, the guardians of the temples are supported, while at the gate hangs a gong on which the visitant announces his arrival. Most of these temples have also an ante-chamber, in which sit those who have the charge, clothed in rich garments. There are commonly also in the enclosure a number of little chapels, or miniature temples, portable so as to be carried in religious processions. All of these temples are built after one model, the famous one of Idzu, near the centre of the island of Nippon, and which within the enclosure is equally humble with all the rest.

The worship consists in prayers and prostrations. Works of religious merit are casting a contribution into the alms-chest, and avoiding or expiating the impurities supposed to be the consequence of being touched by blood, of eating of the flesh of any quadruped except the deer, and to a less extent even that of any bird, of killing any animal, of coming in contact with a dead person, or even, among the more scrupulous, of seeing, hearing of, or speaking of any such impurities. To these may be added, as works of religious merit, the celebration of festivals, of which there are two principal ones in each month, being the first and fifteenth day of it, besides five greater ones distributed through the year, and lasting some of them for several days, in which concerts, spectacles, and theatrical exhibitions form a leading part. We must add the going on pilgrimages, to which, indeed, all the religious of Japan are greatly addicted. The pilgrimage esteemed by the adherents of Shinto as the most meritorious, and which all are bound to make once a year, or at least once in their life, is that of Idzu, the name of a central province on the south coast of Nippon, in which Tensio Dai-Dsin was reported

to have been born and to have died, and which contains a *mia* exceedingly venerated, and already mentioned as the model after which all the others are built.

Though it is not at all easy to distinguish what, either of ceremony or doctrine, was peculiar or original in the system of Shinto, yet in general that system seems to have been much less austere than the rival doctrine of Buddha, which teaches that sorrow is inseparable from existence, the only escape from it being in annihilation. The adherents of Shinto were, on the other hand, much more disposed to look upon the bright side of things, turning their religious festivals into holidays, and regarding people in sorrow and distress as unfit for the worship of the gods, whose felicity ought not to be disturbed by the sight of pain and misery. And this, perhaps, was one of the causes that enabled the religion of Buddha, which addresses itself more to the sorrowing hearts of which the world is so full, to obtain that predominancy of which the Portuguese missionaries found it in possession.

At the head of the Buddhist hierarchy was a high priest called Xako, resident at Miako, and having much the same spiritual prerogative as the pope of Rome, including the canonisation of saints. With him rested the consecration of the *tundies*, corresponding to the bishops, or rather to the abbots, of the Catholic church—all the Buddhist clergy being, in the language of Rome, regulars (similar, that is, to the monks and friars), and living together in monasteries of which the *tundies* were the heads. These *tundies*, however, could not enter upon their offices, to which great revenues were attached, except by the consent of the temporal authorities, which took care to limit the interference of the Xako and the *tundies* strictly to spiritual matters. There was this further resemblance also to the regular orders of the Romish church, that the Buddhist clergy were divided into a number of observances hardly less hostile to each other than the Dominicans to the Franciscans, or both to the Jesuits. But as the church and state were kept in Japan perfectly distinct, and as the bonzes possessed no direct temporal power, there was no appeal to the secular arm, no civil punishments for heresy, and no religious vows perpetually binding, all being at liberty, so far as the civil law was concerned, to enter or leave the monasteries at pleasure.

There were also, besides the more regular clergy, enthusiasts, or impostors, religious vagabonds who lived by beggary and by pretending to drive away evil spirits, to find things lost, to discover robbers, to determine guilt or innocence of accused parties, to interpret dreams, to predict the future, to cure desperate maladies, and other similar feats, which they performed chiefly through the medium not of a table, but of a child, into whom they pretended to make a spirit enter, able to answer all their questions. Such, in particular, were the Jammabos, or mountain priests, an order of the religion of Shinto.

Yet, exceedingly superstitious as the Japanese were, there was not wanting among them a sect of Rationalists, the natural result of freedom of opinion, who regarded all these practices and doctrines, and all the various creeds of the country, with secret incredulity, and even contempt. These Rationalists looked up to the Chinese Confucius as their master and teacher. They treated the system of Buddha with open hostility, as mere imposture and falsehood, but in order to avoid the odium of being destitute of all religion, conformed, at least so far as external observances were concerned, to the old national system of Shinto.^d

The Portuguese remained in the country until they were expelled in 1639. Their banishment was due to various causes. Already in 1587 the

[1587-1639 A.D.]

emperor had signed an order banishing the missionaries, which, however, was not carried out owing to the opposition of the princes, some of whom had been converted, and the emperor even gave a gracious reception to Father Valignani, who had come to inspect the Jesuit establishments in the East. At about this time also the emperor's attention was occupied with an invasion of Korea, but upon his death in 1598 that dependency of China was definitely abandoned. The most serious blow to the Jesuits came from the commercial rivalry of the Spanish at Manila and the religious rivalry of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. Spanish vessels first began to visit Japan near the close of the sixteenth century, and the traders resented the monopoly of trade enjoyed by the Portuguese. It was not difficult for them still further to prejudice the mind of the emperor against their rivals, and active persecution began in 1597 with the execution of Japanese converts. The persecution continued until 1637, when the converted inhabitants of a whole district in the province of Hizen, numbering over thirty thousand, arose in rebellion and were all massacred.^a

The Portuguese were accused of having encouraged this revolt; in consequence of which an edict was issued, in 1638, not only banishing all the Portuguese, but forbidding also any Japanese to go out of the country. That edict, as given by Kämpfer, was as follows:

No Japanese ship or boat whatever, nor any native of Japan, shall presume to go out of the country: whoso acts contrary to this shall die, and the ship with the crew and goods aboard shall be sequestered till further order.

All Japanese who return from abroad shall be put to death. Whoever discovers a priest shall have a reward of 400 to 500 *shuets* of silver, and for every Christian in proportion.¹

All persons who propagate the doctrine of the Catholics, or bear this scandalous name, shall be imprisoned in the *ombra*, or common jail of the town.

The whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao.

Whoever presumes to bring a letter from abroad, or to return after he hath been banished, shall die with all his family; also whoever presumes to intercede for him shall be put to death. No nobleman nor any soldier shall be suffered to purchase anything of a foreigner.

The Portuguese ships of 1639 were sent back with a copy of this edict, without being suffered to discharge their cargoes. The corporation of the city of Macao, greatly alarmed at the loss of a lucrative traffic, on which their prosperity mainly depended, sent deputies to solicit some modification of this edict. But the only reply made by the emperor was to cause these deputies themselves, with their attendants, to the number of sixty-one persons, to be seized and put to death, as violators of the very edict against which they had been sent to remonstrate. Thirteen only, of the lowest rank, were sent back to Macao, August, 1640, with this account of the fate of their company.^d

ENGLISH AND DUTCH IN JAPAN

In the mean time the Dutch and English had found the way to Japan. The first ship to arrive was the Dutch *de Liefde*, which reached the harbour of Bungo in April, 1600, having on board an English pilot, Adams by name, who subsequently lived for some time at Yedo and was frequently at the court of Iyéyasu. He has left interesting and historically valuable accounts of what he saw. It appears that the Portuguese did all in their power to

¹ A *shuet* of silver weighs about five ounces, so that the reward offered was from £400 to £500.

injure these newcomers, even trying to procure their death. Adams says of this treatment:¹ "After wee had been there fieve or sixe days came a Portugall Jesuite, with other Portugals, who reported of vs, that we were pirats, and were not in the way of merchandising. Which report caused the governours and common people to thinke euill of vs: In such manner that we looked always when we should be set upon crosses; which is the execution in this land for theeuery and some other crimes. Thus daily more and more the Portugalls increased the justices and the people against us."

Adams was kept in prison for some time, during which interval efforts were made to persuade the emperor to kill these people who had come to injure Japanese trade. His own sense of justice, however, seems to have prevented him from injuring persons who had done him no harm, and Adams was set free and allowed to join his companions, who had remained on the ship. Adams built two ships for the emperor, in return for which he received a pension, and the Japanese ruler tried to satisfy him by giving him "a living like unto a lordship in England, with eighty or ninety husbandmen that be as my servants or slaves." Adams finally acquired a considerable influence in the country, held the rank of a Japanese samurai, owned property, and received a salary from the English East India Company. He died in Japan, without having returned once to England. In 1609 the Dutch vessel the *Red Lion* arrived at Hirado and obtained permission to establish a factory at that place, and in 1613 the English captain Saris succeeded in establishing a factory in the same place, leaving it in charge of Richard Cocks.

The mutual jealousies, however, of the Hollanders and English did not permit them to live in peace. In 1623 the Dutch at Amboyna executed about a dozen factors of the English East India Company on the charge of having conspired with Japanese residents to seize the Dutch fort. This coming on top of quarrels in Japan, led the English to abandon their trade with that country altogether. From that time until the nineteenth century the Dutch had almost a monopoly of the Chinese trade.^a

The Dutch trade began in 1609, and in a short time it gained a very considerable extent; and it increased, as the trading establishments which the Dutch gradually obtained in India and Persia, and that on the island of Formosa, whence they had access to China, furnished them with a supply of rich silks, the great article of import into Japan. As the Portuguese trade was carried on from Macao, so the Dutch trade was carried on not from Holland, but from Batavia. The year preceding the shutting up of the Dutch in Deshima is stated to have been the most profitable of any. The previous average sales in Japan had been about sixty tons of gold; but that year the Dutch had imported and disposed of goods to the value of eighty tons of gold (that is, three million two hundred thousand dollars, a Dutch ton of gold being 100,000 florins, or £8,000.) Among the exports were fourteen hundred chests of silver, each chest containing 1,000 taels, or nearly £400,000 in silver alone.

About this time, however, owing to the comparative exhaustion of the silver, or the comparative increase of gold, that metal became a leading, as, indeed, it seems to have been before a considerable, article of export with the Dutch. The gold kobang, the national coin of the Japanese, weighed at this time forty-seven kanderins, that is, two hundred and seventy-four grains troy. But, if superior in weight, the kobang was inferior in fineness, containing of pure gold only two hundred and twenty-four grains, whereas the

[¹ Quoted by Murdoch and Yamagata.^c]

[1623-1671 A.D.]

eagle contains two hundred and thirty-two grains. It passed in Japan and was purchased by the Dutch for six taels or less in silver, which enabled them to dispose of it to good advantage on the coast of Coromandel, where the relative value of gold was much higher. In the two years 1670-1671 more than one hundred thousand kobangs were exported, at a profit of a million florins; and down to that time the Dutch sent annually to Japan five or six ships a year. In 1644 the export of copper began, and went on gradually increasing. In 1671 an edict was issued prohibiting the further export of silver; but this gave no concern to the Dutch, who had already ceased to export it. Its principal operation was against the Chinese, who at this time carried on a great trade to Japan.

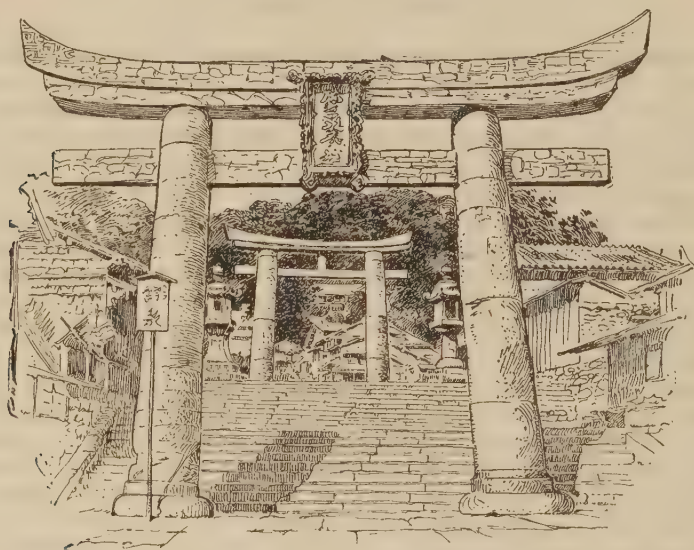
TRADE WITH CHINA

Of the early commercial relations of China and Japan our knowledge is very limited. As the Japanese at an early era, according to their own annals (constructed, it is probable, by Buddhist priests) as early as 600 A.D., had received from China Buddhist missionaries, and through them the language, graphic characters, science, etc., of the Chinese, it would seem probable that some commercial intercourse must have early existed between these two nations. If so, however, the threatened Mongol invasion, towards the end of the thirteenth century, would have been likely to have interrupted it. The native Chinese dynasty, which succeeded after the expulsion of the Mongols, was exceedingly jealous of all strangers and hostile to intercourse with them. No foreign trade was allowed, and every Chinese who left his country incurred a sentence of perpetual banishment. It is true that the Chinese colonists, that had emigrated, perhaps on the invasion of the Mongols, and had settled in the neighbouring maritime countries (as others did afterwards on the invasion of the present Manchu dynasty), still contrived to keep up some intercourse with China, while they carried on a vigorous trade with the adjacent islands and countries; but at the time of the Portuguese discovery no such trade would seem to have existed with Japan.

The Manchu dynasty, which mounted the throne in 1644, was much less hostile to foreigners, and under their rule the Chinese trade to Japan appears to have rapidly increased. This was partly by vessels direct from China, and partly by the commercial enterprise of the Chinese fugitives who possessed themselves of Formosa, from which in 1662 they drove out the Dutch, or who had settled elsewhere on the islands and coasts of southeastern Asia. "They came over," says Kämpfer, "when and with what numbers of people, junks, and goods they pleased. So extensive and advantageous a liberty could not but be very pleasing to them, and put them upon thoughts of a surer establishment, in order to which, and for the free exercise of their religion, they built three temples at Nagasaki, according to the three chief languages spoken by them (those of the northern, middle, and southern provinces), each to be attended by priests of their own nation, to be sent over from China."

Though the prohibition of the export of silver, mentioned as having taken place in 1671, did not affect the Dutch, the very next year the Japanese commenced a system of measures which within a quarter of a century reduced the Dutch commerce to the very narrow limit at which it has ever since remained. The first step was to raise the value of the kobang to six tael eight maas of silver; nor was this by any means the worst of it. The Dutch were no longer allowed to sell their goods to the native merchants. The govern-

ment appointed appraisers, who set a certain value on the goods, much less than the old prices, at which valuation the Dutch must sell, or else take the goods away. Anything which the goods sold for to the Japanese merchants, over the appraisement, went into the town treasury of Nagasaki. These appraisements grew lower and lower every year, till at last the Dutch, threatening, if things went on in this way, to abandon the trade altogether, petitioned the emperor to be restored to their ancient privileges. After waiting three years, they got a gracious answer. The appraisements were abolished, but at the same time, in 1685, an order was suddenly issued limiting the amount which the Dutch might sell in any one year to the value of three hundred thousand taels, or in Dutch money to ten and a half tons of gold, equal approximately to the sum of £84,000 sterling. All the goods of any one year's importation remaining after that amount had been realised were to lie over till the next



SUWA-O Torii, NAGASAKI

annual sale. At the same time the annual export of copper was limited to twenty-five thousand piculs; and so matters stood at the time of Kämpfer's visit.

The Chinese trade had meanwhile gone on increasing "to that degree" —we quote again from Kämpfer—"as to make the suspicious and circumspect Japanese extremely jealous of them. In the years 1683 and 1684 there arrived at Nagasaki, in each year, at least two hundred junks, every junk with not less than fifty people on board, making for each year more than ten thousand Chinese visitors." Nor was it trade alone that drew the Chinese thither. In China, the women, except those of servile condition, are kept in perfect seclusion. No man sees even the woman he is to marry till she has actually become his wife; and courtesanship is strictly forbidden and punished. The case, as we have seen, is widely different in Japan, and numerous young and wealthy Chinese were attracted to Nagasaki "purely for their pleasure," as Kämpfer observes, "and to spend some part of their money with Japanese wenches, which proved very beneficial to that town"—truly a very mercantile view of the matter!

[1684-1792 A.D.]

"Not only did this increasing number of Chinese visitors excite jealousy, but what still more aroused the suspicion of the Japanese was that the Jesuits, having gained the favour of the then reigning monarch of China with the liberty of preaching and propagating their religion in all parts of the empire, some tracts and books, which the Jesuit fathers had found the means to print in China, in Chinese characters, were brought over to Japan among other Chinese books, and sold privately, which made the Japanese apprehensive that by this means the Catholic religion, which had been exterminated with so much trouble and the loss of so many thousand persons, might be revived again in the country." And they even suspected that the importers of these books, if not actual converts, were at least favourers of the Catholic doctrine.

These reasons combined to produce, in 1684, at the same time with the restrictions placed upon the Dutch, an edict by which the Chinese were limited to an annual importation double the value of that allowed the Dutch, namely, 600,000 taels, equivalent to £168,000, the annual number of junks not to exceed seventy, of which a specific number was assigned to each province and colony, and each to bring not more than thirty persons. Chinese books were, at the same time, subjected to a censorship, two censors being appointed, one for theological, the other for historical and scientific works, none to be imported without their approval.

This was followed up, in the year 1688, by another order, by which the Chinese were, like the Dutch, shut up in a sort of prison, for which, like the Dutch, they were compelled to pay a heavy rent. The site chosen for this spot was a garden, pleasantly situated, just outside of the town, on the side of the harbour opposite Deshima. It was covered with several rows of small houses, each row having a common roof, and the whole was surrounded with a ditch and a strong palisade, from which the only exit was through well-guarded double gates. Even here the Chinese had no permanent residence, like the Dutch. They arrived in detachments, twenty junks in spring, thirty in summer, and twenty in autumn; and after selling their goods, went away, leaving the house empty.

Besides the trade with the Dutch and the Chinese, the Loochoo islands were also permitted to carry on a particular trade with the province of Satsuma, the prince of which they acknowledged as in some respects their sovereign. The import and sale of their goods was limited to the annual amount of 125,000 taels, though in Kämpfer's time a much larger amount was smuggled in, large quantities of Chinese goods being thus introduced.^d

FIRST CONTACT WITH RUSSIA

The next foreign nation to take an interest in Japan was Russia, who had been brought into these regions by her explorations and conquests in northeastern Asia. Her first attempt to establish intercourse with Japan was towards the end of the eighteenth century, and it was not long afterwards that an American flag appeared in Japanese waters. The efforts of the Japanese to keep out the foreigners and their struggles to be polite though inhospitable are truly pathetic.^a

The crew of a Japanese vessel shipwrecked in the sea of Okhotsk had been saved by the Russians, about 1782, and taken to Irkutsk, in Siberia, where they lived for ten years. At length the governor of Siberia was directed, by the empress Catherine II, to send home these Japanese, and with them an

envoy, not as from her, but from himself. Lieutenant Laxmann, selected for this purpose, sailed from Okhotsk in the autumn of 1792, landed on the northern coast of Yezo, and passed the winter there. The next summer he entered the harbour of Hakodate, on the northern coast of the strait of Sangar. From that town he travelled by land to the city of Matsumai, three days' journey to the west, and the chief Japanese settlement on the island, the authorities of which, after communicating with Yedo, delivered to him a paper to the following effect: "That although it was ordained by the laws of Japan that any foreigners landing anywhere on the coast, except at Nagasaki, should be seized and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, yet, considering the ignorance of the Russians, and their having brought back the shipwrecked Japanese, they might be permitted to depart, on condition of never approaching, under any pretence, any part of the coast except Nagasaki.

"As to the Japanese brought back, the government was much obliged to the Russians, who, however, were at liberty to leave them or take them away again, as they pleased, it being the law of Japan that such persons ceased to be Japanese, and became the subjects of that government into whose hands destiny had cast them. With respect to commercial negotiations, those could only take place at Nagasaki, and a paper was sent authorising a Russian vessel to enter that port for that purpose; but as the Christian worship was not allowed in Japan, any persons admitted into Nagasaki must carefully abstain from it." Laxmann was treated with great courtesy, though kept in a sort of confinement; he was supported, with his crew, by the Japanese authorities while he remained, and was dismissed with presents and an ample supply of provisions, for which no payment would be received.

Here the matter rested for several years; but into a school for teaching navigation, which Catherine II established at Irkutsk, the capital of eastern Siberia, she introduced a professorship of the Japanese language, the professors being taken from among the Japanese shipwrecked from time to time on the coast of Siberia. Meanwhile, even the Dutch commerce to Japan had undergone some new restrictions. Whether from the prevalence of the "frog-in-a-well" policy, or from apprehensions, as it was said, of the exhaustion of the copper mines, the Dutch in 1790 were limited to a single ship annually, while, to accommodate their expenditures to this diminished trade, the hitherto yearly embassy to Yedo was to be sent only once in four years, though annual presents to the emperor and his officers were still required as before.

AMERICAN SHIPS IN JAPANESE WATERS

The occupation of Holland by the French armies not only exposed Dutch vessels to capture by the English; it cost Holland several of her eastern colonies, and thus placed new obstacles in the way of the Japanese trade. It was no doubt to diminish the danger of capture by the British that, in the year 1797, the ship despatched from Batavia sailed under the American flag, and carried American papers, while the commander, one Captain Stewart, though in reality an Englishman from Madras or Bengal, passed for an American, and his ship as the *Eliza*, of New York. That the crew of this vessel spoke English, and not Dutch, was immediately noticed by the interpreters at Nagasaki, and produced a great sensation among the Japanese officials; but at last, after vast difficulty, they were made to understand that though the crew spoke English, they were not "the English," but of another nation, and, what was a still more essential point, that they had nothing to do with

[1797-1811 A.D.]

the trade, but were merely hired to bring the goods in order to save them from capture; as a result of which explanation it was finally agreed that the *Eliza* should be considered as a Dutch ship.

The same vessel and captain returned again the next year; but in leaving the harbour for Batavia, loaded with camphor and copper, she struck a hidden rock, and sunk. The first scheme hit upon for raising the vessel was to send down divers to discharge the copper; but two of them lost their lives from the suffocating effect of the melting camphor, and this scheme had to be abandoned. Heavily laden as she was, every effort at raising her proved abortive, till at last the object was accomplished by a Japanese fisherman, who volunteered his services. He fastened to each side of the sunken vessel some fifteen of the Japanese boats used in towing, and a large Japanese coasting craft to the stern, and, taking advantage of a stiff breeze and a spring tide, dragged the sunken vessel from the rock and towed her into a spot where, upon the ebbing of the tide, she could be discharged without difficulty. For this achievement the fisherman was raised, by the prince of Fisen, to which province he belonged, to the rank of a noble, being privileged to wear two swords, and to take as his insignia or arms a Dutch hat and two tobacco pipes.

When repaired and reloaded the *Eliza* sailed again, but, being dismasted in a storm, returned to refit, by reason of which she was detained so long that the ship of 1799, also under American colours, and this time, it would seem, a real American, the *Franklin*, Captain Devereux, arrived at Nagasaki, and was nearly loaded before Captain Stewart was ready to sail. In this ship of 1799 came out, to be stationed as an officer at the factory, Hendrick Doeff, who remained there for the next seventeen years, and to whose *Recollections of Japan*, written in Dutch, and published in Holland in 1835, we are greatly indebted for what we know of the occurrences in Japan during that period.

In 1807, the *Eclipse*, of Boston, chartered at Canton by the Russian American Company, for Kamchatka and the northwest coast of America, entered the bay of Nagasaki under Russian colours and was towed to the anchorage by an immense number of boats. The Japanese declined to trade, and asked what the ship wanted. Being told water and fresh provisions, they sent on board a plentiful supply of fish, hogs, vegetables, and tubs of water, for which they would take no pay. Finding that no trade was to be had, on the third day the captain lifted his anchors, and was towed to sea by near a hundred boats.^d

RUSSIANS MADE PRISONERS

In October, 1804, a Russian vessel came to Nagasaki having on board an ambassador from the czar and a number of shipwrecked Japanese. The ambassador was treated with great courtesy, but was sent back after a detention of six months with the polite assurance that Japan wished to have absolutely nothing to do with any foreigners other than Dutch and Chinese. It is interesting to compare the polite courtesy of the Japanese on this occasion and their care of the Russian prisoners made in 1811 with their rather more fierce—although no more firm and decided—attitude towards the Russians a hundred years later.^a

Captain Golovnin, an educated and intelligent Russian naval officer, had been commissioned in 1811, as commander of the sloop-of-war *Diana*, to survey the southern Kurile islands, in which group the Russians include both Saghalin and Yezo, which they reckon as the twenty-first and twenty-second Kuriles. At the southern extremity of the nineteenth Kurile some Japanese were first

met with (July 13th). Soon after, Golovnin, with two officers, four men, and a Kurile interpreter, having landed at a bay on the southern end of Kunashiri, the twentieth Kurile, where the Japanese had a settlement and a garrison, they were invited into the fort, and made prisoners. Thence they were taken, partly by water and partly by land, to Hakodate, a Japanese town at the southern extremity of Yezo. This journey occupied four weeks, in which, by Golovnin's calculation, they travelled between six and seven hundred miles. The Japanese stated it at two hundred and fifty-five of their leagues. The route followed was along the east coast of the island. Every two miles or so there was a populous village, from all of which extensive fisheries were carried on, evidently the great business of the inhabitants. The fish were caught in great nets, hundreds at once. The best were of the salmon species, but every kind of marine animal was eaten. The gathering of sea-weeds for food (of the kind called by the Russians sea-cabbage) also constituted a considerable branch of industry. In the northern villages the inhabitants were principally native Kuriles, with a few Japanese officers. Within a hundred and twenty or thirty miles of Hakodate the villages were inhabited entirely by Japanese, and were much larger and handsomer than those farther north, having gardens and orchards, and distinguished by their scrupulous neatness; but even the Kurile inhabitants of Yezo were far superior in civilisation and comforts to those of the more northern islands belonging to Russia.

When first seized by the Japanese the Russians were bound with cords, some about the thickness of a finger, and others still smaller. They were all tied exactly alike (according to the prescribed method for binding those arrested on criminal charges), the cords for each having the same number of knots and nooses, and all at equal distances. There were loops round their breasts and necks; their elbows were drawn almost into contact behind their backs, and their hands were firmly bound together. From these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, who, on the slightest attempt to escape, had only to pull it to make the elbows come in contact, with great pain, and so to tighten the noose about the neck as almost to produce strangulation. Their legs were also tied together above the ankles and above the knees. Thus tied, they were conveyed all the way to Hakodate, having the choice, for the land part of the route, either to be carried in a rude sort of palanquin formed of planks, on which they were obliged to lie flat, or to walk, which they generally preferred as less irksome, and for which purpose the cords about the ankles were removed, and those above the knees loosened. The cords were drawn so tight as to be very painful, and even after a while to cut into the flesh; yet, though in all other respects the Japanese seemed inclined to consult the comfort of the prisoners, they would not, for the first six or seven days, be induced to loosen them, of which the chief reason turned out to be their apprehension lest the prisoners might commit suicide—that being the Japanese resource under such extremities.

Their escort consisted of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men. Two Japanese guides from the neighbouring villages, changed at each new district, led the way, bearing handsomely carved staves. Then came three soldiers, then Captain Golovnin with a soldier on one side, and on the other an attendant with a twig to drive off the gnats, which were troublesome, and against which his bound hands prevented him from defending himself. Behind came an officer holding the ends of the ropes by which the prisoner was bound, then a party of Kuriles bearing his kango, followed by another relief party. The other captives followed, one by one, escorted in the same manner. Finally came three soldiers, and a number of Japanese and Kurile servants

[1811 A.D.]

carrying provisions and baggage. Each of the escort had a wooden tablet suspended from his girdle, on which were inscribed his duties and which prisoner he was stationed with; and the commanding officer had a corresponding list of the whole. The prisoners had the same fare with the escort—three meals a day, generally of rice boiled to a thick gruel, two pieces of pickled radish for seasoning, soup made of radishes or various wild roots and herbs, a kind of macaroni, and a piece of broiled or boiled fish. Sometimes they had stewed mushrooms, and each a hard-boiled egg. Their general drink was very indifferent tea, without sugar, and sometimes saki. Their conductors frequently stopped at the villages to rest, or to drink tea and smoke tobacco, and they also rested for an hour after dinner. They halted for the night an hour or two before sunset, usually in a village with a small garrison. They were always conducted first to the front of the house of the officer in command, and were seated on benches covered with mats, when the officer came out to inspect them. They were then taken to a neat house (which generally, when they first entered, was hung round with striped cotton cloth), and were placed together in one apartment, the ends of their ropes being fastened to iron hooks in the walls. Their boots and stockings were pulled off, and their feet bathed in warm water with salt in it. For bedding they had the Japanese mattresses—quilts with a thick wadding—folded double.

After the first six or seven days their bonds were loosened, and they got on more comfortably. The Japanese took the greatest care of their health, not allowing them to wet their feet, carrying them across the shallowest streams, and furnishing them with quilted Japanese gowns as a protection against the rain.

At Hakodate they were received by a great crowd, among which were several persons with silk dresses mounted on horses with rich caparisons. "Both sides of the road," says Golovnin, "were crowded with spectators, yet everyone behaved with the utmost decorum. I particularly marked their countenances, and never once observed a malicious look, or any sign of hatred towards us, and none showed the least disposition to insult us by mockery or derision." He had observed the same thing in the villages through which they had passed, where the prisoners had received, as they did afterwards, from numerous individuals, many touching instances of commiseration and sympathy.

At Hakodate they were confined in a prison, a high wooden enclosure, or fence, surrounded by an earthen wall somewhat lower (and on their first approach to it hung with striped cloth),¹ inside of which was a long, barn-like building. Within this building were a number of small apartments, scarcely six feet square, formed of thick spars, and exactly like cages, in which the prisoners were shut up, the passages and other spaces being occupied by the guards.² Their food was much worse than on the journey (probably Japanese prison fare), boiled rice, soup of warm water and grated radish, a handful of finely chopped young onions with boiled beans, and one or two pickled cucumbers or radishes. Instead of the radish-soup, puddings of bean-meal and rancid fish-oil were sometimes served. Very rarely they had half a fish, with soy. Their drink was warm water, and occasionally bad tea.

¹ The fort on the island where they were taken prisoners, when first seen from the ship, was hung round with striped cloths, which concealed the walls. These cloths had embrasures painted on them, but in so rough a manner that the deception could be perceived at a considerable distance.

² The description of this prison corresponds very well to Kämpfer's description of the one at Nagasaki.

Their only means of communicating with the Japanese had been, at first, a Kurile, one of the prisoners, who knew a little Russian, and probably about as much Japanese. At Hakodate another interpreter presented himself; but he, a man of fifty, naturally stupid, and knowing nothing of any European language except a little Russian, did not prove much better.

The second day they were conducted through the streets, by a guard of soldiers (the prisoners each with a rope round his waist held by a Japanese), to a fort or castle, which was surrounded by palisades and an earthen wall. Within was a court-yard, in the centre of which was a brass cannon on a badly constructed carriage. From this court-yard Golovnin, and after him each of the others, was conducted through a wide gate, which was immediately shut behind them, into a large hall, of which half had a pavement of small stones; the other half had a floor, or platform, raised three feet from the ground, and covered with curiously wrought mats. The hall was fifty or sixty feet long, of equal breadth, eighteen feet high, and divided by movable screens, neatly painted, from other adjoining rooms. There were two or three apertures for windows, with paper instead of glass, admitting an obscure, gloomy light. The governor sat on the floor, in the middle of the elevated platform, with two secretaries behind him. On his left (the Japanese place of honour) was the next in command; on his right, another officer; on each side of these, other officers of inferior rank. They all sat, in the Japanese fashion, with their legs folded under them, two paces apart, clothed in black dresses, their short swords in their girdles, and their longer ones lying at their left. The new interpreter sat on the edge of the raised floor, and an inferior officer at each of the corners of it. On the walls hung irons for securing prisoners, ropes, and various instruments of punishment. The Russian prisoners stood in front of the raised floor, the officers in a line, the sailors behind. The Kurile was seated on the stones. They underwent a very rigorous and particular examination, all their answers being written down. The questions related to their birthplaces; their families (and when it appeared that they came from different towns, how it happened that they served on board the same ship); the burden and force of their vessel; their own rank; their object; their route since leaving St. Petersburg, which they were required to trace on a chart, etc., etc.

Among other things, the governor remarked that Laxmann (who had visited Japan in 1792) wore a long tail, and covered his hair with flour; whereas the prisoners (powder and queues having gone out of fashion in the interval) had their hair cut short and unpowdered; and he asked if some change of religion had not taken place in Russia. When told that in Russia there was no connection between religion and the way of wearing the hair, the Japanese laughed, but expressed great surprise that there should not be some express law on the subject.

Eighteen days after, they had a second examination, on which occasion a letter, of which the Japanese wanted an interpretation, was delivered to them. It had been sent on shore from their ship along with their baggage, expressing a determination to return to Okhotsk for reinforcements, and never to quit the coast of Japan till the prisoners were rescued. This re-examination was continued for two days, in which many inquiries were made about Chvostov, and the papers he had left behind him, one of which was produced. The Russian prisoners tried to make out that the proceedings of Chvostov were without authority from the Russian government; but the Japanese evidently did not believe them.^d

[1811-1813 A.D.]

RESCUE OF RUSSIANS

Efforts were made to effect the release of the captured Russians, and in the following summer the *Diana* returned under the command of Captain Rikord. Failing in all attempts to communicate with anyone on shore, Rikord took a Japanese merchant, Kachi by name, back to Russia with him as a sort of hostage. He returned again to Kunashiri, and the Russians were finally released after having been confined over two years. A paper was sent with them to their government, explicitly stating Japanese policy with regard to foreigners, the main substance of which was as follows:^a

NOTIFICATION FROM THE GINMIYAKS, THE CHIEF COMMANDERS NEXT TO THE BUNGO OF MATSUMAI

Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel arrived at Matsumai, and eleven years ago another came to Nagasaki. Though the laws of our country were on both these occasions minutely explained, yet we are of opinion that we have not been clearly understood on your part, owing to the great dissimilarity between our languages and writing. However, as we have now detained you, it will be easy to give you an explanation of these matters. When you return to Russia, communicate to the commanders of the coasts of Kamchatka, Okhotsk, and others, the declaration of our bungo, which will acquaint them with the nature of the Japanese laws with respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and prevent a repetition of similar transgressions on your part.

In our country the Christian religion is strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not suffered to enter any Japanese harbour except Nagasaki. This law does not extend to Russian vessels only. This year it has not been enforced, because we wished to communicate with your countrymen; but all that may henceforth present themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls. Bear in mind this declaration, and you cannot complain if at any future period you should experience a misfortune in consequence of your disregard of it.

Among us there exists this law: "If any European residing in Japan shall attempt to teach our people the Christian faith, he shall undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be restored to his native country." As you, however, have not attempted to do so, you will accordingly be permitted to return home. Think well on this.

Our countrymen wish to carry on no commerce with foreign lands, for we know no want of necessary things. Though foreigners are permitted to trade to Nagasaki, even to that harbour only those are admitted with whom we have for a long period maintained relations, and we do not trade with them for the sake of gain, but for other important objects. From the repeated solicitations which you have hitherto made to us, you evidently imagine that the customs of our country resemble those of your own; but you are very wrong in thinking so. In future, therefore, it will be better to say no more about a commercial connection.

In all this business the efforts of Kachi had been indefatigable. At first he was treated by his own countrymen with the suspicion and reserve extended to all, even native Japanese, who come from a foreign country. For a long time he was not permitted to visit Golovnin. A guard was set over him, and even his friends and relations could not see him except in the presence of an imperial soldier. In fact, according to the Japanese laws, as a person just returned from a foreign country, he ought to have been allowed no correspondence at all with his friends. The governor of Hakodate, having a letter for him from his only son, said not a word to him about it, but having sent for him to convey a letter from Golovnin on board the *Diana*, while walking up and down the room, threw his son's letter towards him, as if it had been a piece of waste paper taken out of his sleeve accidentally with the other letter, and then turned his back to give him time to pick it up.¹

¹ In Japan, as elsewhere, etiquette requires a good many things to be done under feigned pretences, and on many occasions an affected ignorance of what everybody knows. The Japanese have a particular term (*neboeri*) to express this way of doing things.

Kachi's abduction had thrown his family into great distress. A celebrated priest, or spirit-medium, at Hakodate, to the question whether he ever would return, had answered, "Kachi will return the ensuing summer, with two of his companions; the remaining two have perished in a foreign land." This answer was communicated to Golovnin, who laughed at it; but when, on Kachi's return, it appeared that two of his Japanese attendants had actually died, the Japanese believers were greatly edified, and highly indignant at Golovnin's persistence in maintaining that there was more of luck than foresight in the prophecy. Kachi's wife, in her grief, made a vow to go on a pilgrimage through the whole of Japan; and Kachi assured Captain Rikord that scarcely had she returned from her pilgrimage when she received his letter from Kunashiri announcing his return.

Kachi had a bosom friend, who, on learning his fate, divided his large property among the poor, and took up his residence in the mountains, as a hermit. As appeared on various occasions, Kachi was a strict disciplinarian, and very punctilious. He had a daughter, whom, owing to some misconduct, he had discarded. She was dead to him, so he said; and to Rikord, to whom he had told the story, and who had taken an interest in the girl, he had insisted that a reconciliation would be inconsistent with his honour. Yet, to show his hermit friend that in the way of self-sacrifice he was not to be outdone, he made up his mind to the great effort of calling his daughter into life, and forgiving her. His friend would, he said, when this communication was made to him, at once understand it.

During Kachi's absence his mercantile affairs had prospered, and before Rikord's departure he brought on board the *Diana*, with all the evidence of paternal pride, his son, who seemed, indeed, to be a promising youth. He was very liberal in his distribution of silk and cotton wadded dresses to the crew, to all of whom he gave one or more, to his favourites the best ones, taking especial care to remember the cook.^d

AMERICAN INTERCOURSE WITH JAPAN

The sailing of the Dutch ships was, as we have seen, interrupted by the French wars, and on several occasions it was an American ship which made the annual visit from Batavia to the Dutch factory in Japan. No vessels at all came from Batavia between the years 1809 and 1813, and again from 1814 to 1817 the Dutch intercourse was discontinued. Finally in 1817 two ships arrived from Batavia with the news that the colony had been restored to the Dutch, and in the next year an English boat tried to establish trading relations, but without success. In 1837 an American firm at Macao fitted out the brig *Morrison* to sail for Japan, having on board three Japanese who had been shipwrecked on the American shore of the Pacific and who had been sent from there to England and thence to Macao, and also four Japanese who had been wrecked on the Philippines. The Japanese met them with a show of hostility and they were not allowed to land. The Japanese on board the *Morrison* were especially disappointed.^a

The poor fellows suffered severely at this unexpected extinction of their prospect of revisiting their families. They expressed great indignation at the conduct of their countrymen, and two of them shaved their heads entirely, in token, as it was understood, of having renounced their native soil. As it was not deemed expedient to go to Nagasaki, where the Japanese on board expressed their determination not to land, the *Morrison* returned to Macao.

[1843-1852 A.D.]

In 1843, probably in consequence of this visit of the *Morrison*, the Japanese authorities promulgated an edict, of which the following is a translation, as given by the Dutch at Deshima, who were requested to communicate to the other European nations—the first attempt ever made to employ their agency for that purpose:

Shipwrecked persons of the Japanese nation must not be brought back to their country, except on board of Dutch or Chinese ships, for, in case these shipwrecked persons shall be brought back in the ships of other nations, they will not be received. Considering the express prohibition, even to Japanese subjects, to explore or make examinations of the coasts or islands of the empire, this prohibition, for greater reason, is extended to foreigners.

The British opium war in China, of the progress of which the Japanese were well informed, if it increased the desire of the English to gain access to Japan, did not, by any means, diminish the Japanese dread of foreigners.^d

In spite of all Japanese edicts, however, foreigners still tried to gain admittance into their island. In 1848 the American commodore Biddle was instructed to ascertain if Japan would open her ports to foreign trade. He received the following answer as translated by the Dutch interpreter:

According to the Japanese laws, the Japanese may not trade except with the Dutch and Chinese. It will not be allowed that America make a treaty with Japan or trade with her, as the same is not allowed with any other nation. Concerning strange lands all things are fixed at Nagasaki, but not here in the bay; therefore, you must depart as quick as possible, and not come any more to Japan.

The next year the *Preble* was despatched from Canton under Commander Glynn, to bring away certain American sailors who were reported to have been shipwrecked in Japan. The *Preble* accomplished its mission in so far as obtaining the sailors was concerned, but no Americans were allowed to land. These successive repulses, however, failed to discourage American attempts to establish a footing in the exclusive island.^a

COMMODORE PERRY'S EXPEDITION

The settlement of California, the new trade opened thence with China, and the idea of steam communication across the Pacific, for which the coal of Japan might be needed, combined, with the extension of the whale fishery in the northern Japanese seas, to increase the desire in America for access to the ports of Japan. Shortly after the visit of the *Preble* the American government resolved to send an envoy thither, backed by such a naval force as would insure him a respectful hearing—the cases of Biddle and Glynn seeming to prove that the humouring policy could not be relied upon, and that the only way to deal successfully with the Japanese was to show a resolution not to take No for an answer.

Accordingly, Mr. Webster, as secretary of state, prepared a letter from the president to the emperor of Japan; also a letter of instructions to the American naval commander in the China seas, to whom it was resolved to intrust the duty of envoy, and whose force was to be strengthened by additional ships. The sailing, however, of these ships was delayed till after Mr. Webster's death; and in the mean time Commodore Matthew C. Perry was selected as the head of the expedition. A new letter, dated November 5th, 1852, addressed from the state department to the secretary of the navy, thus defined its objects:

"1. To effect some permanent arrangement for the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on these islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather.

"2. The permission to American vessels to enter one or more of their ports, in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, etc.; or, in case of disasters, to refit so as to enable them to prosecute their voyage. It is very desirable to have permission to establish a depot for coal, if not on one of the principal islands, at least on some small, uninhabited one, of which it is said there are several in their vicinity.

"3. The permission to our vessels to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter."

The mission was to be of a pacific character, as the president had no power to declare war; yet the show of force was evidently relied upon as more likely than anything else to weigh with the Japanese. The Dutch government, it was stated, had instructed their agents at Deshima to do all they could to promote the success of the expedition. Indeed, if we may believe Jancigny,¹ who speaks from information obtained during a residence at Batavia in 1844-45, the king of Holland had, as long ago as that time, addressed a letter to the emperor of Japan, urging him to abandon the policy of exclusion. The letter of instructions disavowed any wish to obtain exclusive privileges; but, as a matter of policy, nothing was to be said about other nations.

Furnished with these orders, and this letter splendidly engrossed and enclosed in a gold box of the value of a thousand dollars, and provided also with a variety of presents, Commodore Perry, towards the end of 1852, sailed from the United States in the steam-frigate *Mississippi*, and, after touching at Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at Hong-Kong in April, 1853, whence he proceeded to Shanghai. The dispersion of the vessels of the squadron, delay in the arrival of others from the United States, difficulty in obtaining coal, and the claim of the American merchants in China, in consideration of existing civil commotions, to the protecting presence of a naval force, caused some delays. But at length, after touching at Loochoo and making a visit to the Bonin Islands, Perry, with the steam-frigate *Susquehanna*, now the flagship, the *Mississippi*, and the sloop-of-war *Plymouth* and *Saratoga*, made Cape Idsu about daybreak on the 8th of July. Many rumours had been current on the coast of China of extensive warlike preparations by the Japanese, aided by the Dutch, and the squadron was fully prepared for a hostile reception. Perry had made up his mind, instead of attempting to conciliate by yielding, to stand upon his dignity to the utmost, to allow no petty annoyances, and to demand as a right, instead of soliciting as a favour, the courtesies due from one civilised nation to another.

The promontory constituting the province of Idzu appeared, as the vessels ran along it, to be a group of high mountains, their summits scarred with slides, and their sides mostly wooded, though here and there a cultivated spot could be seen. By noon the ships reached Cape Sagami, which separates the inner from the outer bay of Yedo. The shores of this point rose in abrupt bluffs two hundred feet high, with green dells running down to the water-side. Farther off were groves and cultivated fields, and mountains in the distance.

Leaving behind some twelve or fifteen Japanese boats, which put off from Cape Sagami to intercept them, the vessels stood up through the narrowest part of the bay, not more than five to eight miles wide, but expanding after-

¹ *Japan*, p. 197. Perry, to judge by his letters (December 14th, 1852 May 6th, 1853), did not place much reliance on the aid of the Dutch. The British Admiralty showed their goodwill by furnishing the latest charts and sailing directions for the eastern seas.

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wards to fifteen miles, having now also in sight the eastern shore, forming a part of the province of Awa. Within half an hour after passing Cape Sagami they made another bold promontory from the west, forming a second entrance to the upper bay. In the bight formed by it lay the town of Urakawa, visible from the ships, which, sounding their way, anchored within a mile and a half of the promontory—a mile or more in advance of the anchorage ground of the *Columbus* and *Vincennes*.

As the ships dropped their anchors two or three guns or mortars were fired from the second promontory, and four or five boats put off. They were of unpainted wood, very sharp, their greatest breadth well towards the stern, and propelled with great rapidity by tall, athletic rowers, naked, save a cloth about the loins, who shouted lustily as they pulled. In the stern of each boat was a small flag with three horizontal stripes, the middle one black, the others white, and about it were four or five well-dressed men with two swords in their girdles.

Some parley took place before anybody was admitted on board, that favour being refused except to the person highest in authority in the town. The conversation was carried on in Dutch, which the Japanese interpreter spoke very well, and, from what he said, it was evident that the vessels had been expected. After a long parley, in which the high rank of the commodore, and the necessity of his being met by persons of corresponding rank, were very much insisted upon, an officer, representing himself as second in command at the town in sight, was admitted on board. The commodore, however, declined to see him in person, and turned him over to Mr. Contee, the flag-lieutenant, who, assisted by the two interpreters—one for Dutch, the other for Chinese—had a long interview with him and his interpreter in the cabin. He was told that the object of the expedition was to deliver a letter from the president of the United States to the emperor, and that some high officer must be sent on board to receive it; also, that the squadron would not submit to be watched and guarded, after the Japanese fashion, but that all the guard-boats must withdraw. The officer, as usual, was very inquisitive. He wanted to know whether the vessels came from Boston, New York, or Washington, how many men they had, etc., etc.; but these questions he was given to understand were regarded as impertinent.

Seeing the determination evinced, the Japanese officer, by name Tabroske, returned on shore, taking back his official notifications in French, Dutch, and English, by custom always addressed to ships arriving on the coast which the lieutenant refused to receive. He was followed by the boats, which, after that, kept at a respectful distance. He came back in about an hour to excuse his superior from receiving the letter addressed to the emperor. He spoke of Nagasaki as the proper place for foreign ships to touch at, and doubted if the letter would be answered; but all this was cut short by the assurance that if his superior did not send for the letter, the ships would proceed still higher up the bay to deliver it themselves; upon which information, much agitated, he stipulated for permission to return in the morning. As he departed, looking at the long gun in the cabin, he exclaimed, with an interrogative look, "Paixhan?" showing that the Japanese were not ignorant of the modern improvements in gunnery any more than of American geography.

It was noticed that, towards night, the boatmen put on their Japanese gowns, most of them blue, with white stripes on the sleeves, meeting angular-wise on the shoulders, and with a symbol or badge on the back. Others wore gowns of red and white stripes, with a black lozenge upon the back. A few had broad bamboo hats, like a shallow basin inverted; but most of them were

bareheaded. The officers wore light and beautifully lacquered hats, with a gilded symbol in front. During the night watch-fires blazed along the coast, and bells were heard sounding the hours. The next morning (Saturday) Koyama Yezaimon, first in command at the town, came on board, and made another attempt to beg off from receiving the letter to the emperor. Finally he proposed to send to Yedo for permission, and was allowed three days to do it in.

Meanwhile surveying parties from the ships ran up the bay a distance of four miles, finding everywhere from thirty to forty fathoms of water. They sounded round the bight within which the ships lay, keeping about a cable's length from the shore, and finding five fathoms. Yezaimon represented that this survey was against the Japanese laws, but was told that if forbidden by the laws of Japan, it was commanded by the laws of America. On approaching the forts, of which there were five, two apparently of recent construction, the soldiers, armed with matchlocks, came out; but as the boats drew near, they retired again. These forts were very feeble, mounting only fourteen guns in the whole, none larger than nine-pounders. Of soldiers, about four hundred were seen, many of them armed with spears. There was also, as usual, a great show of canvas screens; but, on the whole, the warlike means of the Japanese seemed contemptible.

From the town to the end of the promontory, a distance of a mile and a half, was an unbroken line of villages. At least a hundred small craft lay in the harbour. The hills behind, some five hundred feet high, were dotted with pines and other trees. In the morning and evening, when the air was clear, Mount Fusi might be seen in the west, sixty miles distant. The presence of the American ships did not seem to disturb the coasting trade. Sixty or seventy large junks, besides hundreds of boats and fishing-smacks, daily passed up and down the bay, to and from Yedo.

On Monday, the 11th, the same surveying party proceeded up the bay some ten miles, followed by the *Mississippi*. They were constantly met by government boats, the officers on board which urged them by signs to return, but of which they took no notice. Deep soundings were everywhere obtained, with a bottom of soft mud. A deep bay was found on the western shore, with good and safe anchoring ground. In the evening Yezaimon returned on board, well pleased, apparently, to be able to give information of the probability of good news from Yedo, but rather troubled at the explorations by the boats. The flag-lieutenant, with whom he had his interviews, describes him as "a gentleman, clever, polished, well-informed; a fine, large man, about thirty-four, of most excellent countenance, taking his wine freely, and a boon companion."

The next day (the 12th) he brought information that the emperor would send down a high officer to receive the letter. No answer would be given immediately, but one would be forwarded through the Dutch or Chinese. This latter proposition the commodore treated as an insult. As, however, if he waited for an answer, excuses might easily be found for protracting his stay in an inconvenient manner, and at last wearying him out, he agreed to allow time for its preparation, and to return to receive it. The following Thursday (the 14th) was appointed for the interview with the commissioners appointed to receive the letter, which was to take place two miles south of the town, at a picturesque spot on the left side of a narrow valley extending inland from the head of the bight. Its retired situation, and the facility it afforded for the display of a military force, were probably the motives of its selection.

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At the hour appointed for the meeting, as the two steamers approached the spot, long lines of canvas walls were seen stretching crescent-wise, quite round the head of the bight, and in front files of soldiers with a multitude of brilliant banners. Near the centre of the crescent were nine tall standards, with broad scarlet pennons, in the rear of which could be seen the roof of the house prepared for the interview. On the right, a line of fifty or sixty boats was drawn up, parallel to the beach, each with a red flag at its stern.

The foremost files of the Japanese soldiers stood about a hundred yards from the beach, in somewhat loose and straggling order. The greater part were behind the canvas screens. There were a number of horses to be seen, and in the background a body of cavalry. The Japanese stated the number of troops at five thousand. On the slope of the hill, near the village, was collected a crowd of spectators, of whom many were women.

As soon as the steamers dropped their anchors they were approached by two boats containing their former visitors, the first and second officers of the town, with the interpreters, very richly dressed in silk brocade, bordered with velvet, and having on their garments of ceremony. The steamers lay with their broadsides to the shore, ready for action in case of treachery. Fifteen launches and cutters were got ready, from which three hundred and twenty persons, officers, seamen, marines, and musicians, were landed on an extemporaneous jetty which the Japanese had formed of bags of sand. Last of all the commodore landed with due formality, when the whole body, preceded by the Japanese officers and interpreters, marched to the house of reception, carrying with them the president's letter, the box which held it wrapped in scarlet cloth, as was also that containing the letter of credence. In front of the houses prepared for the interview were two old brass four-pounders, apparently Spanish, and on each side a company of soldiers, those on one side armed with matchlocks, those on the other with old Tower muskets, with flint locks and bayonets.

The reception building was a temporary structure, evidently put up for the occasion. The first apartment, about forty feet square, was of canvas. The floor was covered with white cotton cloth, with a pathway of red felt leading across to a raised inner apartment, wholly carpeted with the same red felt. This apartment, of which the front was entirely open, was hung with fine cloth, stamped with the imperial symbols in white on a ground of violet. On the right was a row of arm-chairs for the commodore and his staff. On the opposite side sat the two commissioners appointed to receive the letters, and who were announced by the interpreters as the princes of Idzu and Iwami. The former was a man about fifty, with a very pleasing and intelligent face. The latter was older by fifteen years or so, wrinkled with age, and of looks much less prepossessing. Both were splendidly dressed, in heavy robes of silk tissue, elaborately ornamented with threads of gold and silver. As the commodore entered, both rose and bowed gravely, but immediately resumed their seats and remained silent and passive as statues.

At the end of the room was a large scarlet-lacquered box, standing on gilded feet, beside which Yezaimon and one of the interpreters knelt, at the same time signifying that all things were ready for the reception of the letters. They were brought in, and the boxes containing them being opened so as to display the writing and the golden seals, they were placed upon the scarlet box, and along with them translations in Dutch and Chinese, as well as an English transcript. The prince of Iwami then handed to the interpreter, who gave it to the commodore, an official receipt in Japanese, to which the interpreter added a Dutch translation, which translated literally into English was as follows:

The letter of the president of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Urakawa, but in Nagasaki. Now, it has been observed that the admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the president, would be insulted by it; the justice of this has been acknowledged; consequently the above-mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law.

Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received, you will leave here.

The commodore remarked, when this receipt was delivered to him, that he should return again, probably in April or May, for an answer. "With all the ships?" asked the interpreter. "Yes, and probably with more," was the reply. Nothing more was said on either side. As the commodore departed, the commissioners rose and remained standing, and so the interview ended, without a single word uttered on their part.

The Japanese officers of the town, with the Japanese interpreters, accompanied the American party back to the *Susquehanna*, whose machinery they examined with much interest. When off the town, they were set ashore; but the steamers, to show how lightly the injunction to leave was regarded, proceeded up the bay and anchored a short distance above the point reached by the *Mississippi*. In spite of the solicitude of the Japanese officers, who came again on board, the whole bight between the promontory of Urakawa and another north of it was carefully surveyed. At the head a river was found. The shores were studded with villages, whose inhabitants offered to the surveying party cold water, and peaches from their gardens. To the place where the steamers lay the name was given of "American anchorage."

The next day (Friday, the 15th) the *Mississippi* proceeded on an excursion ten miles further up, and reached, as was supposed, within eight or ten miles of the capital. On the western shore were seen two large towns. On the extremity of a cape in front, some four miles distant, stood a tall white tower like a lighthouse. Three or four miles beyond was a crowd of shipping, supposed to be the anchorage of Sinagawa, the southern suburb of Yedo. At the point where the steamer put about she had twenty fathoms of water. On Saturday, the 16th, the vessels moved to a new anchorage, five or six miles down the bay and much nearer the shore, and here the surveying operations were renewed. The same day an interchange of presents took place with Yezaimon, who, however, was induced to accept those offered to him only by the positive refusal of his own, except on that condition. Thus pressed, he finally took them, except some arms—articles, he said, which the Japanese neither gave nor received. In the afternoon he came again, in excellent humour, his conduct probably having been approved on shore, bringing a quantity of fowls in light wicker coops, and three or four thousand eggs in boxes, for which a box of garden-seeds was accepted in return. The next day, the 17th, and the tenth since their arrival, the vessels weighed and stood for Loochoo, the bay being covered with boats to witness their departure.

Commodore Perry spent the remainder of the year on the coast of China, keeping one vessel, however, at Loochoo, and prosecuting the survey of the Bonin Islands. Shortly after his visit the shogun died, and an attempt was made to take advantage of that circumstance to delay or prevent the return of the American ships. A communication, forwarded to Batavia by the Dutch ship that left Nagasaki in November, and communicated by the Dutch governor-general at Batavia to the commodore, represented that the necessary mourning for the deceased sovereign, and other arrangements consequent on his death, as well as the necessity of consulting all the princes,

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must necessarily delay the answer to the president's letter, and suggested the danger of confusion, or "broil," should the squadron come back at so unseasonable a moment.

Undeterred, however, by this representation, on the 12th of February, 1854, Commodore Perry reappeared in the bay of Yedo, with three steam frigates, four sloops of war, and two store-ships, and, the steamers taking the sailing vessels in tow, they all moved up to the American anchorage. About two weeks were spent here in fixing upon a place to negotiate, the Japanese importuning the commodore to go back to Kamakura, twenty miles below Urakawa, or, at least, to the latter place, while he insisted upon going to Yedo. As he declined to yield, and caused the channel to be sounded out within four miles of Yedo, they proposed, as the place of meeting, the village of Yokohama, containing about ten thousand people, and situated on the shore just opposite the anchorage of the ships. To this the commodore agreed, and the ships drew in and moored in line, with broadsides bearing upon the shore, and covering an extent of five miles.

"On the 8th of March," says a letter dated on board the *Vandalia*, and published in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, "the day appointed for the first meeting, about nine hundred officers, seamen, and marines, armed to the teeth, landed, and, with drums beating and colours flying, were drawn up on the beach, ready to receive the commodore. As soon as he stepped on shore the bands struck up, salutes were fired, the marines presented arms, and, followed by a long escort of officers, he marched up between the lines and entered the house erected by the Japanese expressly for the occasion. Thousands of Japanese soldiers crowded the shore and the neighbouring elevations, looking on with a good deal of curiosity and interest.

"The house was nothing but a plain frame building, hastily put up, containing one large room—the audience hall—and several smaller, for the convenience of attendants, etc. The floor was covered with mats, and very pretty painted screens adorned the sides. Long tables and benches covered with red woollen stuff, placed parallel to each other, three handsome braziers filled with burning charcoal on the floor between them, and a few violet-coloured crape hangings suspended from the ceiling, completed the furniture of the room. As we entered we took our seats at one of the tables. The Japanese commissioners soon came in, and placed themselves opposite to us, at the other table; while behind us both, seated on the floor on their knees¹ (their usual position, for they do not use chairs), was a crowd of Japanese officers forming the train of the commissioners.

"The business was carried on in the Dutch language, through interpreters, of whom they have several who speak very well, and two or three who speak little English. They were on their knees, between the commissioners and the commodore. Our interpreter was seated by the side of the latter. It was curious to see the intolerable ceremony observed by them, quite humiliating to a democratic republican. A question proposed had to pass first through the interpreters, and then through several officers ascending in rank, before it could reach the commissioners, everyone bowing his forehead to the floor before he addressed his superior. Refreshments were served in elegantly lacquered dishes; first of all, tea, which, as in China, is the constant beverage; then different kinds of candy and sponge cake (they are excellent confectioners, and very fond of sugar); lastly, oranges and a palatable liquor distilled from rice, called saki. A flimsy banquet like this was not very agreeable to such hungry individuals as we, and we were the more disap-

¹ Rather on their heels.

pointed, for, the Japanese using only chopsticks, we had, previously to coming ashore, taken the precaution, as we shrewdly thought, to provide ourselves with knives and forks. Imagine, then, our chagrin when finding nothing substantial upon which to employ them. What was left on our plates was wrapped in paper and given to us to carry away, according to the usual custom in Japan.

"The commissioners were intelligent-looking men, richly dressed in gay silk petticoat pantaloons, and upper garments resembling in shape ladies' short gowns. Dark-coloured stockings, and two elegant swords pushed through a twisted silk girdle, finished the costume. Straw sandals are worn, but are always slipped off upon entering a house. They do not cover the head, the top and front part of which is shaved, and the back and side hair, being brought up, is tied so as to form a tail three or four inches long, that extends forward upon the bald pate, terminating about half-way between the apex and the forehead. It is a very comfortable fashion, and, were it not for the quantity of grease used in dressing it, would be a very cleanly one.

"Two audiences a week were held, at which the same programme was performed as related above, except that we fared more luxuriously.¹ Becoming better acquainted with our taste, they feasted us with a broth made of fish, boiled shrimps, hard-boiled eggs, and very good raw oysters. At one of the interviews (March 13th), the presents from our government were delivered. They consisted of cloths, agricultural implements, firearms, etc., and a beautiful locomotive, tender, and passenger-car, one-fourth the ordinary size, which we put in motion on a circular track at the rate of twenty miles an hour. A mile of magnetic telegraph was also erected on shore and put in operation. The Japanese were more interested in it than anything else but never manifested any wonder. So capable are they of concealing and controlling their feelings, that they would examine the guns, machinery, etc. of the steamers without expressing the slightest astonishment. They are a much finer-looking race than the Chinese—intelligent, polite, and hospitable but proud, licentious, unforgiving, and revengeful."

The death of a marine afforded an opportunity, at the first meeting with the commissioners, of demanding a burying-place. It was proposed to send the body to Nagasaki; but as the commodore would not listen to that, a spot was assigned near one of their temples, and in view of the ships, where the body was buried, with all the forms of the English church service, after which the Japanese surrounded the grave with a neat enclosure of bamboo. A formal letter of reply to the propositions contained in the letters delivered at the former visit repeated the story of a change of succession and the necessity of delays. The justice, however, of the demands in relation to shipwrecked seamen, wood, water, provisions, and coal was conceded; but five years were asked before opening a new harbour, the Americans, in the mean time, to resort to Nagasaki.

Of Nagasaki, however, the commodore would not hear, nor of any restrictions like those imposed on the Dutch and Chinese at that port. He demanded three harbours, one in Nippon, one in Yezo, and a third in Loochoo. As the last two, the Japanese pleaded that they were very distant countries, and only partially subject to the emperor, especially the last, upon which the commodore did not insist. In Nippon he asked for Urakawa, and for Matsumai in Yezo, but acceded to the Japanese offer of Shimoda and Hakodati, having first sent a ship to examine the former. The commissioners were exceedingly tenacious, even upon points of phraseology, but gave evidence

¹ The number of American officers present at these interviews was from twenty to fifty.

[1854 A.D.]

of acting in entire good faith, and the commodore conceded everything which did not seem absolutely essential. The extent of the liberty to be allowed to American visitors was one of the greatest difficulties.

Shortly before the treaty was concluded the commodore gave an entertainment on board the *Powhatan* to the Japanese officials, about seventy in all. In conformity with their customs, two tables were spread, one in the cabin for the commissioners and the captains of the fleet, another on deck for the inferior officers. "They did full justice," says the letter-writer already quoted, "to American cookery, and were exceedingly fond of champagne, under the influence of which they became so very merry and familiar that one of them vigorously embraced the commodore, who, until his epaulets began to suffer in the struggle, was very good-naturedly disposed to endure it."

Three copies of the treaty, in Japanese, signed by the commissioners, were delivered to the commodore, for which he exchanged three copies in English, signed by himself, with Dutch and Chinese translations. This method was adopted to satisfy the commissioners, who alleged that no Japanese could lawfully put his name to any document written in a foreign language. The treaty was as follows:

"The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace and amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object, the president of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, special ambassador of the United States to Japan; and the august sovereign of Japan has given similar full powers to his commissioners, Hayashi-Daigaku-no-kami, Ido, prince of Tsushima, Izawa, prince of Minasaka, and Udono, member of the board of revenue.

"And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:

"ARTICLE I.—There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part, and between their people, respectfully (respectively), without exception of persons or places.

"ARTICLE II.—The port of Shimoda, in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodate, the principality of Matsumai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions, and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first-named port is immediately on signing this treaty; the last-named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year.

"NOTE.—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

"ARTICLE III.—Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coast of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them, and carry their crews to Shimoda or Hakodate, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them. Whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored; and the expenses incurred in the rescue and support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

"ARTICLE IV.—Those shipwrecked persons, and other citizens of the United States, shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

"ARTICLE V.—Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily landed at Shimoda and Hakodate, shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Shimoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese miles (or *ri*) from a small island in the harbour of Shimoda, marked on the accompanying chart, hereto appended; and shall, in like manner, be free to go where they please at Hakodate, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

"ARTICLE VI.—If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

"ARTICLE VII.—It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin, and articles of goods, for other articles of goods under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese

government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they are unwilling to exchange.

"ARTICLE VIII.—Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

"ARTICLE IX.—It is agreed that if, at any future day, the government of Japan shall grant to any other nation or nations privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

"ARTICLE X.—Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Shimoda and Hakodate, unless in distress or forced by stress of weather.

"ARTICLE XI.—There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Shimoda, at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this treaty; provided that either of the two governments deem such arrangement necessary.

"ARTICLE XII.—The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory, and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if practicable.

"In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the empire of Japan, aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

"Done at Kanagawa,¹ this thirty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, and of Kayei the seventh year, third month, and third day."

The day after the signing of the treaty a number of presents were sent on board for the president, the commodore, and other officers of the squadron.

In speaking of Perry's success, W. E. Griffis ^c says:

"The glory of Commodore Perry's success is not that he 'invented' or 'first thought of' or was the 'sole author, originator, and father of the Japan expedition.' Such language is nonsense, for the thought was in many minds; both of naval men and civilians, from Roberts to Glynn and Aulick; but it was Perry's persistency that first conquered for himself a fleet, his thorough-going method of procedure in every detail, and his powerful personality and invincible tenacity in dealing with the Japanese, that won a quick and permanent success without a drop of blood. A thorough man of war he was from his youth up; yet he proved himself a nobler hero, in that he restrained himself and his lieutenants from the use of force, while yet not giving place for a moment to the frivolities of Japanese Yakunin of the Tokugawa period." ^a

A JAPANESE ACCOUNT OF PERRY'S COMING

On the 3rd of the 6th month of the *Kayei* era (1853), Commodore Perry ambassador of the United States of America, entered the bay of Uraga with a squadron consisting of two men-of-war and two merchant ships, and sought to open commercial relations with Japan. His visit exercised a powerful influence on the domestic affairs of the country. Ever since the early part of the seventeenth century, anti-foreign feeling had been so intense that on the Chinese and the Dutch had been allowed to carry on trade at Nagasaki and other European nations, owing to various circumstances, gave themselves little if any concern about Japan. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century the spirit of aggrandisement made itself felt in the Occident and western states began to vie with one another in attempts to extend their territories and commerce. Nine years before the arrival of the American

¹ The treaty is dated at Kanagawa, probably because it was the nearest town.

[1789-1854 A.D.]

squadron in Uraga Bay, that is to say, in the first year of the *Kokwa* era (1844 A.D.), the Dutch addressed a letter to the Tokugawa government, advising that Japan be opened to all foreign nations, and subsequently they often repeated this counsel, at the same time explaining the conditions of the various states of Europe. Among the Japanese, many who had studied the Dutch language and acquired some knowledge of western affairs were in favour of a liberal foreign policy, but among the bulk of the nation the prejudices engendered by the violent and lawless conduct of the early Christian propagandists remained as strong as ever.

Moreover, fresh reasons for resentment had been furnished by various encroachments of the Russians between the *Kwansei* (1789-1800 A.D.) and *Bunkwa* (1804-1817 A.D.) eras, and by disorderly conduct of English sailors in Nagasaki. Indeed, the Tokugawa government had once gone so far as to order that any foreign ship approaching the coast of Japan should be fired on, and any Japanese whose studies of Dutch led them to advocate the opening of the country were deprived of their official positions or otherwise punished. In the *Kwansei* era (1789-1800 A.D.), Matsudaira Sadanobu, who filled the office of *Hosa* (assistant minister) in the shogun's government, Hayashi Tomonao of Sendai, and others strongly advocated complete coast defence and at the time when the American squadron visited Japan, Tokugana, Naria-kira, commonly called "Rekko," the feudal chief of Mito, a noble of keen insight and quick judgment, conspicuously urged the policy of holding aloof from all foreign intercourse. In the third year of the *Kokwa* era (1846), two American men-of-war had come to Uraga and sought to open tradal relations, but their proposals were not entertained and they had to leave the country without accomplishing anything. Commodore Perry's visit took place seven years later, and had the effect of greatly embarrassing the Tokugawa government. He brought with him credentials from the President of America as well as specimens of the products of the United States, and he made formal application that commerce should be permitted between his country and Japan. The government replied that, the matter being of the gravest importance, no immediate reply could be given, but that an answer should be ready the following year, whereupon Perry sailed away declaring that he should return the next year without fail. Thereafter the Tokugawa government invited a council of the feudal barons, including the lord of Mito, to consult about the matter, Perry's coming to Uraga being at the same time reported to the emperor through the proper channels, and the documents brought by him being shown to the feudal chiefs. During the confusion incidental to this event, the shogun Iyeyoshi died. He was succeeded by his son Iyesada. The year passed without any definite step being taken, and in January of the first year of the *Ansei* era (1854), Perry once more made his appearance at Uraga and urgently asked for a reply to his original proposals. All the feudal barons, including the Mito chief, united in advocating a policy of seclusion, but the Rojiu, Abe Masahiro, and the chief officials of the Tokugawa government were astute enough to see that such a policy could not be successfully pursued. They therefore insisted on concluding a treaty of amity and commerce, without paying due attention to its terms. Repeated conferences were held with the American envoy, and finally a treaty was signed providing that all American citizens driven to Japan by stress of weather should be kindly treated; that American ships of war should be supplied in Japanese ports with fuel, coal, provisions, and all other necessities, and that the two ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be opened to American vessels. But generally trade was not sanctioned.

A JAPANESE VIEW OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PERRY'S TREATY

Thus did the sailor diplomat succeed in wresting from the reluctant nation a surety of friendship. Thus did Perry, America, Aryan civilisation, science, and Christianity triumph. Perry's—or let me say rather America's—coming was most providentially opportune. Had it been a little earlier, when the Japanese mind had not been prepared, or a little later, when the whole country was plunged in intestine turmoil, there is no saying what might have been America's success or Japan's fate. Or had any other power than America—for instance, Great Britain or France, whose strong policy in China had instilled dread and doubt into our people, or, say, Russia, whose movement in the North was more than suspicious—had any other power than America, in whom was no guile (at least so far as her dealings in the East were concerned, though what she did in Mexico was not entirely unknown to Japan even then), the course of Japanese history might have been very different from what it has been.

Still more providential than the point of time was Perry's choice of the site of landing. Here he unconsciously displayed truest sagacity. It was Perry's conviction that the isolation of Japan was not a result of national character, but merely of accidental policy; hence, to do away with it, he “must deal with the officials—the upholders and the tools of this exclusion system—as with his enemy; he must penetrate into the very seat of this evil, namely, into the court; he must confer with highest officials.” If Perry had had better knowledge of the system of our duarchy, he would very likely have entered the gulf of Ozaka and knocked at the imperial gate of Kioto for admission, and then—then civil wars would not have sufficed to make the New Japan. As he came into the bay of Yedo and knocked at the portals of the shogun, uncracked, though not without creaking, they opened on their rusty hinges. Thus two ends were gained by one effort: the country was opened to foreign trade, and, at the same time, the abolition of feudalism and the shogunate was hastened.

Immediately after Perry's squadron had left the Japanese waters, the rulers of the country, whether actuated by clear foresight and comprehension of the moment, or whether impelled by that mental confusion which attends sudden awakening from slumber, and apprehension of the next moment, were aroused to immediate activity. Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages; academies shot up, where youths could receive instruction in military and naval tactics; raw recruits were drilled; foundries and smithies sprang into existence, and belfries were molested to furnish metal for arsenals. To this last the bonzes objected; they would rather fight with the weapon of prayer, for, they asked: “Did not the prayers of the devout destroy the Armada of Kublai Khan?” 9

A JAPANESE ACCOUNT OF PERRY'S SUCCESSORS

Subsequently, ambassadors came from Russia, France, and England, and conventions were concluded with them in terms virtually the same as those of Commodore Perry's treaty. Meanwhile, the Tokugawa government gave out that they had concluded the American treaty merely in order to gain time for warlike preparations; but in truth they had been taken by surprise, and in addition to financial embarrassments they had to face natural calamities.

[1854-1857 A.D.]

of a most disastrous character. In the year of Commodore Perry's second coming, violent earthquakes visited Chugoku, Skikoku, and Kinshu, and in October of the following year—the second year of the *Ansei* era (1855)—the severest shock of all took place in Yedo. Immense numbers of the dwellings of the upper and lower classes as well as of the feudal barons were overthrown, and the earthquake was followed by a fire in which 100,000 persons are said to have lost their lives. In July of the following year, Mr. Harris came duly accredited by the government of the United States, and proposed that relations of friendship should be established between Japan and America, at the same time asking on his own part for an audience with the shogun. The *Rojin* Hotta Masaatsu (Bitchuno-kami) had now taken charge of foreign affairs in place of Abe, and after considerable hesitation he allowed Mr. Harris to repair to the shogun's palace, but the government decided not to give a favourable answer to the American proposal without the sanction of the emperor, for hitherto, despite the great importance of foreign affairs, the Tokugawa administration had been allowed to take any steps it pleased with reference to them without consulting the sovereign. But despite the large measure of power enjoyed by the Yedo government it was no longer able to effectually control the feudal barons. Hence it resolved to consult the imperial wishes, on the one hand, while taking counsel of the feudal chiefs on the other. Such a vacillating and dependent method of procedure was entirely opposed to the policy pursued by the Tokugawa ever since the days of Iyeyasu, and it thus fell out that they were subsequently attacked on account of their measures by both the court and the people, so that in this question of foreign intercourse is to be sought the proximate cause of their downfall.

The significance of the step which Harris took in leaving the confines of Shimoda to visit the Yedo court in 1857 is best shown in the official notification of that time. One of these addressed to officials reads:

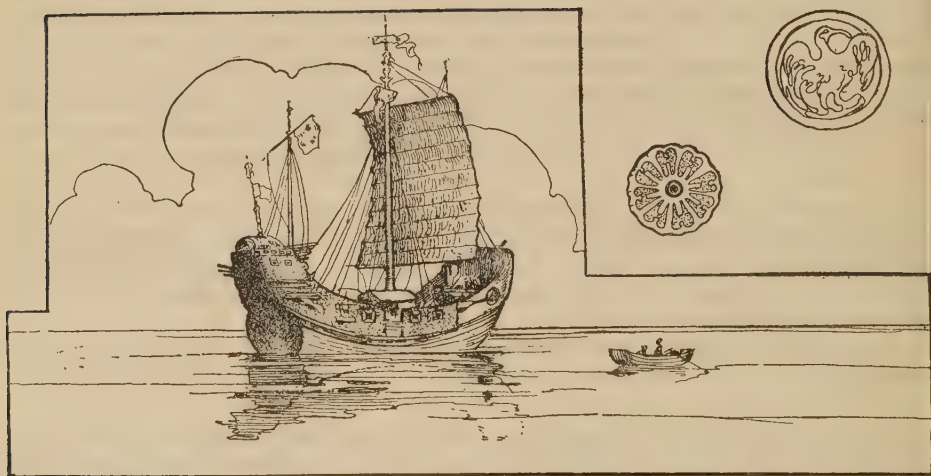
"The present audience of the American ambassador will be a *precedent for all foreign countries*, and must, therefore, be attended to with the greatest care. As intercourse with foreign countries necessitates the *repeal of old regulations and restrictions*, the matter is attended with difficulty, and the *possible evils cannot be foreseen*; you must therefore neglect nothing, but attend to all things with the greatest care, as the tycoon's order requires."

Twenty days later (September), another paternal notice appears from the government:

"When in a short time the American ambassador visits Yedo, it will not be necessary to repair the *Yashikis* (residences of princes) along the road; the temporary boards may be left as they are. Each householder is to keep his portion of the road swept clean. It will likewise not be necessary to set out the ornamental firemen's baskets before the houses, nor to place guards there. Travellers may be allowed to pass along as usual. Guards should be placed at the small stations or guard-houses, to suppress any disorder, if required to do so by the officers in attendance on the ambassador. Beggars must be removed out of the way. As to lightseers, they may stand at designated spots along the road, but they are not allowed to crowd together at the upper story windows of tenement houses and like places. As much as possible, all encounters of persons on horseback are to be avoided. Great care must be taken by officials to avoid all noise and confusion on the way," etc., etc.

In his interview with the governor of foreign affairs, Harris dwelt particularly on three points: first, the Monroe Doctrine of his country, obliquely condemning the French and the English policy in China and making clear America's immunity from the blood of the Opium War; secondly, the religious freedom in his country, divesting the governor of any fear in the direction of religious aggression; lastly, the usefulness of mutual trade.

By his tact and talent Harris gained the entire confidence of the shogunate, so much that when, after years of residence in Japan, he was about to leave the country, a formal letter was addressed by the Japanese authorities to the secretary of state asking that his stay might be prolonged. His conduct through the trying moments of the nation, just in the throes of a new birth, cannot be too highly praised. If "an ambassador," according to Wotton's definition, "is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth," Harris was no diplomat. If, on the contrary, an American minister to an oriental court is a representative of the moral principles of the great Christian republic, Harris deserves the name in its best sense.⁹





CHAPTER V

NEW JAPAN

THE NATION'S PART IN THE EARLY CHANGES

THE way having been opened by one treaty, others soon followed, and by 1858, as we have seen, the treaties with America and England were extended, and others made with the Dutch and French, by which the ports of Nagasaki, Hakodate, and Yokohama (Kanagawa) were opened to foreign trade. This revolution in the foreign relations of Japan was followed in 1868 by a no less important revolution in the internal affairs, by which the power of the shogunate was overthrown and the mikado restored to authority.^a

When reference is made to the Japanese nation in connection with the radical changes of 1868, it must be observed that only the nobles and the samurai (military class) are indicated—in other words, a section of the population representing about one-sixteenth of the whole. The bulk of the people—the agricultural, the industrial, and the mercantile classes—remained outside the sphere of politics, not sharing the anti-foreign prejudice, nor taking any serious interest in the great questions of the time. Foreigners often noted with surprise the contrast between the fierce antipathy displayed towards them by the samurai on the one hand, and the genial, hospitable reception given to them by the common people on the other. History teaches that the latter was the natural disposition of the Japanese, the former a mood educated by special experiences. Further, even the comparatively narrow statement that the restoration of the administrative power to the emperor was the work of the nobles and the samurai must be taken with limitations. A majority of the nobles entertained no idea of any necessity for change. They were either held fast in the vise of Tokugawa authority, or paralysed by the sensuous seductions of the lives provided for them by the machinations of their retainers, who held the administrative authority of the fiefs in their own hands, leaving its shadow only to their lords. It was, in fact, among the

retainers that longings for a new order of things were generated. Some of these men were sincere disciples of progress—a small band of students and deep thinkers who, looking through the narrow Dutch window at Deshima, had caught a glimmering perception of the realities that lay beyond the horizon of their country's prejudices. But the influence of such liberals was comparatively insignificant. Though they showed remarkable moral courage and tenacity of purpose, the age did not furnish any strong object-lessons to enforce their propaganda of progress. The factor chiefly making for change was the samurai's loyal instinct, reinforced by the teachings of Chinese philosophy, by the revival of the Shinto cult, by the promptings of national enterprise, and by the suggestions of foreign intercourse.

Throughout the whole period of Tokugawa rule there had been a strong, if somewhat fitful, leaning of the national mind towards the political philosophy of Confucius and Mencius, as expounded by Choo He and Yang Wang-ming. Iyéyasu himself had given the first impetus to this disposition by his patronage of literature. Without any perception of the true spirit of the Chinese sages' teachings, he ordered that primers of the "old learning" should be procured and studied. Thus the Zen doctrines of Buddhism, which contributed so much to the development of the heroic and the sentimental, and were therefore favourable to the stability of military feudalism, gradually gave place to a theory that the only legitimate ruler was heaven-appointed, that the good of the people should be the first object of administration, and that to fail in achieving that object was to forfeit the title of administrator. A century later another Tokugawa shogun (Tsunayoshi) fostered a movement equally fatal to the permanency of feudalism; he encouraged the revival of the Shinto cult which teaches the divine origin of the mikado, and constructively inculcates that every exercise of administrative authority by a subject is a usurpation. It is possible that although the current of thought inspired by the Chinese philosophy and the Japanese cult was opposed to the dual government of Yedo and Kioto, the system might have long survived this theoretical disapproval had nothing occurred to furnish signal proof of its practical defects. But the crisis caused by the advent of foreign ships, and by the forceful renewal of foreign intercourse, afforded a convincing proof of the shogunate's incapacity to protect the state's supposed interests, and to enforce the traditional policy of isolation which had come to be considered essential to the empire's integrity and to the sanctity of the throne. Thus it may be alleged that the nation's mind was already educated for the change which the advent of foreigners precipitated.

CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION

But though essentially imperialistic in its prime purposes, the revolution which involved the fall of the shogunate, and ultimately of feudalism, may be called democratic with regard to the *personnel* of those who planned and directed it. They were, for the most part, samurai, without either official rank or social standing. That is a point essential to a clear understanding of the issue. Fifty-five men may be said to have planned and carried out the overthrow of the Yedo administration, and only five of them were territorial nobles. Eight, belonging to the court nobility, laboured under the traditional disadvantage of their class, poverty; and the remaining forty-two, the heart and hands of the movement, may be described as ambitious youths, who sought to make a career for themselves in the first place, and for their country.

[1867-1869 A.D.]

in the second. The average age of the whole did not exceed thirty. There was another element also—an element for which any student of Japanese history might have been prepared: the Satsuma samurai aimed not merely at overthrowing the Tokugawa, but also at obtaining the shogunate for their own chief. Possibly it would be unjust to say that all the leaders of the great southern clan harboured that idea. But some of them certainly did, and not until they had consented to abandon the project did their union with Choshu, the other great southern clan, become possible—a union without which the revolution could scarcely have been accomplished. This ambition of the Satsuma clansmen deserves special mention, because it bore remarkable fruit; it may be said to have laid the foundation of constitutional government in Japan. For, in consequence of the distrust engendered by such aspirations, the authors of the restoration agreed that when the emperor assumed the reins of power he should pledge himself by oath to convene a deliberative assembly, and to appoint to administrative posts men of intellect and erudition wherever they might be found.

THE ANTI-FEUDAL IDEA

At the outset the necessity of abolishing feudalism did not present itself clearly to the leaders of the revolution. Their sole idea was the unification of the nation. But when they came to consider closely the practical side of the problem, they understood how far it would lead them. Evidently that one homogeneous system of law should replace the more or less heterogeneous systems operative in the various fiefs was essential, and such a substitution meant that the feudatories must be deprived of their local autonomy and, incidentally, of their control of local finances. That was a stupendous change. Hitherto each feudal chief had collected the revenues of his fief and had employed them at will, subject to the sole condition of maintaining a body of troops proportionate to his income. He had been, and was still, an autocrat within the limits of his territory. On the other hand, the active authors of the revolution were a small band of men mainly without prestige or territorial influence. It was impossible that they should dictate any measure sensibly impairing the local and fiscal autonomy of the feudatories. No power capable of enforcing such a measure existed at the time. All the great political changes in Japan had been preceded hitherto by wars culminating in the accession of some strong clan to supreme authority, whereas in this case there had been a displacement without a substitution—the Tokugawa had been overthrown and no new administrators had been set up in their stead. It was, moreover, certain that an attempt on the part of any one clan to constitute itself executor of the sovereign's mandates would have stirred the other clans to vehement resistance. In short, the leaders of the revolution found themselves pledged to a new theory of government, without any machinery for carrying it into effect or any means of abolishing the old practice. An ingenious exit from this curious dilemma was devised by the young reformers. They induced the feudal chiefs of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen, the four most powerful clans in the south, publicly to surrender their fiefs to the emperor, praying his majesty to reorganize them and to bring them all under the same system of law. In the case of Shimazu, chief of Satsuma, and Yodo, chief of Tosa, this act must stand to their credit as a noble sacrifice. To them the exercise of power had been a reality, and the effort of surrendering it must have been correspondingly costly. But

the chiefs of Choshu and Hizen obeyed the suggestions of their principal vassals with little, if any, sense of the probable cost of obedience. The same remark applies to all the other feudatories, with exceptions so rare as to emphasise the rule. They had long been accustomed to abandon the management of their affairs to their leading clansmen, and they allowed themselves to follow the same guidance at this crisis. Out of the whole two hundred and seventy-six feudatories, only seventeen hesitated to imitate the example of the four southern fiefs.

MOTIVES OF THE REFORMERS

An explanation of this remarkable incident has been sought by supposing that the samurai of the various clans, when they advised a course so inconsistent with fidelity to the interests of their feudal chiefs, were influenced by motives of personal ambition, imagining that they themselves might find great opportunities under the new régime. Some hope of that kind may fairly be assumed, and was certainly realised, in the case of the leading samurai of the four southern clans which headed the movement. But it is plain that no such expectations can have been generally entertained. The simplest explanation seems to be the true one: a certain course, indicated by the action of the four southern clans, was conceived to be in accord with the spirit of the restoration, and not to adopt it would have been to shrink publicly from a sacrifice dictated by the principle of loyalty to the throne—a principle which had acquired supreme sanctity in the eyes of the men of that era. There might have been some uncertainty about the initial step, but so soon as that was taken by the southern clans their example acquired compelling force. History shows that in political crises the Japanese samurai is generally ready to pay deference to certain canons of almost romantic morality. There was a fever of loyalty and of patriotism in the air of the year 1869. Anyone hesitating, for obviously selfish reasons, to adopt a precedent such as that offered by the procedure of the great southern clans would have seemed to forfeit the right of calling himself a samurai.

But although the leaders of this remarkable movement now understood that they must contrive the total abolition of feudalism and build up a new administrative edifice on foundations of constitutional monarchy, they appreciated the necessity of advancing slowly towards a goal which still lay beyond the range of their followers' vision. Thus the first steps taken after the surrender of the fiefs were to appoint the feudatories to the position of governors in the districts over which they had previously ruled; to confirm the samurai in the possession of their incomes and official positions; to put an end to the distinction between court nobles and territorial nobles, and to organise in Kyoto a cabinet consisting of the leaders of the restoration. Each new governor received one-tenth of the income of the fief by way of emolument; the pay of the officials and the samurai, as well as the administrative expenses of the district, was defrayed from the same source, and the residue, if any, was to be passed into the treasury of the central government.

The defects of this system from a monarchical point of view soon became evident. It did not give the power of either the purse or the sword to the sovereign. A further radical step had to be taken, and the leaders of reform seeing nothing better than to continue the method of procedure which had thus far proved so successful, contrived, first, that several of the administrative districts should send in petitions seeking to surrender their local

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autonomy, and be brought under the direct rule of the central government; secondly, that a number of samurai should apply for permission to lay aside their swords and become farmers. While the nation was digesting the principles embodied in these petitions, the government made preparations for further measures of reform.

ADOPTION OF RADICAL MEASURES

On August 29th, 1871, an imperial decree announced the abolition of the system of local autonomy and the removal of the territorial nobles from the posts of governors. The taxes of the former fiefs were to be paid thenceforth into the central treasury; all officials were to be appointed by the imperial government, and the feudatories, retaining permanently an income of one-tenth of their original revenues, were to make Tokio their place of residence. As for the samurai, they remained for the moment in possession of their hereditary pensions. Radical as these changes seem, the disturbance caused by them was not great, since they left the incomes of the military class untouched.

As for the feudal chiefs, who had now been deprived of all official status and reduced to the position of private gentlemen, without even a patent of nobility to distinguish them from ordinary individuals, they did not find anything specially irksome or regrettable in their altered position. No scrutiny had been made into the contents of their treasuries. They were allowed to retain unquestioned possession of all the accumulated funds of their former fiefs, and they also became public creditors for annual allowances equal to one-tenth of their feudal revenues. They had never previously been so pleasantly circumstanced. It is true that they were entirely stripped of all administrative and military authority; but since their possession of such authority had been in most cases merely nominal, they did not feel the change except as a relief from responsibility.

TREATMENT OF THE SAMURAI

By degrees public opinion began to declare itself with regard to the samurai. If they were to be absorbed into the bulk of the people and to lose their fixed revenues, some capital must be placed at their disposal to begin the world again. The samurai themselves showed a noble faculty of resignation. Many of them voluntarily stepped down into the company of the peasant or the tradesman, and many others signified their willingness to join the ranks of common bread-winners if some aid were given to equip them for such a career. After two years' consideration the government took action. A decree announced, in 1873, that the treasury was prepared to commute the pensions of the samurai at the rate of six years' purchase for hereditary pensions and four years for life pensions—one-half of the commutation to be paid in cash, and one-half in bonds bearing interest at the rate of 8 per cent. Reducing this to arithmetic, it will be seen that a perpetual pension of £10 would be exchanged for a payment of £30 in cash, together with securities giving an income of £2 8s.; and that a £10 life pensioner received £20 in cash and securities yielding £1 12s. annually. It is scarcely credible that the samurai should have accepted such an arrangement. It was certainly a striking instance of the fortitude and resignation which the creed of the samurai required

him to display in the presence of adversity. It is to be noted, however, that as yet the government's measures with regard to the samurai were not compulsory. Men laid aside their swords and commuted their pensions at their own option.

FIRST ESSAYS IN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Meanwhile differences of opinion began to develop among the leaders of progress themselves. Young men without experience of public affairs, or special education to fit them for responsible posts, found the duty suddenly devolved on them not only of devising administrative and fiscal systems universally applicable to a nation hitherto divided into a congeries of semi-independent principalities, but also of shaping the country's demeanour towards novel problems of foreign intercourse and alien civilisation. So long as the heat of their assault upon the shogunate fused them into a homogeneous party they worked together successfully. But when they had to build a brand-new edifice on the ruins of a still vivid past, it was inevitable that their opinions should vary as to the nature of the materials to be employed. In this divergence of views many of the capital incidents of Japan's modern history had their origin. It has been stated already that the declaration which the young emperor was invited to make on assuming the reins of government included a promise constructively pointing to a representative polity, and that the promise was suggested by mutual jealousy of the planners of the restoration rather than by any sincere desire for parliamentary institutions. Some zealous reformers certainly wished to follow, in this respect, the example of the foremost occidental nations; but a great majority of the statesmen of the time thought only of a system which, by endowing all the clans with a share of administrative authority, would prevent the undue preponderance of any one of them. It need scarcely be repeated that the military class alone entered into this account. A "national assembly" was regarded solely as an instrument for eliciting the views of the samurai. Two such assemblies actually met in the years immediately following the restoration. But they were nothing more than debating clubs. No legislative power was intrusted to them, and their opinions received little official attention. After the second fiasco they were tacitly allowed to pass out of existence. Everything, indeed, goes to show that representative government might have long remained outside the range of practical politics had not its uses derived vicarious value from special complications.

THE KOREAN QUESTION AND ITS EFFECTS

Chief among those complications was the Korean question.^b The story of Japan's relations with Korea dates from very early times. The celebrated empress Jingo is said to have made an expedition into the peninsula in the third century. In the *Nippon o dai itsi ran e* or annals of the emperor of Japan, the story of Jingo (201-269) is told as follows: "Sin gou Kwo gou, wife of Tsiou ai, was the great granddaughter of the dairi Kai Kwa, and daughter of Iki naga sou Koune. At the death of the emperor, this princess resolved, in agreement with the Take outsi-no Soukoune, to conceal the death of her husband, and marched accordingly against the Oso, whom she conquered and reduced to submission, after having punished the mutinous.

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Then on account of a supernatural presentiment she wished to make war upon the people of Sin ra [Korea]. When all the army was assembled the sea god Founi yori mioo zin preceded her constantly to show her the way and to aid her. On this occasion many wonderful things were observed. Having set sail with her fleet from Wa ni-no so, the empress was attacked by a great tempest, whereupon several large fish came to the surface of the sea to support the ships until the tempest should have passed. It was thus that she landed in Sin ra.

"The king of Sin ra, overcome with terror, exclaimed: 'Behold the invincible (in the text, supernatural) army of Japan! I am too feeble to resist.' Thereupon he caused his hands to be tied like a prisoner's in token of submission, and, preceded by a white flag, he went to acknowledge himself a slave of Japan, promising to pay tribute. Twice did this empress send ambassadors with presents to the emperor of China of the dynasty of Ghi (Wei), and she often received ambassadors and presents from that monarch. She is mentioned by several Chinese authors. She reigned sixty-nine years and died at the age of one hundred."

Another celebrated invasion of Korea by the Japanese took place in the year 1597. According to O-o-gawutsi, a Japanese general who took part in the expedition and who kept a journal of the war, three-fourths of the country was overrun and several of its oldest cities destroyed, although the Koreans were aided by the Chinese. O-o-gawutsi describes the departure of the troops for this invasion as follows:

"Fide aki [the commander-in-chief] sailed in the imperial ship from the bridge Tojo-tosi, which is beneath the fort, towards the fore posts of the army. The great and little princes were taken into the ships at the bridge of Tojo-tosi and at the bridge of Shadow. At the time of the departure all the wives and children, the well-born as well as the common people, came to the shore where the ships lay, thinking that now was the appointed time for saying farewell. The men took them into the ships, showed them the arms and hip-pieces of the coats of mail, said it will be on the same road, and wept and cried. As the ships were getting under way gradually, the men gave the women all sorts of instructions, then let them down and quickly pushed the ships off. The women followed the vessels for some distance with their eyes, then returned to their homes thinking of the eternal parting from the body which is so limited on all sides and as evanescent as a drop of dew. It also happened that some, not waiting for it to be the same way, threw themselves into the river U-dzi, and were drowned. The longing of the high-born daughter Sa-jo of Matsura for the ship of the Chinese empire of olden time, of which tradition tells us, how could it be more than to wet the sleeve in the waves and drown by the shore? While this attendance at the start was witnessed, floods of tears were shed." *α β γ δ ε*

From the sixteenth century, when the peninsula was overrun by Japanese troops, its rulers made a habit of sending a present-bearing embassy to facilitate the accession of each Japanese shogun. But after the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate the Korean court desisted from this custom, declared its determination to have no further relations with a country embracing western civilisation, and refused even to receive a Japanese embassy. Naturally such conduct roused deep umbrage in Japan. Already much friction had been developed among the leaders of national reform. Of the fifty-five men whose united efforts had compassed the fall of the shogunate, five stood conspicuous above their colleagues. They were Iwakura and Sanjo, court nobles; Saigo and Okubo, samurai of Satsuma, and Kido, a samurai of Cho-

shiu. In the second rank came many men of great gifts, whose youth alone disqualified them for prominence—Ito, the constructive statesman of the *Meiji* era, who inspired nearly all the important measures of the time, though he did not openly figure as their originator; Inouye, who never lacked a resource or swerved from the dictates of loyalty; Okuma, a politician of subtle, versatile, and vigorous intellect; Itagaki, the Rousseau of his era, and a score of others created by the extraordinary circumstances with which they had to deal. But the five first mentioned were the captains, the rest only lieutenants. Among the five, four were sincere reformers—not free, of course, from selfish motives, but truthfully bent upon promoting the interests of their country before all other aims. The fifth, Saigo Takamori, was a man in whom boundless ambition lay concealed under qualities of the noblest and most enduring type. His absolute freedom from every trace of sordidness gave currency to a belief that his aims were of the simplest; the story of his career satisfied the highest canons of the samurai; his massive physique, commanding presence, and sunny aspect impressed and attracted even those who had no opportunity of admiring his life of self-sacrificing effort or appreciating the remarkable military talent he possessed. In the first part of his career, the object of his ambition was Satsuma; in the latter part, Saigo. The overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate presented itself to him originally as a prelude to the supremacy of the Satsuma clan, and when the abolition of feudalism defeated that purpose, Satsuma assumed in his eyes the guise of Saigo. Whether he clearly recognised his own project or was unconsciously swayed by it, there is no doubt that he looked to become supreme in the administration of state affairs. To that end the preservation of the military class was essential. By the swords of the samurai alone could a new *imperium in imperio* be carved out. On the other hand, Saigo's colleagues in the ministry saw clearly not only that the samurai were an unwarrantable burden on the nation, but also that their continued existence after the fall of feudalism would be a menace to public peace as well as an anomaly. Therefore they took the steps already described, and followed them by the enactment of a conscription law, making every adult male liable for military service without regard to his social standing.

While the pain of this blow was still fresh the question of Korea's contumacious conduct presented itself. It produced an immediate and violent disruption in the ranks of the little band of reformers. Saigo saw in a foreign war the sole remaining chance of achieving his ambition by lawful means. Other members of the cabinet believed that the nation would be disgraced if it tamely endured Korea's insults. Thus several influential voices swelled the clamour for war. The peace party prevailed, and four members of the cabinet, including Saigo, resigned. This rupture was destined to have far-reaching consequences. One of the seceders immediately raised the standard of revolt. Among the devices employed by him to win adherents was an attempt to fan into flame the dying embers of the anti-foreign sentiment. The government crushed the insurrection easily. Another seceder was Itagaki Taisuke. He believed in representative institutions, and advocated the establishment of a national assembly consisting half of officials and half of popular nominees. His views, premature and visionary, obtained no currency at the moment, but in later years became the shibboleth of a great political party.

Saigo, the most prominent of the seceders, seems to have concluded from that moment that he must abandon his aims or achieve them by force. He retired to his native province of Satsuma, and applied his whole resources, his great reputation, and the devoted loyalty of a number of able followers

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to organising and equipping a strong body of samurai. Matters were facilitated for him by the conservatism of the celebrated Shimazu Saburo, former chief of Satsuma, who, though not opposed to foreign intercourse, had been revolted by the wholesale iconoclasm of the time, and by the indiscriminate rejection of Japanese customs in favour of foreign. Satsuma thus became a centre of conservative influences, among which Saigo and his constantly augmenting band of samurai found a congenial environment. During four years this breach between the central government and the southern clan grew constantly wider. The former steadily organised its conscripts, trained them in foreign tactics, and equipped them wholly with foreign arms. The latter adopted the rifle and the drill of Europe, but clung to the sword of the samurai and engaged ceaselessly in exercises for developing physical power.

EXPEDITION TO FORMOSA

Many things happened in that four years' interval, among them a military expedition to Formosa, which led Japan to the verge of war with China. The ostensible cause of this complication was the barbarous treatment of castaways from Riukiu by Formosan aborigines. Upon the Chinese government properly devolved the duty of punishing its subjects, the Formosans; but as the Chinese government showed no inclination to discharge the duty, Japan took the law into her own hands. She would never have done so, however, had she not hoped to placate thereby the Satsuma samurai. The Riukiu islands had been for centuries an appanage of the Satsuma fief, and the government, in undertaking to protect the islanders, not only showed consideration for the discontented clan, but also acceded to the samurai's wish for an over-sea campaign. From a military point of view the expedition was successful. But little glory was to be gained by shooting down the semi-savage inhabitants of Formosa, and whatever potentialities the expedition might have possessed with regard to domestic politics were marred by the bad grace shown in carrying it out and by the feebleness of its international issue. For the Tokio government, by seeking at the eleventh hour to stay the departure of the ships, seemed to dissociate itself from the enterprise, and by subsequently sending an ambassador to Peking with instructions to contrive a peaceful solution, lost credit with the samurai whom it had hoped to gratify.

TREATY WITH KOREA

A year after the return of the Formosa expedition, that is to say, at the close of 1875, the Koreans completed their rupture with Japan by firing on the boats of a Japanese war-vessel engaged in the peaceful operation of coast-surveying. No choice now remained except to despatch an armed expedition against the truculent kingdom. In this matter Japan showed herself an apt pupil of occidental methods such as had been practised against herself in former years. She assembled an imposing force of warships and transports, but instead of proceeding to extremities, she employed the squadron—which was by no means so strong as it seemed—to intimidate Korea into signing a treaty of amity and commerce, and opening three ports to foreign trade. That was the beginning of Korea's friendly relations with the outer world, and Japan naturally took credit for the fact that, thus early in her new career, she had become an instrument for extending the

principle of universal intercourse opposed so strenuously by herself in the past. But the incident only accentuated the dissatisfaction of the conservative samurai. They did not want treaties of commerce, and they held it a national humiliation that the country should have negotiated on equal terms with a little state which they regarded as a tributary, and which acknowledged China as its suzerain.

Two extreme measures were now (1876) adopted by the government: a veto against the wearing of swords, and an edict ordering the compulsory commutation of the pensions and allowances received by the nobles and the samurai. Armed protests ensued. A few scores of samurai, equipping themselves with the hauberks and weapons of old times, fell upon the garrison of a castle, killed or wounded some three hundred, and then, retiring to an adjacent mountain, died by their own hands. Their example found imitators in two other places, and finally the Satsuma samurai rose in arms under Saigō.

SATSUMA INSURRECTION

This was an insurrection very different in dimensions and motives from the paltry outbreaks that had preceded it. During four years the preparations of the Satsuma men had been unremitting. They were equipped with rifles and cannon; they numbered some thirty thousand, being thus nearly as numerous as the government's standing army; they were all of the military class, and in addition to high training in western tactics and in the use of modern arms of precision, they knew how to wield that formidable weapon, the Japanese sword, of which their opponents were for the most part ignorant. The real purpose of the revolt was to secure the governing power for Satsuma. A bitter struggle ensued. Beginning on January 29th, 1877, it was brought to a close on September 24th of the same year by the death, voluntarily or in battle, of all the rebel leaders. During that period the number of men engaged on the government's side had been sixty-six thousand, and the number on the side of the rebels forty thousand, out of which total the killed and wounded aggregated thirty-five thousand, or thirty-three per cent. of the whole. Had the government's troops been finally defeated, there can be no doubt that the samurai's exclusive title to man and direct the army and navy would have been re-established, and Japan would have found herself permanently saddled with a military class, heavily burdening her finances, seriously impeding her progress towards constitutional government, and perpetuating all the abuses incidental to a policy in which the power of the sword rests entirely in the hands of one section of the people.

STEPS OF PROGRESS

Concurrently with these events the government diligently endeavoured to equip the country with all the paraphernalia of occidental civilisation. It is easy to understand that the master-minds of the era, who had planned and carried out the restoration, continued to take the lead in all paths of progress. Their intellectual superiority entitled them to act as guides; they had enjoyed exceptional opportunities of acquiring enlightenment by visits to Europe and America, and the Japanese people had not yet lost the habit of looking to officialdom for every initiative. But the spectacle thus presented to foreign onlookers was not altogether without disquieting suggestions.

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The government's reforms seemed to outstrip the nation's readiness for them, and the results wore an air of some artificiality and confusion. Englishmen were employed to superintend the building of railways, the erection of telegraphs, the construction of lighthouses, and the organisation of a navy. To Frenchmen was intrusted the work of recasting the laws and training the army in strategy and tactics. Educational affairs, the organisation of a postal service, the improvement of agriculture, and the work of colonisation were supervised by Americans. The teaching of medical science, the compilation of a commercial code, the elaboration of a system of local government, and ultimately the training of military officers were assigned to Germans. For instruction in sculpture and painting Italians were engaged. Was it possible that so many novelties should be successfully assimilated, or that the nation should adapt itself to systems planned by a motley band of aliens who knew nothing of its character and customs? These questions did not trouble the Japanese nearly so much as they troubled strangers. The truth is that conservatism was not really required to make the great sacrifices suggested by appearances. Among all the innovations of the era the only one that a Japanese could not lay aside at will was the new fashion of dressing his hair. He abandoned the queue irrevocably. But for the rest he lived a dual life. During hours of duty he wore a fine uniform, shaped and decorated in foreign style. But so soon as he stepped out of office or off parade he reverted to his own comfortable and picturesque costume. Handsome houses were built and furnished according to western models. But each had an annex where alcoves, verandas, matted floors, and paper sliding doors continued to do traditional duty. A remarkable spirit of liberalism and a fine eclectic instinct were needed for the part they acted, but they did no radical violence to their own traditions, creeds, and conventions.

DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

After the Satsuma rebellion, nothing disturbed the even tenor of Japan's domestic politics except an attempt on the part of some of her people to force the growth of parliamentary government. No one reading Japanese history carefully can fail to infer that representative institutions are in the genius of the nation. From an early era the sovereign ceased to be autocratic. All the highest offices of state became hereditary possessions of certain great families, and as generation followed generation, each unit of this oligarchy of households attained the dimensions of a clan. By and by the exigencies of the time gave birth to a military aristocracy, headed by a generalissimo (shogun), into whose hands the administrative authority passed. A united effort on the part of all the clans to overthrow this system and wrest the administrative power from the shogun could have only one logical outcome, the combined exercise of the recovered power by those who had been instrumental in recovering it. That was the meaning of the oath taken by the emperor at the restoration, when the youthful sovereign was made to say that "wise counsels should be sought, and all things determined by public discussion." But the framers of the oath had the samurai alone in view. Into their consideration the "common people"—farmers, mechanics, tradesmen—did not enter at all, nor had the common people themselves any idea of advancing a claim to be considered. A voice in the administration would have been to them an embarrassing rather than a pleasing privilege. Thus, as already related, the first deliberative assembly was composed of

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nobles and samurai only. A mere debating club without any legislative authority, it was permanently dissolved after two sessions. Possibly the problem of a parliament might have been long postponed after that fiasco, had it not found an ardent advocate in Itagaki Taisuke (afterwards Count Itagaki). A Tosa samurai, conspicuous as a leader of the restoration movement, Itagaki was among the advocates of recourse to strong measures against Korea in 1873, and his failure to carry his point, supplemented by a belief that a large section of public opinion would have supported him had there been any machinery for appealing to it, gave fresh impetus to his faith in constitutional government. Leaving the cabinet on account of the Korean question, he became the nucleus of agitation in favour of a parliamentary system, and under his banner were enrolled not only discontented samurai, but also many of the young men, who, returning from direct observation

of the working of constitutional systems in Europe or America, and failing to obtain official posts in Japan, attributed their failure to the oligarchical form of their country's polity. Thus in the interval between 1873 and 1877 there were two centres of disturbance in Japan: one in Satsuma, where Saigo figured as leader, the other in Tosa, under Itagaki's guidance. The two could not have anything in common. But the Tosa agitators did not neglect to make capital out of



PAGODA AND BELL TEMPLE AT TOKIO

the embarrassment caused by the Satsuma rebellion. While the struggle was at its height, they addressed to the government a memorial, charging the administration with oppressive measures to restrain the voice of public opinion, with usurpation of power to the exclusion of the nation at large, and with levelling downwards instead of upwards, since the samurai had been reduced to the rank of commoners, whereas the commoners should have been educated to the standard of the samurai. This memorial asked for a representative assembly and talked of popular rights. But since the document admitted that the people were uneducated, it is plain that there cannot have been any serious idea of giving them a share in the administration.

But the government did not believe that the time had come even for a measure such as the Tosa liberals advocated. The statesmen in power conceived that the nation must be educated up to constitutional standards, and that the first step should be to provide an official model. Accordingly, in 1874, arrangements were made for periodically convening an assembly of prefectural governors, in order that they might act as channels of communication between the central authorities and the provincial population, and mutually exchange ideas as to the safest and most effective methods of encouraging progress within the limits of their jurisdictions. This was intended to be the embryo of representative institutions. But the governors, being officials appointed by the cabinet, did not bear in any sense the character of popular nominees, nor could it even be said that they reflected the public

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feeling of the districts they administered, for their habitual and natural tendency was to try, by means of heroic object-lessons, to win the people's allegiance to the government's progressive policy, rather than to convince the government of the danger of overstepping the people's capacities. These conventions of local officials had no legislative power whatever. The foundations of a body for discharging that function were laid in 1875, when a senate (*genro-in*) was organised. It consisted of official nominees, and its duty was to discuss and revise all laws and ordinances prior to their promulgation. It is to be noted, however, that expediency not less than a spirit of progress presided at the creation of the senate. Into its ranks were drafted a number of men for whom no places could be found in the executive, and who, without some official employment, would have been drawn into the current of disaffection. From that point of view the senate soon came to be regarded as a kind of hospital for administrative invalids, but undoubtedly its discharge of quasi-legislative functions proved suggestive, useful, and instructive.

The second meeting of the provincial governors had just been prorogued when, in the spring of 1878, the great minister, Okubo Toshimitsu, was assassinated. Okubo, uniformly ready to bear the heaviest burden of responsibility in every political complication, had stood prominently before the nation as Saigo's opponent. He fell under the swords of Saigo's sympathisers. They immediately surrendered themselves to justice, having taken previous care to circulate a statement of motives, which showed that they ranked the government's failure to establish representative institutions as a sin scarcely less heinous than its alleged abuses of power. Well-informed followers of Saigo could never have been sincere believers in representative institutions. These men belonged to a province far removed from the scene of Saigo's desperate struggle. But the broad fact that they had sealed with their life-blood an appeal for a political change indicated the existence of a strong public conviction which would derive further strength from their act. Okubo's assassination did not alarm any of his colleagues; but they hastened to give effect to a previously formed resolve.

Two months after Okubo's death an edict announced that elective assemblies should forthwith be established in the various prefectures and cities. These assemblies were to consist of members having a high property qualification, elected by voters having one-half of that qualification; the voting to be by signed ballot, and the sessions to last for one month in the spring of each year. As to their functions, they were to determine the method of levying and spending local taxes, subject to approval by the minister of state for home affairs; to scrutinise the accounts for the previous year, and, if necessary, to present petitions to the central government. Thus the foundations of genuine representative institutions were laid. It is true that legislative power was not vested in the local assemblies, but in all other important respects they discharged parliamentary duties. Their history need not be related at any length. Sometimes they came into violent collision with the governor of the prefecture, and unsightly struggles resulted. The governors were disposed to advocate public works which the people considered extravagant, and further, as years went by and as political organisations grew stronger, there was found in each assembly a group of men ready to oppose the governor simply because of his official status. But on the whole the system worked well. The local assemblies served as training schools for the future parliament, and their members showed devotion to public duty as well as considerable aptitude for debate.

THE LIBERAL AND PROGRESSIST PARTIES

This was not what Itagaki and his followers wanted. Their purpose was to overthrow the clique of clansmen who, holding the reins of administrative power, monopolised the prizes of officialdom. Towards the consummation of such an aim the local assemblies helped little. Itagaki redoubled his agitation. He organised his fellow-thinkers into an association called *jiyuto* (liberals), the first political party in Japan, to whose ranks there very soon gravitated several men who had been in office and resented the loss of it; many that had never been in office and desired to be; and a still greater number who sincerely believed in the principles of political liberty, but had not yet considered the possibility of immediately adapting such principles to Japan's case. It was in the nature of things that an association of this kind, professing such doctrines, should present a picturesque aspect to the public, and that its collisions with the authorities should invite popular sympathy. Nor were collisions infrequent. For the government, arguing that if the nation was not ready for representative institutions, neither was it ready for full freedom of speech or of public meeting, legislated consistently with that theory, and intrusted to the police certain powers of control over the press and the platform.

Three years later (1881) another split occurred in the ranks of the ruling oligarchy. Okuma Shigenobu (afterwards Count Okuma) seceded from the administration, and was followed by a number of able men who had owed their appointments to his patronage, or who, during his tenure of office as minister of finance, had passed under the influence of his powerful personality. If Itagaki be called the Rousseau of Japan, Okuma may be regarded as the Peel. To remarkable financial ability and a lucid, vigorous judgment, he added the faculty of placing himself on the crest of any wave which a genuine *aura popularis* had begun to swell. He, too, inscribed on his banner of revolt against the oligarchy the motto "Constitutional government," and it might have been expected that his followers would join hands with those of Itagaki, since the avowed political purpose of both was identical. They did nothing of the kind. Okuma organised an independent party, calling themselves "Progressists" (*Shimpoto*), who not only stood aloof from the liberals but even assumed an attitude hostile to them. This fact is eloquent. It shows that Japan's first political parties were grouped not about principles, but about persons. Hence an inevitable lack of cohesion amongst their elements and a constant tendency to break up into caves and coteries. These are the characteristics that render so perplexing to a foreign student the story of political evolution in Japan. He looks for differences of platform and finds none. Just as a true liberal must be a progressist, and a true progressist a liberal, so, though each may cast his profession of faith in a mould of different phrases, the ultimate shape must be the same.

Okubo's assassination had been followed, in 1878, by an edict announcing the establishment of local assemblies. Okuma's secession in 1881 was followed by an edict announcing that a national assembly would be convened in 1891.

The political parties, having now virtually attained their object, might have been expected to desist from further agitation. But they had another task to perform—that of disseminating anti-official prejudices among the future electors. They worked diligently, and they had an undisputed field, for no one was put forward to champion the government's cause.

Meanwhile the statesmen in power resolutely pursued their path of progressive reform. They codified the civil and penal laws, remodelling them

[1881-1890 A.D.]

on western bases; they brought a vast number of affairs within the scope of minute regulations; they rescued the finances from confusion and restored them to a sound condition; they recast the whole framework of local government; they organised a great national bank, and established a network of subordinate institutions throughout the country; they pushed the work of railway construction, and successfully enlisted private enterprise in its cause; they steadily extended the postal and telegraphic services; they economised public expenditures so that the State's income always exceeded its outlays; they laid the foundations of a strong mercantile marine; they instituted a system of postal savings banks; they undertook large schemes of harbour improvement and road-making; they planned and put into operation an extensive programme of riparian improvement; they made civil service appointments depend on competitive examination; they sent numbers of students to Europe and America to complete their studies; and by tactful, persevering diplomacy they gradually introduced a new tone into the empire's relations with foreign powers. Japan's affairs were never better administered.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1890

In 1890 the constitution was promulgated. Imposing ceremonies marked the event. All the nation's notables were summoned to the palace to witness the delivery of the important document by the sovereign to the prime minister; salvos of artillery were fired; the cities were illuminated, and the people kept holiday. Marquis¹ Ito directed the framing of the constitution. He had visited the Occident for the purpose of investigating the development of parliamentary institutions and studying their practical working. His name is connected with nearly every great work of constructive statesmanship in the history of new Japan, and perhaps the crown of his legislative career was the drafting of the constitution, to which the Japanese people point proudly as the only charter of the kind voluntarily given by a sovereign to his subjects. In other countries such concessions were always the outcome of long struggles between ruler and ruled. In Japan the emperor freely divested himself of a portion of his prerogatives and transferred them to the people. That view of the case, as may be seen from the story told above, is not untinged with romance, but in a general sense it is true. The framers of the constitution did not err on the side of liberality. They fixed the minimum age for electors and candidates at twenty-five, and the property qualification at a payment of direct taxes to the amount of 15 *yen* (30 shillings) annually. The result was that only 460,000 persons² were enfranchised out of a nation of 42 millions. A bicameral system was adopted for the diet; the upper house being in part elective, in part hereditary, and in part nomi-

¹ A title of nobility in Japan does not indicate necessarily that its possessor belongs to the ancient aristocracy. In former times titles did not exist. There were official ranks, and very often these were prefixed to a name in the manner of a title. But actual titles were not introduced until 1885. In the interval separating the latter date from the fall of feudalism in 1871, the former territorial chiefs and court nobles could not be titularly distinguished from commoners. But in 1885 the emperor, acting on the advice of Ito (afterwards marquis), instituted five orders of nobility (apart from princes of the blood), namely, princes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons. These, of course, are translations.

² Since the promulgation of the constitution a reform bill has been passed, after several failures owing to disagreement between the two houses, the house of peers having shown itself in this matter, as in all others, strongly opposed to the radical tendencies of the house of representatives. In the system introduced by this bill the property qualification for electors was reduced to payment of national taxes amounting to 10 *yen* annually, the number of franchise-

nated by the sovereign;¹ the lower consisting of three hundred elected members. Freedom of conscience, of speech, and of public meeting, inviolability of domicile and correspondence, security from arrest or punishment, except by due process of law, permanence of judicial appointments, and all the other essential elements of civil liberty were guaranteed. In the diet full legislative authority was vested; without its consent no tax could be imposed, increased, or remitted; nor could any public money be paid out except the salaries of officials, which the sovereign reserved the right to fix at will. In the emperor were vested the prerogatives of declaring war and making peace, of concluding treaties, of appointing and dismissing officials, of approving and promulgating laws, of issuing urgency ordinances to take the temporary place of laws, and of conferring titles of nobility.

FUSION OF THE TWO PARTIES

The next phase (1898) was a fusion of the two parties into one large organisation which adopted the name Constitutional Party (*Kensei-to*). By this union the chief obstacles to parliamentary cabinets were removed. Not only did the constitutionalists command a large majority in the lower house, but they also possessed a sufficiency of men who, although lacking ministerial experience, might still advance a reasonable title to be intrusted with portfolios. Immediately the emperor, acting on the advice of Marquis Ito, invited counts Okuma and Itagaki to form a cabinet. It was essentially a trial. The party politicians were required to demonstrate in practice the justice of the claim they had been so long asserting in theory. They had worked in combination for the destructive purpose of pulling down the so-called "clan statesmen"; they had now to show whether they could work in combination for the constructive purposes of administration. Their heads, counts Okuma and Itagaki, accepted the imperial mandate, and the nation watched the result. There was no need to wait long. In less than six months these new links snapped under the tension of old enmities, and the coalition split up once more into its original elements. It had added a novel word to the language—"office-hunting fever" (*riyokan-netsu*)—and demonstrated that the sweets of power which the clan statesmen had been so vehemently accused of coveting possessed even greater attractions for their accusers. The issue of the experiment was such a palpable fiasco that it effectually rehabilitated the clan statesmen, and finally proved, what had indeed been long evident to every close observer, that without the assistance of those statesmen no political party could hold office successfully.

Thenceforth it became the unique aim of liberals and progressists alike to join hands permanently with the men towards whom they had once displayed such implacable hostility. Marquis Ito, the leader of the *Meiji* statesmen,

holders being thus raised to 800,000, approximately; secret balloting was adopted; no property qualification was required in the case of a candidate for election, neither need he have any connection with the locality which he sought to represent; the limits of electoral districts were extended so as to embrace whole prefectures, and the number of members of the lower house was increased to 363.

¹ Princes and marquises sit by right of their titles; counts, viscounts, and barons are elected by their respective orders; each prefecture returns one member representing the highest taxpayers, and the emperor nominates men of learning or public merit. The house of peers now contains 319 members. A salary of 2,000 *yen* (£200) annually is paid to the members of the diet; each house has a president, nominated by the sovereign from among three names selected by the house. He receives 4,000 *yen* a year. The vice-president is elected by the house independently of imperial nomination, and receives 3,000 *yen* annually.

[1898-1900 A.D.]

received special solicitations, for it was plain that he would bring to any political party an overwhelming accession of strength, alike in his own person and in the number of friends and disciples certain to follow him. But Marquis Ito declined to be absorbed into any existing party, or to adopt the principle of parliamentary cabinets. He would consent to form a new association, but it must consist of men sufficiently disciplined to obey him implicitly, and sufficiently docile to accept their programme from his hand. The liberals agreed to these terms. They actually dissolved their party (August, 1900) and enrolled themselves in the ranks of a new organisation, which did not even call itself a party, its designation being *Rikken Seiyu-kai* (association of friends of the constitution), and which had for the cardinal plank in its platform a declaration of ministerial irresponsibility to the diet. A singular page was thus added to the story of Japanese political development; for not merely did the liberals enlist under the banner of the statesmen whom for twenty years they had fought to overthrow, but they also erased from their profession of faith its essential article, parliamentary cabinets, and, by resigning that article to the progressists, created for the first time an opposition with a solid and intelligible platform. The whole incident vividly illustrated the fact that persons, not principles, were the bases of political combinations in Japan. Marquis Ito's attraction alone gave cohesion to the *Rikken Seiyu-kai*.

FINANCE

Financial questions have occupied an important place in the story of Japan's modern career. In order to obtain a clear idea of them it is necessary to make a somewhat extended retrospect. Under the feudal system the land throughout the empire was regarded as state property, and parcelled out into 276 fiefs, great and small, which were assigned to as many feudatories. These held the land in trust, being empowered to derive revenue from it for the support of their households, for administrative purposes, and for the maintenance of armed forces, whose numbers were nominally, but not accurately, regulated in proportion to the wealth of the fief. The basis of taxation varied greatly in different districts, but, at the time of the restoration in 1867, the generally recognised principle was that four-tenths of the gross produce should go to the feudatory, six-tenths to the farmer. In practice this rule was applied to the rice crop only, the assessments for other kinds of produce being levied partly in money and partly in manufactured goods at rates often of the most arbitrary nature. Forced labour also was exacted, and artisans and tradesmen were subjected to pecuniary levies of greater or less magnitude as official necessity arose. When the administration reverted to the emperor in 1867 the central treasury was empty, and the funds hitherto employed for governmental purposes in the fiefs did not at once begin to flow into the coffers of the state. They continued to be devoted to the support of the feudatories, to the payment of the samurai, and to defraying the expenses of local administration, the central treasury receiving only whatever small fraction might remain after these various outlays.

The little band of men who had assumed the direction of national affairs saw no exit from the dilemma except an issue of paper money. This was not a novelty in Japan. Paper money had been known to the people since the middle of the seventeenth century, and in the era of which we are now writing no less than 1,694 varieties of notes were circulating in the 270 fiefs. Many of these notes had almost ceased to have any purchasing power, and nearly all were regarded by the people as evidences of official greed and unscrupu-

lousness. The first duty of a centralised, progressive administration should have been to reform the currency. The political leaders of the time appreciated that duty, but, instead of proceeding to discharge it, saw themselves compelled by stress of circumstances to adopt the very device which in the hands of the feudal chiefs had produced such deplorable results. It was an irksome necessity, and the new government sought to relieve its conscience and preserve its moral prestige by pretending that the object of the issue was to encourage wealth-earning enterprise, and that the notes would be lent to the fiefs for the purpose of promoting commerce and industry. The people appraised these euphemisms at their true worth, and the new notes fell to a discount of fifty per cent. Then ensued a brief but sharp struggle between rulers and ruled. The government resorted to arbitrary measures, sometimes of great severity, to force its notes into circulation at par with silver. Nothing is more astonishing than the fact that the government's financial credit gradually acquired strength, so that within five years, though the issues of paper money aggregated nearly 60 million yen, it circulated freely throughout the whole empire at par with silver, and even commanded at one time a small premium. The paper money of the fiefs, amounting to 25 million yen, had been exchanged for treasury notes. The building of railways had been commenced. The foundations of an army and a navy had been laid. A postal system, a telegraph system, a prison system, a police system, and an educational system had been organised. The construction of roads, the improvement of harbours, the lighting and buoying of the coast, had been vigorously undertaken. A mercantile marine had been created. Public works had been inaugurated on a considerable scale. Many industrial enterprises had been started under official auspices as object-lessons for the people, and large sums in aid of similar projects had been lent to private persons. Thus the government, living far beyond its income, had unavoidable recourse to further issues of fiduciary paper, and in proportion as the volume of the latter exceeded the actual currency requirements of the time, its value depreciated until in 1881, fourteen years after the restoration, notes to the face value of 150 million yen had been put into circulation; the treasury possessed specie amounting to only 8 millions, and 18 paper yen could be purchased with ten silver coins of the same denomination.

Up to that year (1881) fitful efforts had been made to strengthen the specie value of fiat paper by throwing quantities of gold and silver upon the market from time to time, and large sums—totalling 23 million yen—had been devoted to the promotion of industries whose products, it was hoped, would go to swell the list of exports, and thus draw metallic money to the country. But these superficial devices were now finally abandoned, and the government applied itself steadfastly to reducing the volume of the fiduciary currency on the one hand and accumulating a specie reserve on the other. The outcome was that, by the middle of 1885, the volume of fiduciary notes had been reduced to 119 million yen, their depreciation had fallen to three per cent., and the metallic reserve of the treasury had increased to 45 million yen. The resumption of specie payments was then announced, and became, in the autumn of that year, an accomplished fact.

THE NATIONAL DEBT

It is advisable at this point to examine the question of the national debt incurred by Japan since the unification of the empire. When the fiefs were surrendered to the sovereign, it was decided to provide for the feudal nobles

[1885-1900 A.D.]

and the samurai in general by the payment of lump sums in commutation, or by handing to them public bonds, the interest on which should constitute a source of income. The result of this transaction, into the details of which we need not enter, was that bonds having a total face value of 191½ million yen were issued, and ready-money payments aggregating 21½ million yen were made. This was the foundation of Japan's national debt. Indeed, these public bonds may be said to represent the bulk of the state's liabilities during the first twenty-five years of the *Meiji* period. The government had also to take over the debts of the fiefs, amounting to 41 million yen, of which 21½ millions were paid with interest-bearing bonds, the remainder with ready money. If to the above figures we add two foreign loans aggregating 16½ million yen (completely repaid by the year 1897), a loan of 15 million yen incurred on account of the only serious rebellion that marked the passage from the old to the new régime—the Satsuma revolt of 1877, loans of 33 million yen for public works, 13 million yen for naval construction, and 14½ millions in connection with the fiat currency, we have a total of 305 million yen, being the whole national debt of Japan during the first twenty-eight years of her new era under imperial administration.

The above statements sufficiently explain the liabilities incurred by the country during what may be called the first epoch of her modern financial history. We now pass to the second epoch, dating from the war with China in 1894-95. The direct expenditures on account of the war aggregated 200 million yen, of which total 135 millions were added to the national debt, the remainder being defrayed with accumulations of surplus revenue, with a part of the indemnity received from China, and with voluntary contributions from patriotic subjects. As the immediate sequel of the war, the government elaborated a large programme of armament expansion and public works—the whole programme involving an outlay of 504 million yen. To meet this large figure, the Chinese indemnity, surpluses of annual revenue, and other assets furnished 300 millions; and it was decided that the remaining 204 millions should be obtained by domestic loans, the programme to be carried completely into operation—with trifling exceptions—by the year 1905. In practice, however, it was found impossible to obtain money at home without paying a high rate of interest. The government therefore had recourse to the London market in 1899, raising a loan of 10 million pounds sterling at four per cent., and selling the £100 bonds at 90.

The burden of taxation is small, especially compared with the career of vigorous progress upon which the country has embarked. Only 120 million yen was raised in 1900 by direct taxes; that is to say, something less than three yen (six shillings) per head of population.

On the other hand, the ordinary expenditure aggregated 149 million yen. Thus there was a surplus of 43 million yen. For the moment this surplus was absorbed for extraordinary and terminable enterprises forming part of the *post-bellum* programme described above, but in a short time the country might look forward to finding itself with a substantial annual balance on the right side.

TRADE OF JAPAN

The chief staples of the early trade were tea and silk. It happened that, just before Japan's raw silk became available for export, the production of that article in France and Italy had been largely curtailed owing to a novel disease of the silkworm. Thus, when the first bales of Japanese silk appeared

in London, and when it was found to possess qualities entitling it to the highest rank, a keen demand sprang up, so that in 1863, the fourth year after the inauguration of the trade, no less than 2½ million pounds were shipped. Japanese green tea, also, differing radically in flavour and bouquet from the black tea of China, appealed quickly to American taste, so that 6 million pounds of it were sent across the Pacific in 1863. The corresponding figures for these two staples in 1899 were 14 million pounds and 46 million pounds respectively. This remarkable development is typical of the general history of Japan's foreign trade in modern times.

That a commerce which did little more than double itself in the first eighteen years should have nearly quadrupled in the next fourteen is a fact inviting attention. There are two principal causes: one general the other special. The general cause was that several years necessarily elapsed before

the nation's material condition began to respond perceptibly to the improvements effected by the *Meiji* government in matters of administration, taxation, and transport facilities. Fiscal burdens had been reduced and security of life and property obtained, but railway building and road-making, harbour construction, the advantages of posts, telegraphs, exchanges, and banks, and the development of a mercantile marine, did not exercise a sensible influence on the nation's prosperity until 1884 or 1885. From that time the country entered a period of steadily growing prosperity, and from that time private enterprise may be said to have finally started upon a career of



JAPANESE WOMEN DRINKING TEA

independent activity. The special cause which, from 1885, contributed to a marked growth of trade was the resumption of specie payments. Up to that time the treasury's fiat notes had suffered such marked fluctuations of specie value that sound or successful commerce became very difficult. Against the importing merchant the currency trouble worked with double potency. Not only did the gold with which he purchased goods appreciate constantly in terms of the silver for which he sold them, but the silver itself appreciated sharply and rapidly in terms of the fiat notes paid by Japanese consumers. Not till this element of pernicious disturbance was removed did the trade recover a healthy tone and grow so lustily as to tread closely on the heels of the foreign commerce of China, with her 300 million inhabitants, and long-established international relations.

Japan's trade with the outer world was built up chiefly by the energy and enterprise of the foreign middleman. He acted the part of an almost ideal agent. As an exporter, his command of cheap capital, his experience, his knowledge of foreign markets, and his connections enabled him to secure sales such as must have been beyond reach of the Japanese working independently. Moreover, he paid to native consumers ready cash for their staples, taking upon his own shoulders all the risks of finding markets abroad. As an importer, he enjoyed, in centres of supply, credit which the Japanese

[1862-1884 A.D.]

lacked, and he offered to native consumers foreign produce laid at their doors with a minimum of responsibility on their part. Finally, whether as exporters or importers, foreign middlemen always competed with each other so keenly that their Japanese clients obtained the best possible terms from them. Yet the ambition of the Japanese to oust them cannot be regarded as unnatural.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS

It can scarcely be doubted that the future development of Japan's trade will be in the direction of manufactures. She will always be able to send abroad considerable quantities of raw silk and tea and comparatively inconsiderable quantities of marine products, copper, coal, camphor, sulphur, rice, and minor staples, but, with regard to these, either her producing capacity is inelastic or her market is limited. It is certain, indeed, that she will by-and-by have to look abroad for supplies of the necessities of life. Rice is the staple diet of her people, and she seems almost to have reached the potential maximum of her rice-growing area; for, in spite of her genial climate and seemingly fertile soil, the extent of her arable land is disproportionately small. She has only eleven and a half millions of acres under crops, and there is no prospect of any large extension, or of the yield being improved by new agricultural processes. The Japanese farmer understands his work thoroughly. His competence is sufficiently proved when we say that, by the skilful use of fertilisers, he has been able to raise good crops of rice on the same land during fifteen or twenty centuries. On the other hand, not only is the population increasing at the rate of half a million annually, but in proportion to the growth of general prosperity and the distribution of wealth, the lower classes of the people, who used formerly to be content with barley and millet, now regard rice as an essential article of food. It cannot be long, therefore, before large supplies of this cereal will have to be drawn from abroad. The same is true of timber, which has already become inconveniently scarce. Further, Japan cannot even grow her own cotton, and nature has not fitted her pastures for sheep, so that much of the material for her people's clothing has to be imported. Her future lies undoubtedly in industrial enterprise. She has an abundance of cheap labour, and her people are exceptionally gifted with intelligence, docility, manual dexterity, and artistic taste. Everything points to a great future for them as manufacturers. This is not a matter of mere conjecture. Striking practical evidence has already been furnished. Cotton-spinning may be specially referred to. As long ago as 1862 the feudal chief of Satsuma started a mill with five thousand spindles. During a whole decade he found only one imitator. In 1882, however, a year which may be regarded as the opening of Japan's industrial era, this enterprise began to attract capital, and in the course of four years fifteen mills were established, working fifty-five thousand spindles. By foreign observers this new departure was regarded with contemptuous amusement. The Japanese were declared to be without organising capacity, incapable of sustained energy, and generally unfitted for factory work. These pessimistic views had soon to be radically modified, for by 1897 the number of mills had increased to sixty-three; the number of spindles, to some eight hundred thousand; the capital invested, to 21 million yen, and the average annual profit per spindle was three and a half yen, or thirteen and a half per cent., on the capital. Even more remarkable in some respects has been the development of the textile industry. In 1884 the total production of silk and cotton fabrics

was 6 million yen; in 1898 it had increased to 110 millions. The manufacture of lucifer matches is another industry of entirely recent growth. A few years ago Japan used to import all the matches she needed, but by 1899 she was able not only to supply her own wants, but also to send abroad 6 million yen worth. Without carrying these statistics to wearisome length, it will suffice to note that, in six branches of manufacturing industry which may be said to have been called into active existence by the opening of the country—namely, silk and cotton fabrics, cotton yarns, matches, fancy matting, and straw braid—Japan's exports in 1888 aggregated only a quarter million yen, whereas the corresponding figure for 1899 was 68 millions. With such results on record, it is impossible to doubt that Japan has a great manufacturing future. Progress is checked by one manifest obstacle, defective integrity. Concerning every industry whose products have found a place in the catalogue of modern Japan's exports, the same story has to be told: just as really substantial development seemed to be visible, fraudulent adulteration or dishonestly careless technique interfered to destroy credit and disgust the foreign consumer. The Japanese deny that the whole responsibility for these disastrous moral *laches* rests with them. The treaty-port middleman, they say, buys so thriftily that high-quality goods cannot be supplied to him. That excuse may be partially valid, but it is certainly not exhaustive. The vital importance of establishing and maintaining the reputation of an article offered newly in markets where it has to compete with rivals of old-established excellence is not yet fully appreciated in Japan. As to organising capacity, the possession of which by the Japanese has been strenuously doubted by more than one foreign critic, there are proofs more weighty than any theories. In the cotton-spinning industry, for example, the Japanese are brought into direct competition in their own markets with Indian mills employing cheap native labour, organised and managed by Englishmen, and having the raw material at their doors. The victory rests with the Japanese, from which it may fairly be inferred that their organisation is not specially defective or their method costly. Yet there is one consideration that must not be lost sight of: it is the inexperience of the Japanese, their lack of standards. Japan is dressing herself in a material civilisation that was made to the measure of alien nations, and curious misfits are inevitably developed in the process. The condition of their army and of their navy shows that not capacity but practice is what the Japanese lack. These two services are altogether modern creations. There was nothing in the history of Japan to suggest her competence for managing such machines. Yet the excellence of her military organisation was fully demonstrated in her campaign against China in 1894-95, and again in the Peking expedition of 1900. In the former she had to undertake the most difficult task that falls to the lot of a belligerent, the task of sending over-sea two *corps d'armée* (aggregating a hundred and twenty thousand men), and maintaining them for several months in widely separated fields—one in eastern and central Manchuria, the other in the Liao-tung peninsula, and subsequently in Shan-tung province. The effort did not appear to embarrass her. There was no sign of confusion or perplexity; no breakdown of the commissariat or transport arrangements; no failure of the ambulance or hospital service. Everything worked smoothly, and the public were compelled to recognise that Japan had not only elaborated a very efficient piece of military mechanism, but had also developed ability to employ it to the best advantage. The same inference was suggested by her navy. Although during two and a half centuries her people had been debarred by arbitrary legislation from navigating the high seas, the twenty-fifth year after

[1894-1904 A.D.]

the repeal of these crippling laws saw the state in possession of a squadron of thirty-three serviceable ships of war, officered and manned solely by Japanese, constantly manœuvring in distant waters without accident, and evidently possessing all the qualities of a fine fighting force. In the war with China this navy showed its capacity by destroying or capturing, without the loss of a single ship, the whole of the enemy's fleet, whereas the latter's superiority in armour and armament ought to have produced a very different issue. On the other hand, a visit to Japanese factories often shows machinery treated carelessly, employees so numerous that they impede rather than expedite business, and a general lack of the precision, regularity, and earnestness that characterise successful industrial enterprises in Europe and America. Achievement in one direction and comparative failure in another, although the factors making for success are similar in each, indicate not incapacity in the latter case, but defects of standard and experience. The vast majority of the Japanese have no adequate conception of what is meant by a highly organised industrial or commercial enterprise. They have never made the practical acquaintance of anything of the kind, nor even breathed a pure business atmosphere. For elaborating their military and naval systems they had close access to foreign models, every detail of which could be carefully scrutinised, and they availed themselves freely of the assistance of foreign experts—French, German, and British. But in the field of manufacture and trade their inspection of foreign models is necessarily superficial, and they are without the co-operation of foreign experts.

Japan's great difficulty is want of capital. The capital actually engaged in public and private enterprises is 60 million pounds sterling in round numbers, and 79 millions more are pledged though not yet paid up. On the other hand, the volume of circulating media is only 25 millions, of which amount 22 millions consist of convertible notes; the deposits in the banks total 33 millions, and their capitals aggregate 49½ millions. In such circumstances the rate of interest is necessarily high—it averages about twelve per cent. throughout the empire—and many profitable enterprises remain undeveloped. Recourse to cheap foreign capital would be the natural solution of the difficulty. But so long as her currency was on a silver basis Japan hesitated to contract gold debts, and European capitalists would not lend in terms of silver. After she had adopted the gold standard her situation appeared more favourable. Europe and America, however, had still not acquired confidence in her finances or her integrity, and in the mean while a great opening for foreign capital vainly offered in the field of industrial enterprises. Recent returns issued by sixty-eight joint-stock companies show that they paid an average annual dividend of sixteen and a half per cent., and it is not to be doubted but that still better results could be attained were foreign business experience and cheap capital available.

STATUS OF FOREIGNERS

It has always been considered expedient, and certainly it is wise, that the subjects and citizens of occidental Christian states, when visiting or inhabiting oriental countries which are not Christian, should be exempted from the penalties and procedure prescribed by the criminal law of the latter; that they should continue, in short, to enjoy, even within the territories of such countries, the privilege of being arraigned before tribunals of their own nationality and tried by judges of their own race. In civil cases a division of

jurisdiction is arranged, the question being always adjudicated by a tribunal of the defendant's nationality, but in criminal cases jurisdiction is wholly reserved. In pursuance of that principle the various powers having treaties with oriental nations establish consular courts within the latter's borders, and the jurisdiction exercised by these courts is called "extra-territorial," to distinguish it from the jurisdiction exercised by native or territorial tribunals. The system was applied to Japan's case, as a matter of course, in 1858. It had been similarly applied in the sixteenth century, in the days of her first foreign intercourse, and just as it had then been a cause of the Dutch traders' imprisonment within the narrow limits of the island of Deshima at Nagasaki, so in the nineteenth century it necessitated the confinement of the

foreign residents in settlements grouped around the sites of their consular courts; for the plainest principles of prudence forbade that these residents should have free access to provincial districts far remote from the only tribunals competent to control them. The Japanese negotiators in Yedo raised no objection to the embodiment of this system in the treaties. But it was one of the features most vehemently condemned by the conservative statesmen and politicians in Kioto, and no sooner had the administration been restored to the emperor than an embassy was despatched to Europe and America with the object of inducing occidental governments to revise the treaties, in the sense of abolishing consular jurisdiction and changing the tariff so as to enable Japan to obtain a larger revenue from customs duties. This embassy sailed in 1871. It had a specific right to raise the question, for the treaties contained a provision declaring them to be subject to revision in that year. As a matter of course the embassy failed. The conditions



JAPANESE GIRL

originally necessitating consular jurisdiction had not undergone any change justifying its abolition. Neither the character of Japan's laws nor the methods of her judicial procedure were such as to warrant foreign governments in intrusting to her care the lives and properties of their subjects and citizens. It must be confessed, on the other hand, that the consular courts themselves were not beyond reproach. It happened, sometimes, that a Japanese subject desiring to invoke the aid of the law against a foreigner who seemed to have wronged him, found that the defendant in the case would also be the judge. In any circumstances the dual functions of consul and judge could not be discharged by the same official without anomaly, for his rôle of consul compelled him to act as advocate in the initiatory stages of complications about which in the position of judge he might ultimately be required to deliver an impartial verdict. It would be an error to suppose, however, that the course of consular jurisdiction in Japan was disfigured by

[1872-1897 A.D.]

many abuses. On the whole the system worked satisfactorily, and if it hurt patriotic Japanese, it also saved them from innumerable complications into which they would have blundered inevitably had they been intrusted with a jurisdiction which they were not prepared to exercise satisfactorily.

Nevertheless, they determined from the first that no effort should be spared to qualify for the exercise of a right which is among the fundamental attributes of every sovereign state—the right of judicial autonomy. With the aid of foreign experts they set themselves to elaborate codes of criminal and civil law, excerpting the best features of European jurisprudence, and adapting them to the conditions and usages of Japan. They also remodelled their law courts, and took steps, slower but not less earnest, to educate a judiciary competent to administer the new codes. After twelve years devoted with partial success to these great works, Japan in 1883 renewed her request for the abolition of consular jurisdiction. She asked that all foreigners within her borders, without distinction of nationality, should be subject to her laws and judicable by her law courts, as foreigners found within the borders of every sovereign state in the Occident were subject to its laws and judicable by its tribunals of justice, and she supplemented her application by promising that its favourable reception should be followed by complete opening of the country and the removal of all restrictions hitherto imposed on foreign trade, travel, and residence in her realm.

A portly volume might be filled with the details of the negotiations that followed Japan's proposal. Never before had an oriental state sought such recognition, and there was extreme reluctance on the part of western powers to try the unprecedented experiment of intrusting the lives and property of their subjects and citizens to the keeping of a "pagan" people. Even the outlines of the story cannot be sketched here, though it abounds with diplomatic curiosities, and though several of its incidents do as much credit to Japan's patience and tact as its issue does to the justice and liberality of occidental governments. There is, however, one page of the history that calls for brief notice, since it supplies a key to much which would otherwise be inexplicable. The respect entertained by a nation for its own laws and the confidence it reposes in their administrators are in direct proportion to the efforts it has expended upon the development of the former and the education of the latter. Foreigners residing in Japan naturally clung to consular jurisdiction as a privilege of inestimable value. They saw, indeed, that such a system could not be permanently imposed on a country where the conditions justifying it had nominally disappeared. But they saw, also, that the legal and judicial reforms effected by Japan had been crowded into an extraordinarily brief period, and that, as tyros experimenting with alien systems, the Japanese might be betrayed into many errors. A struggle thus ensued between foreign distrust on the one side and Japanese aspirations on the other—a struggle often developing painful phases. The struggle lasted eleven years, but its gist is contained in this brief statement. The foreign resident, whose affection for his own systems was measured by the struggle their evolution had cost, and whose practical instincts forbade him to take anything on trust where security of person and property was concerned, would have stood out a wholesomely conservative and justly cautious figure had not his attitude been disfigured by local journalists who, in order to justify his conservatism, allowed themselves to be betrayed into the constant rôle of blackening the character of Japan, and suggesting harshly prejudiced interpretations of her acts and motives. Throughout this struggle the government and citizens of the United States always showed conspicuous sympathy with Japanese aspirations,

and it should also be recorded that, with exceptions so rare as to establish the rule, foreign tourists and publicists discussed the problem liberally and fairly, perhaps because, unlike the foreign communities resident in Japan, they had no direct interest in its solution.

At last, after long years of diplomatic negotiation and public discussion, European governments conceded the justice of Japan's demands, and it was agreed that from July, 1899, subject to the previous fulfilment of certain conditions,¹ Japanese tribunals should assume jurisdiction over every person, of whatever nationality, within the confines of Japan, and the whole country should be thrown open to foreigners, the "settlements" being abolished, and all limitations upon trade, travel, and residence removed throughout the length and breadth of the realm. Great Britain took the lead in thus releasing Japan from the fetters of the old system. The initiative came from her with special grace, for the system and all its irksome consequences had been imposed on Japan originally by a combination of powers with Great Britain in the van. As a matter of historical sequence the United States dictated the terms of the first treaty providing for consular jurisdiction. But from a very early period the Washington government showed its willingness to remove all limitations of Japan's sovereignty, whereas Europe, headed by Great Britain, whose preponderating interests entitled her to lead, resolutely refused to make any substantial concession. In Japanese eyes, therefore, British conservatism seemed to be the one serious obstacle, and since the British residents in the settlements far outnumbered all other nationalities, and since they alone had newspaper organs to ventilate their grievances, and exhibited all a Briton's proverbial indifference to the suavities and courtesies of speech and method that count for so much in disarming resentment, it was certainly fortunate for the popularity of her people in the Far East that Great Britain saw her way finally to set a liberal example. Nearly five years were required to bring the other occidental powers into line with Great Britain and America. It should be stated, however, that neither reluctance to make the necessary concessions nor want of sympathy with Japan caused the delay. The explanation is that each set of negotiators sought to improve either the terms or the terminology of the treaties already concluded, and that the tariff arrangements for the different countries required elaborate discussion.

So soon as it became evident that the old system was hopelessly doomed, the sound common-sense of the European and American business man asserted itself. The foreign residents let it be seen that they intended to bow cheerfully to the inevitable, and that no obstacles would be willingly placed by them in the path of Japanese jurisdiction. The Japanese, on their side, took some striking steps. An imperial rescript declared in unequivocal terms that it was the sovereign's policy and desire to abolish all distinctions between natives and foreigners, and that by fully carrying out the friendly purpose of the treaties his people would best consult his wishes, maintain the character of the nation, and promote its prestige.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

No sooner did the diet commence its sittings in 1891 than a bill was introduced for removing all restrictions upon freedom of speech. Already (1887) the government had voluntarily made a great step in advance by divesting

¹ The main, indeed the only notable condition was that the whole of the new Japanese codes of law must have been in operation for a period of at least one year before the abolition of consular jurisdiction.

[1887-1904 A.D.]

itself of the right to imprison or fine editors by executive order. But it reserved the power of suppressing or suspending a newspaper, and against that reservation a majority of the lower house voted, session after session, only to see the bill rejected by the peers, who shared the government's opinion that to grant a larger measure of liberty would certainly encourage license. Not until 1897 was this opposition overcome. A new law, passed by both houses, and confirmed by the emperor, took from the executive all power over journals, except in cases of *lèse majesté*, and nothing now remains of the former arbitrary system. The result has falsified all sinister forebodings. A much more moderate tone pervades the writings of the press since restrictions were entirely removed, and although there are now 829 journals and periodicals published throughout the empire, with a total annual circulation of 463,000,000 copies, intemperance such as in former times would have provoked official interference is practically unknown to-day.

The quality of journalistic writing in Japan is marred by extreme and pedantic classicism. There has not yet been any real escape from the trammels of a tradition which assigned the crown of scholarship to whatever author drew most largely upon the resources of the Chinese language. A pernicious example in this respect is set by the imperial court. The sovereign, whether he speaks by rescript or by edict, never addresses the bulk of his subjects. His words are taken from sources so classical as to be intelligible only to the highly educated minority. Several of the newspapers affect a similar style. They sacrifice their audience to their erudition, and prefer classicism to circulation. Their columns are a sealed book to the whole of the lower middle classes and to the entire female population. Others, taking a more rational view of the purposes of journalism, aim with success at simplicity and intelligibility, and thus not only reach an extended circle of readers, but also are hastening incidentally the advent of a great reform, the assimilation of the written and spoken languages, which will probably prelude that still greater desideratum, abolition of the ideographic script. Apart from this pedantic defect, the best Japanese editors have caught with remarkable aptitude the spirit of modern journalism. But a few years ago they used to compile laborious essays, in which the construction was involved, the ideas were trivial, the inspiration was drawn from occidental text-books, and the alien character of the source was hidden under a veneer of Chinese aphorisms. To-day they write terse, succinct, closely reasoned articles, seldom diffuse, often witty, and generally free from extravagance of thought or diction. Yet, with a few exceptions, the profession of journalism is not remunerative. Very low rates of subscription, and almost prohibitory high charges for advertising, are chiefly to blame.

FOREIGN WARS

Since the abolition of feudalism Japan has been engaged in four over-sea wars. The first, in 1874, was an expedition to Formosa. This has already been spoken of. It was insignificant from a military point of view, but it derived vicarious interest from its effect upon the relations between China and Japan, and upon the question of the ownership of the Riukiu islands. The final terms of arrangement were that, in consideration of Japan's withdrawing her troops from Formosa, China should indemnify her to the extent of £100,000 on account of the expenses of the expedition.

Had Japan needed any confirmation of her belief that the Riukiu islands belonged to her, this incident would have furnished it. Thus, in 1876, she did not hesitate to extend her newly organised system of prefectural government to Riukiu, which thenceforth became "Okinawa Prefecture," the former ruler of the islands being pensioned, according to the system followed in the case of the feudal chiefs in Japan proper. China entered an objection immediately. She claimed that Riukiu had always been a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and she was doubtless perfectly sincere in the contention. Each empire asserted its claims positively; but whereas Japan put hers into practice, China confined herself to remonstrances. Things remained in that state until 1880, when General Grant, visiting the East, suggested the advisability of a compromise. A conference met in Peking, and the plenipotentiaries agreed that the islands should be divided, Japan taking the northern group, China the southern. But on the eve of signature the Chinese plenipotentiary drew back, pleading that he had no authority to conclude an agreement without previously referring it to certain other dignitaries. Japan, sensible that she had been flouted, withdrew from the discussion and retained the islands, China's share in them being reduced to a grievance.

THE KOREAN QUESTION

From time immemorial China's policy towards the petty states on her frontiers had been to utilise them as buffers for softening the shock of foreign contact, while contriving, at the same time, that her relations with them should involve no inconvenient responsibilities to herself. The aggressive impulses of the outside world were to be checked by an unproclaimed understanding that the territories of these states partook of the inviolability of the Middle Kingdom itself, while the states, on their side, must never expect their suzerain to bear the consequences of their acts. This arrangement, depending largely on sentiment and prestige, retained its validity in the atmosphere of oriental seclusion, but quickly failed to endure the test of modern occidental practicality. Tongking, Annam, Siam, and Burma were withdrawn, one by one, from the circle of buffers and from the fiction of dependence on China and independence towards all other countries. But with regard to Korea, China proved more tenacious. The possession of the peninsula by a foreign power would have threatened the maritime route to the Chinese capital and given easy access to Manchuria, the cradle of the dynasty which ruled China. Therefore Peking statesmen endeavoured to preserve the old-time relations with the little kingdom. But they never could persuade themselves to modify the indirect methods sanctioned by tradition. Instead of boldly declaring the peninsula a dependency of the Middle Kingdom, they sought to keep up the romance of ultimate dependency and intermediate sovereignty. Thus, in 1876, Korea was suffered to conclude with Japan a treaty of which the first article declared her "an independent state enjoying the same rights as Japan," and subsequently to make with the United States (1882), Great Britain (1883), and other powers, treaties in which her independence was constructively admitted. China, however, did not intend that Korea should exercise the independence thus conventionally recognised. A Chinese resident was placed in Seoul, and a system of steady though covert interference in Korea's domestic and foreign affairs was inaugurated. The chief sufferer from these anomalous conditions was Japan. In all her dealings with Korea, in all complications that arose out of her comparatively large trade with the peninsula, in

[1883-1894 A. D.]

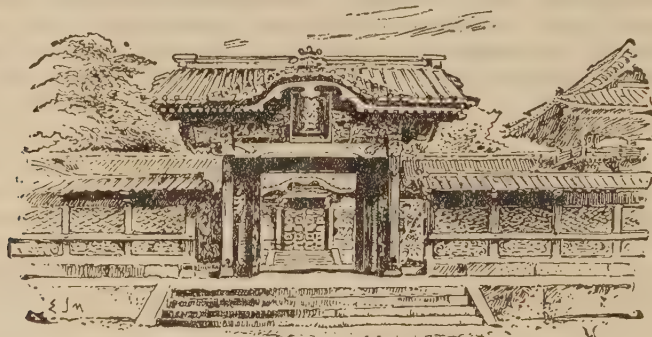
all questions connected with her numerous settlers there, she found herself negotiating with a dependency of China, and with officials who took their orders from the Chinese representative. China had long entertained a rooted apprehension of Japanese aggression in the peninsula—an apprehension not unwarranted by history—and that distrust tinged all the influence exerted by her agents there. Even more serious were the consequences of Chinese interference when considered from the point of view of Korean administration. The rulers of the country lost all sense of national responsibility, and gave unrestrained sway to selfish ambition. The functions of the judiciary and of the executive alike came to be discharged by bribery only. Family interests predominated over those of the state. Taxes were imposed in proportion to the greed of local officials. No thought whatever was taken for the welfare of the people or for the development of the country's resources. Among the upper classes, faction struggles, among the lower, insurrections, began to be more and more frequent. Personal responsibility was unknown among officials, family influence overshadowing everything. To be a member of the Bin family, to which the queen belonged, was to possess a passport to office and an indemnity against the consequences of abuse of power, however flagrant. From time to time the advocates of progress or the victims of oppression rose in arms. They effected nothing except to recall to the world's recollection the miserable condition into which the peninsula had fallen. Chinese military aid was always furnished readily for the suppression of these *émeutes*, and thus the Bin family learned to base its tenure of power on ability to conciliate the Middle Kingdom, and on readiness to obey Chinese dictation, while the people at large fell into the apathetic condition of men that possess neither the blessing of security of property nor the incentive of national ambition.

As a matter of state policy the Korean problem caused much anxiety to Japan. Her own security being deeply concerned in preserving Korea from the grasp of a western power, she could not suffer the little kingdom to drift into a condition of such administrative incompetence and national debility that a strong aggressor might find at any moment a pretext for interference. On two occasions, namely, in 1882 and 1884, when China's armed intervention was employed in the interests of the Bin to suppress movements of reform, the partisans of the victors, regarding Japan as the fountain of progressive tendencies, attacked and destroyed her legation in Seoul and compelled its inmates to fly from the city. Japan behaved with forbearance at these crises, but in the consequent negotiations she acquired conventional titles that touched the core of China's alleged suzerainty. For in 1882 her right to maintain troops in Seoul for the protection of her legation was admitted, and in 1885 she concluded with China a convention by which each power pledged itself not to send troops to the peninsula without notifying the other, the two empires being thus placed on an equal military footing with regard to the peninsular kingdom.

THE RUPTURE WITH CHINA

In the spring of 1894 a serious insurrection broke out in Korea, and the insurgents proving themselves superior to the ill-disciplined, ill-equipped troops of the government, the Bin family had recourse to its familiar expedient, appeal to China's aid. The appeal elicited a prompt response. On the 6th of July twenty-five hundred Chinese troops embarked at Tientsin and were transported to the peninsula, where they went into camp at Ya-shan, on the

southwest coast, notice of the measure being given by the Chinese government to the Japanese representative at Peking, according to treaty. During the interval immediately preceding these events Japan had been rendered acutely sensible of China's arbitrary and unfriendly interference in the peninsula. Twice the efforts of the Japanese government to obtain redress for unlawful and ruinous trade prohibitions issued by the Korean authorities had been thwarted by the action of the Chinese representative in Seoul; and once an ultimatum addressed from Tokio to the Korean government as the sequel of long and vexatious delay, had elicited from the viceroy Li in Tientsin an insolent threat of Chinese armed opposition. Still more strikingly provocative of national indignation was China's procedure with regard to the murder of Kim Ok-kyün the leader of progress in Korea, who had been for some years a refugee in Japan. Inveigled from Japan to China by fellow-countrymen sent from Seoul to assassinate him, Kim was shot in a Japanese hotel in Shang-



GATEWAY OF SHIBA TEMPLE, TOKIO

hai; and China, instead of punishing the murderer, conveyed him, together with the corpse of his victim, in a war-ship of her own to Korea, the assassin to be publicly honoured, the body to be savagely mutilated. When, therefore, the insurrection of 1894 in Korea induced the Bin family again to solicit China's armed intervention, the Tokio government concluded that, in the interests of Japan's security and of civilisation in the Orient, steps must be taken to put an end finally to the barbarous corruption and misrule which rendered Korea a scene of constant disturbance, offered incessant invitations to foreign aggression, and checked the country's capacity to maintain its own independence. Japan did not claim for herself any rights or interests in the peninsula superior to those possessed there by China. She was always ready to work hand in hand with the Middle Kingdom in inaugurating and carrying out a system of reform. But there was not the remotest probability that China, whose face had been contemptuously set against all the progressive measures adopted by Japan during the preceding twenty-five years, would join in forcing upon a neighbouring kingdom the very reforms she herself despised and abhorred, were her co-operation invited through ordinary diplomatic channels only. It was necessary to contrive a situation which would not only furnish clear proof of Japan's resolution, but also enable her to pursue her programme independently of Chinese indorsement, should the latter be finally unobtainable. She therefore met China's notice of a despatch of troops with a corresponding notice of

[1894 A. D.]

her own, and the month of July 1894 found a Chinese force assembled at Ya-shan and a Japanese force occupying positions in the neighbourhood of Seoul. China's motive for sending troops was nominally to quell the Tonghak insurrection, but really to reaffirm her own domination in the peninsula, and to reseat in the administrative saddle men under whose guidance the country was losing all capacity for independence. Japan's motive was to secure a position such as would enable her to insist upon the radically curative treatment of Korea's malady. Up to this point the two empires were strictly within their conventional rights. Each was entitled by treaty to send troops to the peninsula, provided that notice was given to the other. But China, in giving notice, described Korea as her "tributary state," thus thrusting into the forefront of the discussion a contention which Japan, from conciliatory motives, would have kept out of sight. Once formally advanced, however, the claim had to be challenged. In the treaty of amity and commerce concluded many years previously between Japan and Korea, the two high contracting parties were explicitly declared to possess the same national status. Japan could not agree that a power which for two decades she had acknowledged and treated as her equal should be openly classed as a tributary of the Middle Kingdom. She protested, but the Chinese statesmen took no notice of her protest. They continued to apply the disputed appellation to Korea, and they further asserted their assumption of sovereignty in the peninsula by seeking to set limits to the number of troops sent by Japan, as well as to the sphere of their employment. Japan then proposed that the two empires should unite their efforts for the suppression of the disturbances in Korea, and for the subsequent improvement of that kingdom's administration, the latter purpose to be pursued by the despatch of a joint commission of investigation. That was an important stage in the dispute. It rested then with China to avert all danger of war by joining hands with Japan for the regeneration of a nation in whose prosperity and independence the two empires were equally interested. But she refused everything. Ready at all times to interfere by force of arms between the Korean people and the dominant political faction, she declined to interfere in any way for the promotion of reform. Ready at all times to crush the little kingdom into submission to a corrupt and demoralising administration, she refused to aid in rescuing it from the suffering and enervation entailed by the sway of such an oligarchy. She even expressed superciliously an insolent surprise that Japan, while asserting Korea's independence, should suggest the idea of peremptorily reforming its administration. In short, for Chinese purposes the Peking statesmen openly declared Korea a tributary of the Middle Kingdom, and denied Japan's assertion of its independence; but for Japanese purposes they insisted that it must be held independent, and that Japan must abide strictly by her assertion of its independence. The Tokio cabinet now declared their resolve not to withdraw the Japanese troops without "some understanding that would guarantee the future peace, order, and good government of Korea," and since China still declined to come to such an understanding, Japan undertook the work of reform single-handed.

The Chinese representative in Seoul threw the whole weight of his influence into the scale against the success of these reforms. Still, nothing immediately occurred to drive the two empires into open warfare. The determining cause of rupture was in itself a belligerent operation. China's troops, as already stated, had been sent originally for the purpose of quelling the Tonghak rebellion. But the rebellion having died of inanition before the landing of the troops, their services were not required or employed. Nevertheless they were not

withdrawn. China kept them in the peninsula, her declared reason for doing so being the presence of a Japanese military force. Thus, throughout the subsequent negotiations the Chinese forces lay in an intrenched camp at Ya-shan, while the Japanese occupied Seoul. The trend of events did not import any character of direct mutual hostility to these little armies. But when it became evident that all hope of friendly co-operation between the two empires must be abandoned, and when Japan, single-handed, had embarked upon her scheme of regenerating Korea, not only did the continued presence of a Chinese military force in the peninsula assume special significance, but any attempt on China's part to send reinforcements could be construed in one sense only, namely, as an unequivocal declaration of resolve to oppose Japan's proceedings by force of arms. Seeing, then, that China was preparing to send reinforcements, Japan warned the Peking government of the construction she must place upon any act of the kind. Nevertheless China not only despatched troops by sea to strengthen the camp at Ya-shan, but also sent an army overland across Korea's northern frontier. It was at this stage that an act of war occurred. Three Chinese men-of-war, convoying a transport with twelve hundred men, encountered and fired on three Japanese cruisers. One of the Chinese ships was taken; another was so shattered that she had to be beached and abandoned; the third escaped in a dilapidated condition, and the transport, refusing to surrender, was sunk. This happened on July 25th, and an open declaration of war was made by each empire six days later.

EVENTS OF THE WAR

The war itself was a succession of triumphs for Japan. Four days after the first naval encounter she sent from Seoul a column of troops, who attacked the Chinese intrenched at Ya-shan and routed them without difficulty. Many of the fugitives effected their escape to Phyong-yang, a town on the Taidong river, offering excellent facilities for defence, and historically interesting as the place where a Japanese army of invasion had been defeated by Chinese and Korean troops at the close of the sixteenth century. There the Chinese assembled a force of 17,000 men, and made full preparations for a decisive contest. They had ample leisure. A period of forty days elapsed before the Japanese columns, one moving due north from Seoul, the other striking west from Yuen-san, converged upon Phyong-yang, and that interval was utilised by the Chinese to throw up parapets, mount Krupp guns, and otherwise strengthen their position. Moreover, they were armed with repeating rifles, whereas the Japanese had only single-shooters, and the ground offered little cover for an attacking force. In such circumstances, the advantages possessed by the defence ought to have been well-nigh insuperable; yet a day's fighting sufficed to carry all the positions, the assailants' casualties amounting to less than seven hundred, and the defenders losing six thousand in killed and wounded. It was a brilliant victory, and it proved to be the prelude of another equally conspicuous success at sea; for on the 17th of September, the very day after the battle at Phyong-yang, a great naval fight took place near the mouth of the Yalu river, which forms the northern boundary of Korea. Fourteen Chinese war-ships and six torpedo-boats were returning to home ports after convoying a fleet of transports to the Yalu, when they encountered eleven Japanese men-of-war cruising in the Yellow Sea. Hitherto the Chinese had sedulously avoided a contest at sea. Their fleet was the stronger, since it included two armoured line-of-battle ships of over seven thousand tons dis-

[1894-1895 A.D.]

placement, whereas the biggest vessels on the Japanese side were belted cruisers of only four thousand tons. In the hands of an admiral appreciating the value of sea power, China's naval force would certainly have been led against Japan's maritime communications, for a successful blow struck there must have put an end to the Korean campaign. History had already demonstrated that fact, for on two occasions in former ages attempts made by Japan to conquer the peninsula were rendered abortive by the superior maritime strength of the Koreans and Chinese. On land her soldiers proved invincible, but her sea-route being severed, she had to abandon the enterprise. The Chinese, however, failed to read history. They employed their war-vessels as convoys only, and when not using them for that purpose, hid them in port. Everything goes to show that they would have avoided the battle off the Yalu had choice been possible, though when forced to fight they fought bravely. Four of their ships were sunk, and the remainder escaped to Wei-hai-wei, the vigour of the Japanese pursuit being greatly impaired by the presence of torpedo-boats in the retreating squadron.

The Yalu victory opened the over-sea route to China. Japan could now strike at Ta-lien-wan, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, naval stations on the Liaotong and Shan-tung peninsulas, where the powerful permanent fortifications, built after plans prepared by European experts and armed with the best modern weapons, were regarded as almost impregnable. They fell before the assaults of the Japanese troops as easily as the comparatively rude fortifications at Phyong-yang had fallen. The only resistance of a stubborn character was made by the Chinese fleet at Wei-hai-wei; but after the whole squadron of torpedo-craft had been destroyed or captured as they attempted to escape, and after three of the largest vessels had been sunk at their moorings by Japanese torpedoes, and one by shot and shell, the remaining four ships and five gunboats surrendered, and their brave commander, Admiral Ting, committed suicide. This ended the war. It had lasted seven and a half months, during which time Japan put into the field five columns, aggregating about 120,000 of all arms.

The Chinese government sent Li Hung Chang, viceroy of Petchili and senior grand secretary of state, and Li Ching-fong to discuss terms of peace with Japan, the latter being represented by Marquis Ito and Count Mutsu, prime minister and minister for foreign affairs respectively. A treaty was signed at Shimonoseki on the 17th of April, 1895, and subsequently ratified by the sovereigns of the two empires. It declared the absolute independence of Korea; ceded to Japan the part of Manchuria lying south of a line drawn from the mouth of the river Anping to the mouth of the Liao, *via* Feng-hwan, Hai-cheng, and Ying-kow, as well as the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores; pledged China to pay an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels; provided for the occupation of Wei-hai-wei by Japan pending payment of the indemnity; secured some additional commercial privileges, as the opening of four new places to foreign trade and the right of foreigners to engage in manufacturing enterprises in China, and provided for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce and amity between the two empires, based on the lines of China's treaties with occidental powers.

FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

No sooner did this agreement receive ratification at the hands of the sovereigns of Japan and China, than three of the great European powers—Russia, Germany, and France—stepped forward, and presented a joint note

to the Tokio government, recommending that the territories ceded to Japan on the mainland of China should not be permanently occupied, as such a proceeding would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient. The recommendation was couched in the usual terms of diplomatic courtesy, but everything indicated that its signatories were prepared to enforce their advice by an appeal to arms. Japan found herself compelled to comply. Exhausted by the Chinese campaign, which had drained her treasury, consumed her supplies of warlike material, and kept her squadrons constantly at sea for eight months, she had no residue of strength to oppose such a coalition. Her resolve was quickly taken. The day that saw the publication of the ratified treaty saw also the issue of an imperial rescript in which the mikado, avowing his unalterable devotion to the cause of peace, and recognising that the counsel offered by the European states was prompted by the same sentiment, "yielded to the dictates of magnanimity, and accepted the advice of the three powers." The Japanese were shocked by this incident. They could understand the motives influencing Russia and France, for it was evidently natural that the former should desire to exclude warlike and progressive people like the Japanese from territories contiguous to her borders, and it was also natural that France in the East should remain true to her alliance with Russia in the West. But Germany, wholly uninterested in the ownership of Manchuria, and by profession a warm friend of Japan, seemed to have joined in robbing the latter of the fruits of her victory simply for the sake of establishing some shadowy title to Russia's goodwill. It was not known until a later period that the emperor of Germany entertained profound apprehensions about an irruption of oriental hordes into the Occident, and held it a sacred duty to prevent Japan from gaining a position which might enable her to construct an immense military machine out of the countless millions of the Chinese nation. When his majesty's mood came to be understood, much of the resentment provoked by his seemingly reckless unfriendliness in the Manchurian affair was softened by the mirth which his chimera excited.

CHINESE CRISIS OF 1900

Japan's third expedition over-sea in the *Meiji* era had its origin in causes which belong to the history of China. It will suffice to say here that in the second half of 1900 an anti-foreign and anti-dynastic rebellion, breaking out in Shan-tung, spread to the neighbouring metropolitan province of Petchili and resulted in a situation of extreme peril for the foreign communities of Tientsin and Peking. It was impossible for any European power, or for the United States of America, to organise sufficiently prompt measures of relief. Thus the eyes of the world turned to Japan, whose proximity to the scene of disturbance rendered intervention comparatively easy for her. But Japan hesitated. Knowing now with what suspicion and distrust the development of her resources and the growth of her military strength were regarded by some European peoples, and aware that she had been admitted to the comity of western nations on sufferance, she shrank, on the one hand, from seeming to grasp at an opportunity for armed display, and on the other, from the solecism of obtrusiveness in the society of strangers. Not until Europe and America made it quite plain that they needed and desired her aid did she send a division (twenty-one thousand men) to Petchili. Her troops acted a fine part in the subsequent expedition for the relief of Peking, which had to be approached in midsummer under very trying conditions. Fighting side

[1900-1904 A. D.]

by side with European and American soldiers, and under the eyes of competent military critics, the Japanese acquitted themselves in such a manner as to establish a high military reputation. Further, after the relief of Peking they withdrew a moiety of their forces, and that step, as well as their unequivocal co-operation with western powers in the subsequent negotiations, helped to show the injustice of the suspicions with which they had been regarded.

The final stage in the recognition of Japan as one of the great powers was accomplished in February, 1902, when an offensive and defensive treaty of alliance was signed between her and Great Britain, on terms which were published to the world at large. From that moment the British and Japanese powers were united to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East.^b

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Japan's fourth war was with Russia, and again the cause was Korea with the added element of Manchuria. We have seen how Russia, supported by France and Germany, after the Japanese victory over China in 1894, stepped in to prevent Japan's gaining possession of Port Arthur and of the Liaotung peninsula. The reason for this was plainly seen in 1898, when Russia obtained from China the cession of Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan (Dalny) for a period of twenty-five years, with the further permission to extend her Manchurian railway to Port Arthur. When she followed this up by the occupation of Manchuria in 1900 and by persistent efforts to gain control in Korea, Japan realised that vigorous action was necessary. Russia had obtained permission to cut timber on the Yalu and Tumen in 1896, and again in 1903, and in 1903 she claimed the right to build railways and lay out telegraph lines in Korea. In August of that year Japan entered upon negotiations with Russia aiming at an amicable adjustment of the matters in dispute, but no agreement was reached, and on February 6th Japan withdrew her minister from St. Petersburg. The next day both governments issued statements severing diplomatic connections, and on February 8th Japan opened the war by a sudden attack upon the Russian fleet at Port Arthur, finding it unprepared and sinking three ships. The formal declaration of war was not made until February 10th.

In regard to the contention raised by Russia that Japan was acting treacherously in attacking before the formal declaration of war, Mr. Lawrence,^c an authority on international law, observes: "The accusation of treachery rests entirely upon the assumption that international law imposes upon belligerents the duty of making to one another a formal declaration of war before commencing hostilities. Never was assumption more groundless. Nearly every war of the last two centuries has been commenced without a declaration. . . . Instead of being guilty of a violation of international law, she [Japan] went beyond it by giving her adversary ample notice of what he might expect. Relations between the two powers had been strained for a long time. There would have been no treachery in a sudden attack. But the note delivered on February 6th by the Japanese representative at St. Petersburg not only broke off diplomatic intercourse—an act which is constantly followed by immediate war—but also stated that Japan must take such measures as she thought fit for her own safety."

The war in its early stages was an almost unbroken succession of victories for the Japanese. Vice-Admiral Togo followed up his first success at Port

Arthur by another attack the next day, seriously injuring four more Russian ships, and on the same day Admiral Uriu at Chemulpo destroyed two more Russian vessels. On February 24th Togo made his first attempt (which was subsequently renewed) to shut up the Russian fleet at Port Arthur by sinking ships at the mouth of the harbour; at the end of the month the Vladivostok squadron succeeded in making its way out of the frozen harbour and destroyed the Japanese transport *Kinshiu Maru* and two small steamships returning immediately afterwards to Vladivostok.

In the mean time operations on land had begun. The first Japanese army began to land in Korea February 18th, and subsequently occupied Phyongyang without opposition. From thence it pushed on towards Wi-ju, meeting the Russians in the first land engagement of the war at Cheng-ju on March 28th, which resulted in the Russian withdrawal from Korean soil. The first serious engagement of the land campaign took place on the Yalu river. The Japanese under General Kuroki had been concentrating there for several days, and the fighting began on April 26th, culminating in a decisive Japanese victory on May 1st. This gave the Japanese a firm footing in Manchuria, and Kuroki continued to advance into the interior. On May 5th the second Japanese army, under General Oku, began to land on the Liao-tung peninsula and the next day occupied Pu-lan-tien, severing the railway and telegraph communication with Port Arthur. On May 26th occurred the second great land battle, in which the Japanese after sixteen hours' fighting captured Kinchau and the Nanshan Hills, and two days later the Japanese occupied Dalny. The investment of Port Arthur followed. General Stakelberg was sent to relieve it, but was defeated by Oku at Telissu (Vofangow). The Russians retired to Kai-ping, which they abandoned after a brief engagement, and took up a position at Tashichiao.

In an engagement at this place the Japanese were again successful, and as a result obtained possession of Ying-kow and New-Chwang; on July 31st and August 1st they drove the Russians out of Haicheng. One by one the Japanese took possession of the passes on the way to Liauyang, a town of about 50,000 inhabitants, lying on the Taitse river in the midst of a wide, rolling plain; and General Kuropatkin's gradual concentration of troops about this place, and his elaborate fortifications, made it apparent that a decided stand would be made there.

Port Arthur Besieged

Meanwhile Port Arthur had been isolated and besieged, both by sea and by land. In a sortie made by the Russian fleet on April 13th the battleship *Petropavlovsk*, which carried the Russian Admiral Makarov and the eminent war artist Verestchagin, struck a Japanese floating mine and sank with great loss of life. About a month later the Japanese battleship *Hatsuse* likewise struck a mine about ten miles southeast of Port Arthur. The telegram from Admiral Togo to headquarters announcing the catastrophe expresses its importance: "To-day is the most unfortunate day of our navy. I have to report another disaster. The *Hatsuse*, the *Shikishima*, the *Yashima*, the *Kasagi*, and the *Tatsuta* were keeping watch outside Port Arthur at about 11 A.M. to-day, when the *Hatsuse* was struck by an enemy's mine and had its steering gear injured. The *Hatsuse* telegraphed for a tugboat. When preparations were being made to comply with the request, the sad message was received from the *Shikishima* that the *Hatsuse*, being struck by a second

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mine, had sunk. In making this report, I can only say that I am filled with deep regret. I am taking all possible measures for limiting the extent of the disaster." On the same day the cruiser *Yoshino* was accidentally rammed and sunk by the *Kasuga*, while not long afterwards another battleship was lost in much the same manner as the *Hatsuse* had been, though the fact was concealed from the world until after the final battle of the war. After these disasters the main Japanese vessels ordinarily remained at a considerable distance from Port Arthur, and the actual work of reducing that port was left to the army, which began its operations in June.

On the 10th of August the Russian fleet, now consisting of six battleships, four cruisers, and eight torpedo craft, made an effort to escape from the port of the doomed town to Vladivostok. The Japanese allowed them to reach the open sea, and then began the first great fleet action on blue water in the history of armoured vessels. During the first phase of the battle, which continued from about one P.M. until after nightfall, the two fleets moved in parallel courses, and fought at ranges of never less than over two miles. The Japanese gunnery was splendidly effective. A shell from one of their twelve-inch guns wrecked the bridge of the flagship *Tsarevitch* and killed Admiral Witthoeft; another destroyed a gun, and severely wounded Rear-Admiral Massulitch; a third struck the vessel on the water-line, making great havoc inside and causing a great inrush of water; while still others damaged her steering gear and injured her elsewhere. Several other Russian vessels suffered severely, and towards evening the fleet was dispersed. Most of the vessels succeeded in regaining Port Arthur. The *Tsarevitch* escaped to the German port of Kiau-chow, where she was interned. The cruiser *Novik* also reached that port, but left the next day, and while endeavouring to reach Vladivostok was sunk off the coast of Saghalien by Japanese cruisers. The cruiser *Diana* reached Saigon, and the cruiser *Askold*, Shanghai, and some of the torpedo craft also found refuge in neutral ports. The Japanese, on their side, suffered considerable loss in killed and wounded, but not one of their vessels was disabled.

About the same time that the above-mentioned events were taking place, the Vladivostok squadron, doubtless with the idea of effecting a juncture with the Port Arthur fleet, steamed southward to the Korean Straits; but there, on August 14th, encountered Vice-Admiral Kamimura, who had long been seeking them. The Russians soon turned back towards Vladivostok, and a running fight of several hours ensued. The giant cruiser *Rurik* was unable to keep up with the two other vessels, and consequently received most of the Japanese fire. Her steering gear was disabled, her engines were damaged, and she was injured in other ways. Finding that their consort was in danger of destruction, the *Rossia* and the *Gromboi* turned back to assist her, but were met with such a heavy fire that they were compelled to leave her to her fate. At length she sank, stern first, and her whole crew was thrown into the water, for her boats had all been destroyed. The Japanese succoured the struggling men, and saved about 600, many of whom were badly wounded. The other vessels succeeded in reaching Vladivostok, but in so badly battered a condition that they played no further part in the war.

Having temporarily gained undisputed mastery of the sea, the Japanese were now freer to conduct their operations against the Russian land forces. On the 24th of August the Japanese army of about 240,000 men under Field-Marshal Oyama attacked the Russian army of about 200,000 under General Kuropatkin at Liauyang. While the Japanese left and centre under Generals Nodzu and Oku pressed the Russian right and centre, General Kuroki

endeavoured to force a way across the swollen Taitse River in order to turn the Russian left flank and cut their communications. After long and desperate fighting he succeeded in crossing the river, with the result that after General Kuropatkin had made a vain effort to overwhelm him, the Russian army was forced to begin a retreat. The Japanese pressed forward at all points with the utmost determination, but General Kuropatkin managed the withdrawal in a masterly manner, and thereby saved his army from what his enemies had hoped would be another Sedan. As it was, however, he lost more than 20,000 men and many guns in the course of the ten days' fighting, and was forced to destroy or abandon many million dollars' worth of property. The Japanese loss was probably not less than 17,000.

The Russians retired northward to Mukden, whither reinforcements and supplies were hastened as rapidly as the one track of the Trans-Siberian railway would permit. After about four weeks had been spent in this kind of work General Kuropatkin, probably under orders from the home government, prepared to make a desperate effort to relieve Port Arthur. After issuing a rather flamboyant proclamation, he left Mukden on October 6th, and three days later made his first attack. At first the Russians appeared to gain some slight advantages, but the tide soon turned, and they were obliged to withdraw towards Mukden. In the course of the battle, which lasted more than a week, the Russians suffered a loss which is estimated at about 45,000 men, while the loss of the Japanese was probably not more than a third that of their antagonists.

Meanwhile General Nogi, with an army of from 60,000 to 100,000 men, had been vigorously carrying forward his operations against Port Arthur. In August desperate efforts had been made by the Japanese to take the place by assault, but after suffering frightful losses they were forced to have recourse to a regular siege. Heavy artillery, balloons, mines, hand-grenades, star-bombs, search-lights, and every art known to modern warfare were used by both besiegers and besieged. In the assaults against the chief points of attack, hand-to-hand encounters were frequent, and feats of valour were exhibited by both sides. Despite the great natural advantages against which they had to contend, the Japanese progressed steadily, and gradually mastered the outer defenses of the place. Finally on December 1st they succeeded, after a terrible contest lasting seven days, in taking and holding an eminence called 203 Metre Hill, which commanded a view of the town and harbour. But a simultaneous attack upon the Erlungshan and Sungshushan forts failed. Upon the captured hill they then installed a signal station, which directed the fire of their batteries. The issue was now no longer doubtful. Guided by these watchers on the hill, the Japanese artillerists in charge of the great eleven-inch mortars were able to throw over the hills enormous armour-piercing shells which searched out every important position in the town and passed downward through the protected decks of the warships in the harbour as though they had been paper. At the same time the Japanese continued their other operations and succeeded in capturing several forts. After four weeks of this terrible bombardment, finding that his lines had been so broken that he could not withstand another assault, and despairing of aid either from the army or from the long-expected Baltic fleet, General Stoessel, the Russian commander, on January 1st, proposed a meeting to arrange terms of surrender. On the 2nd, after the Russians had sunk all their remaining warships except a few torpedo craft which escaped to Chefoo, the terms of capitulation were settled. The prisoners, including the sick and wounded, numbered more than 40,000;

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in addition the victors gained possession of vast quantities of military supplies. This ended a siege which will rank in the annals of war with that of Sevastopol.

Battles of Mukden and Sea of Japan

The Japanese determined upon a great effort to overwhelm Kuropatkin before the situation should again be complicated by the arrival of the Baltic fleet. The well-seasoned army of General Nogi, as well as reinforcements from home, were hurried northward to join Oyama. Kuropatkin had also received many thousands of reinforcements, but owing to the inadequacy of the Trans-Siberian railway, it is doubtful whether he had 400,000 men with which to oppose the Japanese, who probably numbered more than 500,000 men. On February 19th the Japanese moved forward and began a series of offensive movements which culminated in one of the most stupendous battles that history records.

The Japanese plan was a simple one. Generals Kuroki and Kamamura were to attack the Russian left east of Mukden. General Nogi, with his veterans, was to carry out a flanking movement to the west of Mukden, and, if possible, throw himself across the Russian line of retreat. Meanwhile Generals Nodzu and Oku were to hammer the Russian centre. If all went as planned, the Russian army would be captured or destroyed.

The operations which followed lasted for more than three weeks. During all this time fighting was practically continuous. The weather during much of the time was extremely bad; to the suffering caused by wounds was joined the suffering caused by cold and hunger. Despite the most stubborn opposition on the part of the Russians, the Japanese were in the main successful. Threatened with complete destruction, the Russians evacuated Mukden, and on the 10th of March it was occupied by the Japanese. The Russian army, in disorganised fragments, fled northward, pursued by the Japanese, to beyond Tie pass, where, under a new general, they once more made a stand. About 70 heavy guns and enormous quantities of ammunition and supplies fell into the hands of the victors. About 150,000 Russians were either killed, wounded, or taken. The Japanese loss was probably not more than a third as great.

After the battle of Mukden operations on the land were once more thrust into the background by a new contest for supremacy on the sea. In the preceding October the Russian government had dispatched Admiral Rojestvensky, with what was known as the Baltic Squadron, on a long voyage to the East to retrieve the Russian naval fortunes. On the night of October 21st, while passing through the North Sea, the squadron, through some strange mistake which was doubtless the outcome of panic fancy, mistook a fleet of English fishing trawlers for Japanese torpedo boats and opened a cannonade which sank one vessel, killed two fishermen, and severely wounded others. When the news of this outrage reached England, excitement rose to fever heat. The English government made immediate demands for an apology and for reparation, and so disposed its Channel and Mediterranean fleets as to be able to attack the offending squadron if the answer were not favourable. For some time peace hung in the balance, but the Russian government soon disavowed having intentionally fired upon the trawlers, and the matter was referred to an international board of arbitration, which some months later held that the action of the Russians was unjustifiable. The matter was closed on March 9, 1905, by the payment of an indemnity of £65,000.

A portion of the fleet whose voyage was thus so inauspiciously begun proceeded on its way by the Cape of Good Hope, while the other portion passed through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. The two portions came together again off the coast of Madagascar, and here some months were spent in waiting for the coming of a second fleet under Admiral Nebogatoff. Before the latter fleet arrived, however, Admiral Rojestvensky proceeded once more on his way eastward, passed Singapore on the 8th of April, and rendezvoused at Kamranh bay in French Indo-China. His prolonged stay in these waters caused the Japanese to make strong representations to the French government; but the fleet nevertheless continued to violate French neutrality until some days after the appearance of Admiral Nebogatoff's squadron. This admiral effected a junction with his superior on May 5th, and some days later the combined squadrons entered upon the last stage of their long voyage.

Two possibilities now presented themselves to the Russian commander. He might make a wide detour into the Pacific to evade his enemy and endeavour to reach Vladivostok by way of the straits between the islands of northern Japan, or he might proceed directly by way of the Korean Straits with the certainty of having to fight the united naval forces of his opponents. For weeks the world had wondered what his decision would be, and opinion was much divided. In the end he chose the bolder course, being resolved to stake all upon an effort to overwhelm his enemy and thus decide the ultimate outcome of the war at a single blow.

So far as vessels and armaments were concerned, he appeared to have a good chance for success. Against the four Japanese battleships of the first class and two of inferior strength he could oppose six fine new battleships, two smaller ones, and three coast-defense vessels. Of cruisers, however, he had but three of the armoured and six of the protected class, as against eight armoured and fifteen protected cruisers belonging to the Japanese; and in torpedo craft also he was still more inferior. It was, however, upon the quality of the crews and officers of the opposing fleets, rather than upon the number and strength of vessels, that the outcome of the forthcoming struggle was to depend. Of the ordinary Russian sailors, almost no one had ever been in action and many of them were not even trained to the sea, while their opponents were all veteran seamen whose nerves had been tried by previous engagements. This difference alone would have served to decide the fortunes of the battle; if anything else were needed, it was supplied by the fact that the fleet upon which rested the fate of Nippon was directed by as able an admiral as ever sailed ship upon the Seven Seas.

The 27th of May was a day destined to be forever memorable in the history of naval warfare. At five o'clock on the morning of that day the Japanese scout *Shinano-maru* reported to Admiral Togo that the enemy's fleet had been sighted and that it appeared to be steering for the east channel between Tsushima Island and the Japanese mainland. The Japanese fleet at once quitted its base at Masampo on the southeastern coast of Korea, where for months it had been hidden from the eyes of the world, and started to meet the long-expected enemy. Admiral Togo himself, with the battleships and the armoured cruisers, took a northerly course in order to get ahead of the enemy; while Admirals Kamimura, Uriu, Dewa, and Kataoka, with the remaining vessels, sailed to the southeast for the purpose of enveloping their rear. The last-mentioned division came in sight of the Russian fleet between Iki Island and Tsushima about ten o'clock, but, instead of attacking at once, merely kept it in sight, and reported to Admiral Togo by wireless

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telegraphy. The Russian vessels entered the strait in two columns, with the battleships at the head, next the armoured cruisers, and lastly the protected cruisers, while between the two columns were placed the auxiliaries, the transports, and the torpedo craft.

At one-thirty o'clock Admiral Togo and his division appeared on the northwest, with the sun and wind at his back and in the eyes of the Russian gunners. The moment had come for which the world had long been waiting. But before the battle opened, when the flagships were about five miles apart, there appeared upon the battle-scarred *Mikasa*, Togo's flagship, the following signal:

"The fate of the Empire depends upon this battle. Let every man do his utmost."

Scarcely had this signal inspired the courage of the men of Japan before the battle opened. Then became quickly apparent the difference between trained and untrained seamen. Ten minutes after the first gun was fired a twelve-inch shell entered the turret of the Russian flagship, *Kniaz Suvaroff*, exploded several charges of powder, and blew the top of the turret entirely off. The other Russian vessels were struck repeatedly. Soon many of them were in flames. Within less than three-quarters of an hour the result had been virtually decided. Shortly after three o'clock the Russian battleship *Oslabya* went to the bottom, and at 4:45 the *Kniaz Suvaroff*, which was already in a helpless condition, was sunk by a torpedo. By nightfall a large portion of the fleet had been destroyed. The only part which retained a semblance of formation fled northward, harried throughout the night by wasp-like torpedo craft. Next morning only four of them, namely, the battleships *Nikolai I*, the flagship of Admiral Nebogatoff, and the *Orel*, and two coast defense vessels, remained together; these were surrounded near the Liancourt Rocks and forced to surrender. Admiral Rojestvensky was captured in a badly wounded condition on board a destroyer, to which, upon the sinking of his flagship, he had transferred his flag. Only one cruiser, the *Almaz*, and three destroyers reached Vladivostok in safety; another destroyer and two special service ships escaped to Shanghai; three cruisers found refuge in Manila bay; all the other war vessels were either captured or sunk. Seven thousand Russian officers and men were made prisoners, and many thousand more were either killed or drowned. On their side, the Japanese lost but three torpedo boats, 116 officers and men killed, and 538 wounded.

The Peace of Portsmouth

In the opinion of the world this battle destroyed all reasonable hope of ultimate Russian success in the war. Nevertheless, it appeared for a time that the contest might be uselessly prolonged because neither party was inclined to make overtures for peace. At this psychological moment President Roosevelt came forward, and in the interest of the peace of the world addressed to each of the warring powers an identical note in which he suggested a conference. After due deliberation the suggestion was accepted by both parties, and on August 5th Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, representatives of the Czar, and Baron Komura and Togoro Takahira, representatives of the Mikado, were introduced to each other by the president on board the yacht *Mayflower* in Oyster Bay. The envoys then proceeded to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and there, in one of the buildings of the United States navy yard, began their negotiations. Much skepticism existed throughout the world regarding a successful outcome of the conference, and, owing to the

hard terms upon which the Japanese at first insisted, it appeared for some time that this skepticism would be justified. Had it not been for the unwearying efforts of Mr. Roosevelt it is probable that the conference would have broken up without results; but at last, owing either to his influence or to causes which have not yet appeared, the Japanese government instructed its envoys to withdraw their demands for a money indemnity and for certain other terms to which the Russians objected, and on the 29th of August a protocol was signed, which was later elaborated into a definite treaty. By this treaty the Russians recognised the paramount position of Japan in Korea; both parties agreed to evacuate Manchuria, except Port Arthur, Talienwan, and adjacent territory, the lease to which, with the consent of China, was to be transferred to Japan, as was also, under similar conditions the Chang-chun-fu and Port Arthur Railway; both parties agreed to an exchange of prisoners and to the payment of a reasonable maintenance charge; and the southern half of the island of Saghalien, all of which had been occupied by Japanese in July, was ceded to Japan, with a provision that neither party should fortify his share.

When the terms of peace were made known, there were many people in Europe and America who, influenced in part perhaps by some rather vain-glorious boasting on the part of Count Witte, were inclined to believe that Japan had not reaped all the advantages which she might have done; many of the Japanese themselves were so dissatisfied that riots broke out in protest. But the sober thought of the world did not agree with this view. Japan had, after all, accomplished every object for which she had taken up arms; and it will doubtless be the verdict of history that the grave "Elder Statesmen," who at the critical moment caused the withdrawal of Japan's extreme demands and thereby obviated the necessity of a resumption of the costly and bloody conflict, were actuated by the highest statesmanship.

Thus ended the first great war of the Twentieth Century,—a conflict which from many points of view was one of the most extraordinary and important of modern times. It had been a revelation to western nations both of the inherent weakness of the Russian autocracy and of the strength of the new power which had arisen in the Far East. It had disproved all theories regarding the military incapacity of the Yellow Race, and it had postponed indefinitely the partitioning of China among the European powers.

TREATIES WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA

Soon after the agreement had been reached at Portsmouth, the world was informed that a new and more sweeping treaty of alliance had been entered into on August 12th between Japan and Great Britain. This treaty, the text of which is given in the Appendix to the present volume, was to remain in force for ten years. Later in the year a treaty was negotiated with China, by which China in effect ratified the terms of the treaty of Portsmouth relating to Port Arthur and the Manchurian railway. On January 6th, 1906, the Katsura ministry, which had lost popularity because of dissatisfaction over the treaty with Russia, and because of the harsh measures taken to suppress the protests against that treaty, fell from power, and was succeeded by a liberal ministry under Marquis Kin Mochi Saionji. In April, the foreign minister, Mr. Kato, resigned his office on account of his objection to a bill for nationalising the Japanese railways, and was succeeded by Viscount Hayashi; the latter's place as ambassador in London being in turn taken by Baron Komura.

JAPANESE CONTROL OF KOREA

The alliance with England bore fruit in the bestowal of the order of the Garter on the Mikado through the personal medium of Prince Arthur of Connaught, and the raising of the status of the British and Japanese legations in Tokio and London respectively to that of embassies. But the most momentous events of these years had to do with Korea. The convention between Japan and Korea, which was signed on November 17th, 1905, was the inevitable outcome of the Russo-Japanese war. The main terms of this convention were that the foreign relations of Korea should be henceforth under the control of the Japanese government, and that a Japanese official, with wide powers, should take up his residence in Seoul, under the title of resident-general. This convention was accepted with great reluctance by the Korean ministry, and in May, 1906, not long after Marquis Ito had entered on his duties as first resident-general, an anti-Japanese rising broke out. This rising, which seems to have been engineered by the conservative party with the object of working up feeling against the Japanese and securing Russian support, was put down with the arrest of some members of the government, and a stronger garrison was left in Korea. Disturbances continued throughout the year; although in December the emperor himself thanked the Japanese for their reforms, and subsequently repudiated the statement that he had agreed reluctantly to the 1905 convention.

In April, 1907, there was another series of revolts and attempted murders, which were attributed by the Japanese to a party hostile to the reforms of the Korean cabinet. In the same month a vice-minister of education was arrested on suspicion of complicity in a plot to assassinate the ministers who signed the protectorate convention. On account of these disturbances certain administrative reforms were introduced under Japanese influence, by which the cabinet was invested with largely increased powers and rendered independent of court influence. The crisis, however, came in July. In the beginning of that month, a Korean delegation appeared at the Hague Conference and protested against their non-invitation. Although the emperor denied all complicity in this flagrant violation of the protectorate convention, the Japanese determined to take effective steps to restrain the Korean court from possibility of further mischief. Viscount Hayashi, the Japanese foreign minister, went to Seoul, and on July 20th it was announced that the emperor had, after a long consultation with his ministers, resolved upon his own abdication in favour of the crown prince, his son. His official rescript ran:

"We have been in succession to our ancestors on the throne for forty-four years, and have met with many disturbances. We have not reached our own desire. While ministers are frequently improper men, and progress is uncontrolled by the right men, the times are contrary to natural events. A crisis extremely urgent in the life of the people has arisen, and the progress of the state is more than before imperilled. Fortunately we have a son endowed by nature with brilliant virtue, and well worthy of being charged with plans for the development of the government, to whom we transfer our inheritance sanctioned by the customs of ancient times. Therefore be it known that as soon as proper to be done we will hand the affairs of state over to the crown prince as our representative."

Although the official reports stated that the abdication took place on the emperor's own initiative, and was entirely unprompted by the resident-

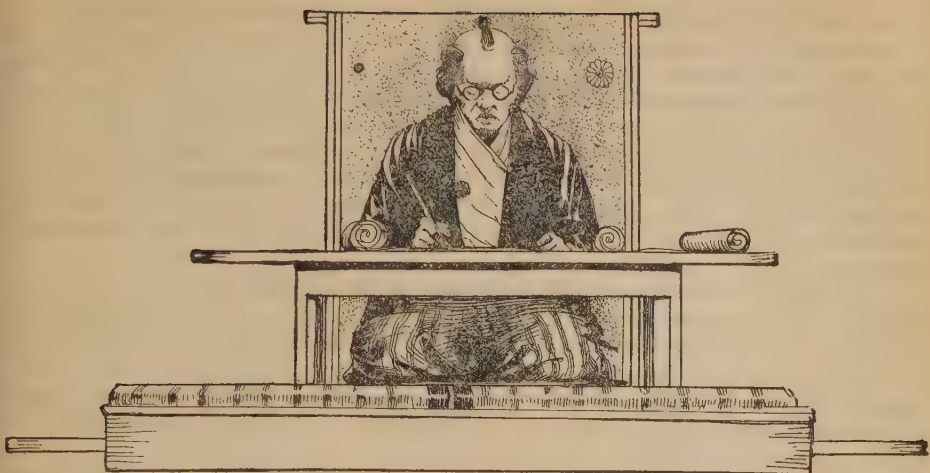
general, yet at the same time it is clear that the emperor was acquiescing in the demands of his cabinet; especially as he had, earlier in the month, expressed extreme unwillingness to abdicate. Japan's future policy in Korea was indicated by the convention which was signed five days after the abdication. It embodied, said Viscount Hayashi, Japan's whole programme.

By the terms of this convention, the administration of Korea was placed under the guidance of the Japanese resident-general, whose approval was made necessary to the enactment of all laws and important state affairs. Furthermore, it was agreed that not only was the appointment of all high responsible officials to receive the approval of the resident-general, but none but persons recommended by him were to be eligible for office in the Korean government. Other articles of the convention were that a separation was to be made between administrative and judicial affairs, and that foreigners were not to be employed without the consent of the resident-general. This convention, which was accepted after great opposition on the part of the Korean court, ensured to Japan the supreme direction of the government of Korea. It put an end to the impossible situation created by the 1905 agreement, by converting the rôle of Japan from mere adviser into that of director.

In addition to the control of foreign affairs, she now assumed the control of the executive, judicial, and legislative departments of the Korean state. Henceforward the part which Japan had to play in Korea was somewhat analogous to our own in Egypt, unhampered indeed by international complications, but embittered by the hatred which the Koreans have always borne towards the Japanese. The first measure of Marquis Ito, which aimed at securing life and property by substituting competent tribunals for the existing corrupt law-courts, was indicative of the path which Japan intended to pursue in the future with regard to Korea—the gradual imposition of salutary reforms on an essentially conservative people.

RUSSO-JAPANESE CONVENTION OF 1907

On July 30th, 1907, a convention was signed between Russia and Japan which guaranteed the integrity of both these countries, as well as the independence and integrity of China and the maintenance of the "open door." This agreement, the last of those at which Japanese diplomacy aimed since the war, completed the work of peace in the Far East.^a



APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JAPANESE HISTORY

I

CONSTITUTION OF PRINCE SHOTOKU

[THE constitution of Prince Shotoku is found in the Nihongi or book of Japanese chronicles, in Book XXII, which gives the reign of the Empress Toyo-mike-kashi ki-ya kime. The entry is found under the twelfth year of her reign,—the third month and the fourth day,—that is, about 604 A.D.]

THE heir to the throne [Prince Shotoku] issued for the first time a regulation [or constitution] in seventeen articles.

The first article reads: Unity and harmony are valuable. Obedience is a most indispensable quality. All people have their separate interests; there are also few wise men among them. Hence at times they do not obey their princes and fathers, and have disputes with neighbouring villages. On the other hand, when superiors and inferiors are in harmony and are unanimous in their words and opinions, things progress of themselves, and what is there which could not succeed under such circumstances?

Article II. Honour diligently the three treasures. The three treasures are Buddha, the law, and the priesthood. They are the last refuge of the four forms of being and the underlying principle of all lands. What generation, what people, ought not to honour these laws! Few are the people who are thoroughly bad; they can be instructed and made to observe (the laws). How can they be better led than by resorting to the three treasures?

Article III. Whenever ye receive an imperial command ye must observe it with care. The prince should be regarded as the heaven, the subject as the earth. The heaven covers, the earth bears; (when that is so) the four seasons pursue their regular course, and the ten thousand spirits move without hindrance (from one place to another). If (however) the earth should be above the heaven it would only lead to destruction. Hence the prince should proclaim (the law) and the subjects receive it; the superior should rule and the inferior obey. Consequently when ye receive an imperial order ye should respectfully observe it. If ye do not observe it ye are preparing your own ruin.

Article IV. Ministers and officials must make morality the basis of their actions. Their principle for the government of the people must rest on morality. If the superiors are not moral the inferiors will not keep order. If the inferiors are not moral they will of necessity burden themselves with transgression and crime. Hence if the prince and his subjects are in possession of morality, the peace will not be disturbed. If the people are moral the state is governed by itself.

Article V. Renounce lusts and throw away thy wishes. Judge clearly (impartially) in disputed cases. A thousand things give cause for dispute among a people on one day. If there are so many in one day, how many more in a number of years? If judges make it a custom to demand a material advantage and to give judgment after accepting a bribe, the suit will result for the richer party, just as if one threw a stone into the water, and the suit for the poorer party will be as if one threw water against a stone. The poor people do not know where (to seek protection).

Article VI. To punish the bad and to encourage the good is an excellent rule of antiquity. Hence do not conceal the good deeds of others, and if thou seest evil thou must expose it. As for flatterers and liars, they are a sharp tool with which to ruin the state and a pointed sword with which to destroy the people. And again, when flatterers meet superiors they usually speak of the faults of the inferiors, but with inferiors they love to talk of the faults of superiors. People of that class have no loyalty towards the prince and no humane feeling for the people; they are the root of great confusion.

Article VII. Everyone has his own field of activity. Do your best that ye may not miss it. When wise men pursue their official duties, voices of praise arise. When, however, evil-minded people hold an office, evil and anarchy are the order of the day. Few are they who are wise by nature and by birth, but by diligent reflection a man may become wise. Every question, whether important or unimportant, will find its right solution when the proper persons devote their care to it. Whether a time is critical or peaceful, it will pursue a peaceful course of itself if a wise man arises. In this way the state has endless duration and the land is without danger. Hence the wise kings of old first created offices and then looked for men (to fill them); but they did not look for offices (in order to put people into them).

Article VIII. All ministers and officials should come early to court and withdraw at a late hour. Public business cannot be postponed. The day in its whole length is still too short to settle business matters. Hence those who come to court late do not come in time enough to settle pressing matters; and if they go away early the affairs remain unfinished.

Article IX. Faithfulness is the root of righteousness. Be true in everything. Good and evil, success and failure depend on faithfulness. When the rulers and the ruled are true to each other everything goes well, but if they are faithless everything ends in failure.

Article X. Cast off your anger, put aside your wrath, do not become angry with people of different opinions from yourselves. Everyone has his own mind; every single mind has its own impulses and inclinations. What others hold to be right, I consider wrong, and what I hold to be right, they consider wrong. Yet we are not necessarily wise and they are not necessarily foolish—we are both ordinary people. Who can easily judge what is right and wrong when we are all equally wise and foolish, just like a circle which has no end. Hence when anyone is angry at us we should be anxious because there are faults in us; if we have something which we alone possess, we should nevertheless conduct ourselves in the same way as others.

Article XI. Distinguish clearly between merit and fault. Rewards, like punishments, must be delivered impartially. At present, however, recompense is not given to the deserving nor punishment to the transgressor, (hence) those officials who have to do with such matters should give care to the allotment of rewards and punishments.

Article XII. The Kuni no mikotomochi (a kind of prefect) and the Kuni no miyatsuko must not tax the people for their individual advantage. There should not be two princes in one state and the people should not have two masters. Every inch of land and every individual of the people have their king as their lord, and all the officials are the king's subjects. How may they therefore tax the people as if they were their lords?

Article XIII. All those who are intrusted with offices must fulfil their functions in the same way. When they are ill or absent on an embassy, and hence cannot attend to their official duties, on the day when they can attend to them again they must look after them as usual. Do not hinder the cause of public business by the pretence of your lack of knowledge.

Article XIV. Do not be envious, ye officials. If we are inclined to be envious of others, others will follow us with jealous eyes. There is no end to the calamities which come from envy. If others excel us in insight, we feel displeasure; and when their talents are superior to ours, we are consumed with envy. Although ye can find a clever man every five hundred years, ye can hardly find a really wise man in a thousand years. How can we rule the land unless we find clever and wise men?

Article XV. To turn his back on his private affairs and to devote himself to public matters, that is the duty of a subject. For if anyone acts only in self-interest he usually is suspicious of others. But if he is suspicious he is necessarily not in harmony with others. When disunion prevails he obstructs public business by his private affairs. When the feeling of ill-will arises, the regular order is violated and the laws are transgressed. Hence it was said in the first article that superiors and inferiors should agree. That is also intended by the spirit of this article.

Article XVI. To make use of the people at the right time—that is a good principle of olden time. Hence call on the people for service during the winter months, when they are unoccupied. From the spring to autumn, however, is the time when the fields must be cultivated and the mulberry trees cared for. During that time ye must not call on the people for service. What should we eat if the fields were not farmed, and what should we wear if the mulberry trees were not cultivated?

Article XVII. Judgments should not be rendered by one person alone, but consult carefully with others. In a trivial matter it is easy; then one does not need many for consultation; only in important cases, and where ye are afraid of making a mistake, must ye consult with many and come to a clear understanding of the matter. Then something reasonable will result.^b

II

COMMERCIAL TREATY NEGOTIATED BY MR. HARRIS

This treaty was the result of most patient toil on the part of Mr. Harris, and gave a basis for similar treaties concluded in the course of a few years with Great Britain, France, Russia, Holland, and all other nations. The main points in this treaty were as follows:

TREATY OF AMNESTY AND COMMERCE

(Signed at Yedo, July 29th, 1858)

[Ratifications exchanged at Washington, May 22nd, 1860]

Article I. Peace and friendship. Diplomatic agent and consul-general. Privileges of residence in Japan; travel beyond treaty limits. Consuls to reside at open ports. Reciprocal privileges to like officials of Japan.

Article II. Mediation of the United States in differences between Japan and European powers. Assistance by United States ships of war to Japanese vessels on the high seas, and by United States consuls in foreign ports.

Article III. Additional ports to be opened (Kanagawa and Nagasaki), July 4th, 1859; Niigata, January 1st, 1860; Hejogo, January 1st, 1863. American citizens may reside therein. Rules and regulations as to their residence. Provisions as to residence of Americans in Yedo and Osaka. Regulations of trade. These provisions to be made public by Japanese government. Munitions of war; to whom only to be sold; rice and wheat not to be exported from Japan; surplus thereof not to be sold to residents, and for ships' crews, etc. Copper surplus to be sold at auction. Americans may employ Japanese.

Article IV. Duties to be paid according to tariff. Proceedings where there is a difference as to the value of duties. Supplies for United States navy. Opium prohibited; penalty for smuggling. Imports on which duties are paid may be transported without further tax. No higher duties than are fixed by this treaty.

Article V. Foreign coins to be current in Japan; may be used in payments; to be exchanged for Japanese coins, etc. Coins, except copper, may be exported; uncoined foreign gold and silver may be exported.

Article VI. Jurisdiction over offences; Americans against Japanese in consular courts; Japanese against Americans by local authorities. Consular courts open to Japanese creditors. Forfeiture and penalties for violation of treaty. Neither government to be responsible for debts of its subjects or citizens.

Article VII. Limits of right to travel (ten ri in any direction) from open ports. That American criminals (*e. g.*, convicted of felony) shall lose right of permanent residence in Japan. Such persons to have reasonable time to settle their affairs, to be determined by American consul.

Article VIII. Religious freedom. Religious animosity not to be excited.

Article IX. Japanese authorities, on request of consul, will arrest deserters and fugitives from justice. Will receive prisoners in jail. Consul to pay just compensation.

Article X. Japanese government may purchase or construct vessels of war, *etc.*, in United States. May engage from the United States the services of scientific men and advisers.

Article XI. Regulations appended (pertaining to trade) make part of treaty.

Article XII. Conflicting provisions of treaty of March 31st, 1854, and the convention of June 17th, 1857, repealed. Regulations may be made to carry this treaty into effect.

Article XIII. Revision of treaty and trade regulations may be made upon one year's notice, at any time after July 1st, 1872, if desired by either party.

Article XIV. Treaty to take effect July 4th, 1859. Ratifications to be exchanged at Washington. Signed in English, Dutch, and Japanese languages; in case of dispute, Dutch version to be considered the original.^c

[This treaty was amended by the convention of June 25th, 1866, concluded between the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland, and Japan, establishing a tariff of duties.]

III

CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN

TOKIO, FEBRUARY 11TH, 1889

CHAPTER I.—THE EMPEROR

Article I. The empire of Japan shall be ruled over by emperors of the dynasty which has reigned in an unbroken line of descent for ages past.

Article II. The succession to the throne shall devolve upon male descendants of the imperial house, according to the provisions of the imperial house law.

Article III. The person of the emperor is sacred and inviolable.

Article IV. The emperor being the head of the empire the rights of sovereignty are invested in him, and he exercises them in accordance with the provisions of the present constitution.

Article V. The emperor exercises the legislative power with the consent of the imperial diet.

Article VI. The emperor gives sanction to laws, and orders them to be promulgated and put into force.

Article VII. The emperor convokes the imperial diet, opens, closes, and prorogues it, and dissolves the house of representatives.

Article VIII. In case of urgent necessity, when the imperial diet is not sitting, the emperor, in order to maintain the public safety or to avert a public danger, has the power to issue imperial ordinances, which shall take the place of laws.

Such imperial ordinances shall, however, be laid before the imperial diet at its next session, and should the diet disapprove of the said ordinances, the government shall declare them to be henceforth invalid.

Article IX. The emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of his subjects. But no ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

Article X. The emperor determines the organisation of the different branches of the administration; he fixes the salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions specially provided for in the present constitution or in other laws shall be in accordance with the respective provisions bearing thereon.

Article XI. The emperor has the supreme command of the army and navy.

Article XII. The emperor determines the organisation and peace standing of the army and navy.

Article XIII. The emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

Article XIV. The emperor proclaims the law of siege.

The conditions and operation of the law of siege shall be determined by law.

Article XV. The emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders, and other marks of honour.

Article XVI. The emperor orders amnesty, pardon, commutation of punishments, and rehabilitation.

Article XVII. The institution of a regency shall take place in conformity with the provisions of the imperial house law.

The regent shall exercise the supreme powers which belong to the emperor in his name.

CHAPTER II.—THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SUBJECTS

Article XVIII. The conditions necessary for being a Japanese subject shall be determined by law.

Article XIX. Japanese subjects shall all equally be eligible for civil and military appointments, and any other public offices, subject only to the conditions prescribed and laws and ordinances.

Article XX. Japanese subjects are amenable to service in the army or navy, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXI. Japanese subjects are amenable to the duty of paying taxes, according to the provisions of law.

Article XXII. Subject to the limitations imposed by law, Japanese subjects shall enjoy full liberty in regard to residence and change of abode.

Article XXIII. No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, except according to law.

Article XXIV. No Japanese subject shall be deprived of his right of being tried by judges determined by law.

Article XXV. Except in the cases provided for in the law, the house of no Japanese subject shall be entered or searched without his permission.

Article XXVI. Except in cases provided for in the law, the secrecy of the letters of Japanese subjects shall not be violated.

Article XXVII. The rights of property of Japanese subjects shall not be violated. Such measures, however, as may be rendered necessary in the interests of the public welfare shall be taken in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

Article XXIX. Japanese subjects shall, within the limits of law, enjoy liberty in regard to speech, writing, publication, public meetings, and associations.

Article XXX. Japanese subjects may present petitions, provided that they observe the proper forms of respect, and comply with the rules specially provided for such matters.

Article XXXI. The provisions contained in the present chapter shall not interfere with the exercise, in times of war or in case of national emergency, with the supreme powers which belong to the emperor.

Article XXXII. Each and every one of the provisions contained in the preceding articles of the present chapter shall, in so far as they do not conflict with the laws or the rules and discipline of the army and navy, apply to the officers and men of the army and of the navy.

CHAPTER III.—THE IMPERIAL DIET

Article XXXIII. The imperial diet shall consist of two houses: the house of peers and the house of representatives.

Article XXXIV. The house of peers shall, in accordance with the ordinance concerning the house of peers, be composed of members of the imperial family, of nobles, and of deputies who have been nominated by the emperor.

Article XXXV. The house of representatives shall be composed of members elected by the people, according to the provisions of the law of election.

Article XXXVI. No one can at one and the same time be a member of both houses.

Article XXXVII. Every law requires the consent of the imperial diet.

Article XXXVIII. Both houses shall vote upon projects of law brought forward by the government, and may respectively bring forward projects of law.

Article XXXIX. A bill which has been rejected by either of the houses shall not be again brought in during the same session.

Article XL. Both houses can make recommendations to the government in regard to laws, or upon any other subject. When, however, such recommendations are not adopted, they cannot be made a second time during the session.

Article XLI. The imperial diet shall be convoked every year.

Article XLII. A session of the imperial diet shall last during three months. In case of necessity, a duration of a session may be prolonged by imperial order.

Article XLIII. When urgent necessity arises, an extraordinary session may be convoked, in addition to the ordinary one.

The duration of an extraordinary session shall be determined by imperial order.

Article XLIV. With regard to the opening, closing, and prorogation of the imperial diet, and the prolongation of its sessions, these shall take place simultaneously in both houses. If the house of representatives be ordered to dissolve, the house of peers shall at the same time be prorogued.

Article XLV. When the house of representatives has been ordered to dissolve, the election of new members shall be ordered by imperial decree, and the new house shall be convoked within five months from the day of dissolution.

Article XLVI. No debate can be opened and no vote can be taken in either house of the imperial diet unless no less than one-third of the whole number of the members thereof is present.

Article XLVII. Votes shall be taken in both houses by absolute majority. In the case of a tie vote, the president shall have the casting vote.

Article XLVIII. The deliberation of both houses shall be held in public. The deliberations may, however, upon demand of the government or by resolution of the house, be held in secret sitting.

Article XLIX. Both houses of the imperial diet may respectively present addresses to the emperor.

Article L. Both houses may receive petitions presented by subjects.

Article LI. Both houses may enact, besides what is provided for in the present constitution and in the law of the houses, rules necessary for the management of their internal affairs.

Article LII. No member of either house shall be held responsible outside the respective houses for any opinion uttered or for any vote given by him in the house. When, however, a member himself has given publicity to his opinions, by public speech, by documents in print, or in writing, or by any other means, he shall, as regards such actions, be amenable to the general law.

Article LIII. The members of both houses shall, during the session, be free from arrest, unless with the permission of the house, except in cases of flagrant delicts, or of offences connected with civil war or foreign troubles.

Article LIV. The ministers of state, and persons deputed for that purpose by the government, may at any time take seats and speak in either house.

CHAPTER IV.—THE MINISTERS OF STATE AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Article LV. The respective ministers of state shall give their advice to the emperor, and be responsible for it.

All laws, public ordinances, and imperial rescripts, of whatever kind, that relate to the affairs of the state, require the counter-signature of a minister of state.

Article LVI. The privy council shall, in accordance with the provisions for the organisation of the privy council, deliberate upon the important matters of state, when they have been consulted by the emperor.

CHAPTER V.—THE JUDICATURE

Article LVII. Judicial powers shall be exercised by the courts of law, according to law, in the name of the emperor.

The organisation of the courts of law shall be determined by law.

Article LVIII. The judges shall be appointed from among those who possess the proper qualifications determined by law.

No judge shall be dismissed from his post except on the ground of sentence having been passed upon him for a criminal act, or by reason of his having been subjected to punishment for disciplinary offence.

Rules for disciplinary punishment shall be determined by law.

Article LIX. Trials shall be conducted and judgments rendered publicly. When, however, there exists any fear that such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality, the public trial may be suspended, either in accordance with the law bearing on the subject or by decision of the court concerned.

Article LX. Matters which fall within the competency of the special courts shall be specially determined by law.

Article LXI. The courts of law shall not take cognizance of any suits which arise out of the allegations that rights have been infringed by illegal action on the part of the executive authorities, and which fall within the competency of the court of administrative litigation, specially established by law.

CHAPTER VI.—FINANCE

Article LXII. The imposition of a new tax, or modification of the rates (of an existing one), shall be determined by law.

However, all such administrative fees or other revenue as are in the nature of compensation for services rendered shall not fall within the category of the above clause.

The raising of national loans and the contracting of other liabilities to the charge of the national treasury, except those that are provided in the budget, shall require the consent of the imperial diet.

Article LXIII. Existing taxes shall, in so far as they are not altered by new laws, continue to be collected as heretofore.

Article LXIV. The annual expenditure and revenue of the state shall, in the form of an annual budget, receive the consent of the imperial diet.

Any expenditure which exceeds the appropriations set forth under the various heads of the budget, or those not provided for in the budget, shall be referred subsequently to the imperial diet for its approval.

Article LXV. The budget shall be first laid before the house of representatives.

Article LXVI. The expenditure in respect of the imperial house shall be defrayed every year out of the national treasury, according to the present fixed amount for the same, and shall not hereafter require the consent thereto of the imperial diet, except in case an increase thereof is found necessary.

Article LXVII. The fixed expenditure based upon the supreme powers of the emperor, and set forth in this constitution, and such expenditure as may have arisen by the effect of law, or as appertains to the legal obligations of the government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the imperial diet, without the concurrence of the government.

Article LXVIII. In order to meet special requirements the government may ask the consent of the imperial diet to a certain amount as a continuing expenditure fund, for a previously fixed number of years.

Article LXIX. In order to supply unavoidable deficits in the budget, and to meet requirements unprovided for in the same, a reserve fund shall be established.

Article LXX. When there is urgent need for the adoption of measures for the maintenance of the public safety, and when in consequence of the state either of the domestic affairs or of the foreign relations, the imperial diet cannot be convoked, the necessary financial measures may be taken by means of an imperial ordinance.

In such cases as those mentioned in the preceding clause the matter shall be submitted to the imperial diet at its next session for its approval.

Article LXXI. When the imperial diet has not voted on the budget, or when the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the government shall carry out the budget of the preceding year.

Article LXXII. The final account of the expenditure and revenue of the state shall be verified and confirmed by the board of audit, and it shall be

submitted by the government to the imperial diet, together with the report of verification of the said board.

The organisation and competency of the board of audit shall be determined by law separately.

CHAPTER VII.—THE SUPPLEMENTARY RULES

Article LXXIII. Should, hereafter, the necessity arise for the amendment of the provisions of the present constitution, a project to that effect shall be submitted for the deliberation of the imperial diet by imperial order.

In the above case, neither house can open a debate, unless not less than two-thirds of the whole number of members are present; and no amendment can be passed unless a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present is obtained.

Article LXXIV. No modification of the imperial house law shall be required to be submitted for the deliberation of the imperial diet.

No provision of the present constitution can be modified by the imperial house law.

Article LXXV. No modification can be introduced into the constitution, or into the imperial house law, during the time of regency.

Article LXXVI. Existing legal enactments, such as laws, regulations, and ordinances, and all other such enactments, by whatever names they may be called, which do not conflict with the present constitution, shall continue in force.

All existing contracts or orders which entail obligations upon the government, and which are connected with the expenditure, shall come within the scope of Article LXVII.^d

IV.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND JAPAN,

SIGNED AT LONDON, AUGUST 12, 1905.

Preamble. The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the Agreement concluded between them on the 30th January, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following Articles, which have for their object:—

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India;

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China;

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions:—

Article I. It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble

of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

Article II. If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

Article III. Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

Article IV. Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognizes her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

Article V. The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

Article VI. As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

Article VII. The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military authorities of the Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

Article VIII. The present agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the Undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this Agreement and have affixed thereto their Seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August, 1905.

[L. S.]

LANSDOWNE,
His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs.

[L. S.]

TADASU HAYASHI,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
of his Majesty the Emperor of Japan at
the Court of St. James.

THE HISTORY OF CHINA AND JAPAN

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter *a* is reserved for Editorial Matter]

CHAPTER I. PSYCHOLOGY OF CHINESE CIVILISATION

^b HUNG-SIN-TSHUEN.—^c GEORG WEBER, *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*.

CHAPTER II. THE HISTORY OF CHINA

^b H. E. GORST, *China*.—^c R. K. DOUGLAS, article on "China" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—^d W. H. MEDHURST, *China*.—^e LINDESAY BRINE, *The Taiping Rebellion*.—^f F. BRINKLEY, *China: Its History, Arts and Literature*.—^g GEORGE JAMIESON and V. CHIROL, article on "China" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—^h G. S. CLARKE, article on "China-Japan War" in the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—ⁱ HUNG LU-TSUEN, *Trimetrical Classic*.

CHAPTER III.

A SUMMARY OF EARLY JAPANESE HISTORY
By CAPTAIN F. BRINKLEY.

CHAPTER IV. OLD JAPAN

^b T. R. H. M'CLATCHIE, article on "Japan" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—^c F. BRINKLEY, *Japan: Its History, Arts and Literature*.—^d R. HILDRETH, *History of Japan*.—^e J. MURDOCH and I. YAMAGATA, *History of Japan*.—^f *History of Japan*, compiled for the Imperial Japanese Commission of the World's Columbian Exposition. —^g NITOBE, *Intercourse between United States and Japan*.

CHAPTER V. NEW JAPAN

^b F. BRINKLEY, article on "Japan" in the new volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.—^c T. J. LAWRENCE, *War and Neutrality in the Far East*.—^d LONDON TIMES (weekly), August 15th, 1904.—^e NIPON o dai itsi ran, ou *Annales des Empereurs du Japon*, translated by I. TITSINGH.—^f *Journal of O-o-gawutsi*, translated by A. PITZMAIER, in *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*.—^g NIHONGI, Book XXII, Suiko-Tenno, translated by K. FLORENZ, in *Mittheilung der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*.—^h E. HERTSLET and EDWARD CECIL HERTSLET, *British and Foreign State Papers*.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO JAPANESE HISTORY

^b NIHONGI, Book XXII, Suiko-Tenno, translated by FLORENZ, in *Mittheilung der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*.—^c N TORE, *Intercourse between United States and Japan*.—^d EDWARD HERTSLET and EDWARD CECIL HERTSLET, *British and Foreign State Papers*.—^e THE TIMES (London), September 27, 1905.

